





THE  
SYMPHONIES OF  
JOSEPH HAYDN







JOSEPH HAYDN  
from the lead bust by Anton Grassi (?), bequeathed by  
Haydn to Count Harrach, Harrach Palace, Vienna.  
(*Courtesy of E. F. Schmid*).

H. C. ROBBINS LANDON

THE SYMPHONIES  
OF  
JOSEPH HAYDN

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To  
*Jens Peter Larsen,*  
*The Father of Modern Haydn Research*

CARNEGIE INSTITUTE  
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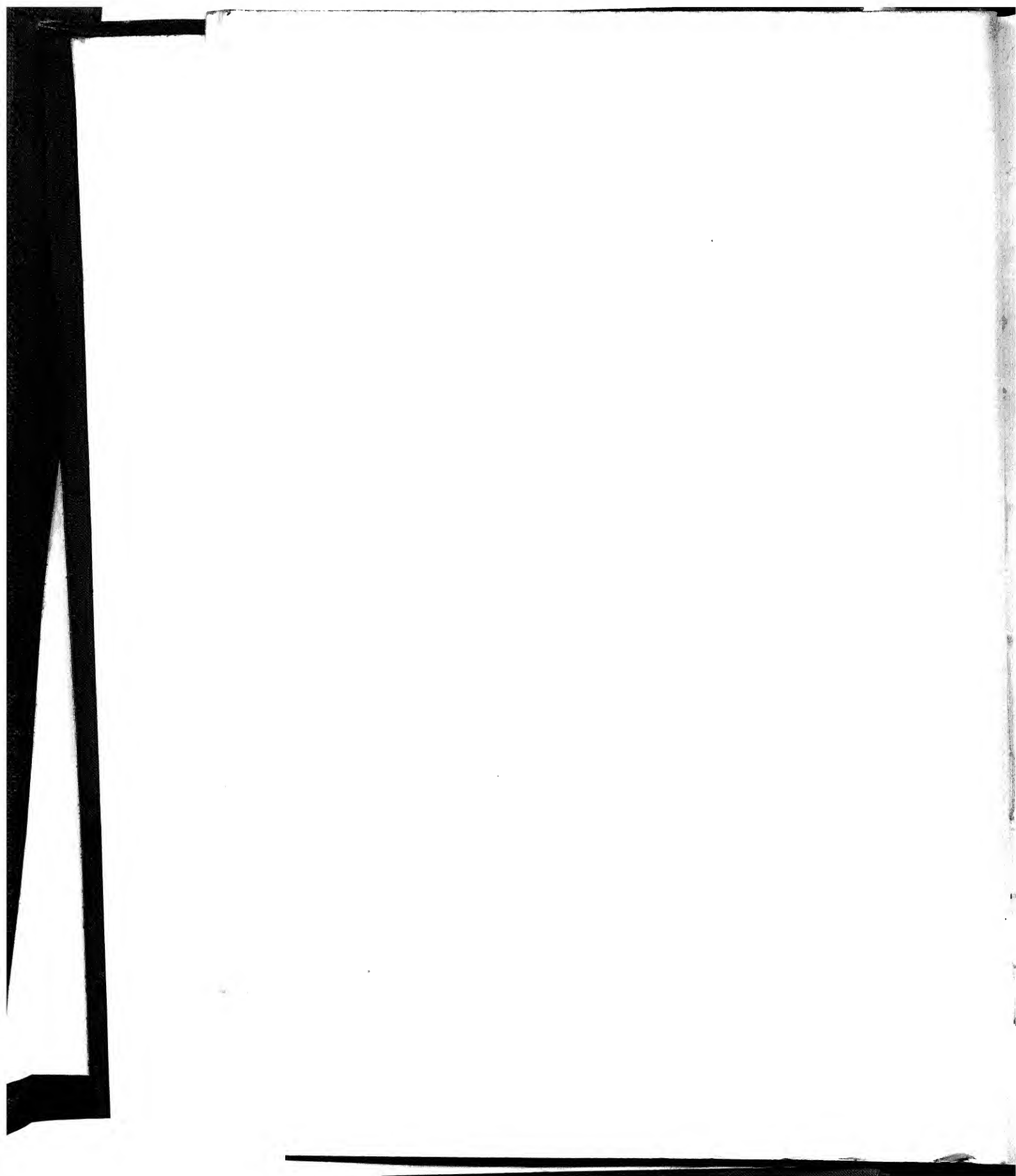
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## PREFACE

The definitive biography of Joseph Haydn cannot be written until three Haydn *monumentae* are published: (1) the Complete Edition of his music; (2) a complete catalogue of all his works, on which Antony van Hoboken has been working for many years, and which is to be expected in the near future; and (3) the complete documents of his life, a project which is of the utmost urgency, and which, we may hope, will be prepared by Otto Erich Deutsch, who has taught us that documents are the truest biography of a composer. The fact that none of these three projects has been completed explains in part the slow progress of Haydn research in the last fifty years: it is difficult, if not impossible, to write comprehensive books on a composer whose exact *œuvre* is not even known. But in recent years there have been specialized studies on some particular aspect of Haydn, *inter alia* by Carl Maria Brand (*Die Messen von Joseph Haydn*, Würzburg, 1941), Helmut Wirth (*Joseph Haydn als Dramatiker*, Wolfenbüttel, 1941), and Robert Sondheimer (*Haydn: A Historical and Psychological Study Based on his Quartets*, London, 1951); valuable books and monographs have also been written by Karl Geiringer, Ernst Fritz Schmid, and the late Marion M. Scott. But of all the Haydn scholars, none is more deserving of our gratitude than Jens Peter Larsen, whose monumental work, *Die Haydn-Überlieferung* (Copenhagen, 1939), is truly the foundation of modern Haydn research.

Apart from two German dissertations, however, no book dealing with Haydn's symphonies has ever been written: one of these German treatises (Bernhard Rywosch, *Ein Beitrag zu Joseph Haydns Symphonik, 1759 bis 1780*, Turbenthal, 1934) is limited to a part of the works; whilst the other (Hans Joachim Therstappen: *Joseph Haydns symphonisches Vermächtnis*, Wolfenbüttel, 1941) treats certain aspects of the London symphonies. It seems scarcely credible that one of the main sources of our musical culture should never have been examined critically; but only during the last two decades have Haydn's symphonies achieved in the concert hall and on gramophone records the position to which they are rightfully entitled. England has been in large measure responsible for this Haydn Renaissance, just as England was the first country in which Haydn felt that his music was fully

understood and appreciated. It is, therefore, entirely fitting that this book should appear in the country where, as Haydn often said, 'he had spent the happiest days of his life'.

---

Books of this size and scope generally incorporate the work of many other persons besides the author. It is not only that libraries, archives and museums make available their valuable collections, but that countless suggestions of many friends and colleagues are woven into the text. To cite all the sources from which the author has received help, ideas and guidance would require a space too large to demand, even from kindly publishers who have again and again allowed the book to expand far beyond its original proportions. The persons and institutions named below represent, therefore, but a small part of my debt of gratitude.

This book is dedicated to Jens Peter Larsen; not merely because of the *Haydn-Uberlieferung* — the reader will soon perceive my indebtedness to that book — but also as a small token of thanks for many happy hours in Lyngby, where I learnt far more than can be found in the pages of a book.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should particularly like to express my sincere thanks to Mr. Oliver Neighbour, of the British Museum, who read the typescript, and whose suggestions have been gratefully incorporated; to Mr. Hans Keller, who read the galleys, and whose detailed criticisms have been of the utmost value; to my wife, Christa Fuhrmann-Landon, who did much of the research work on Appendix I together with me; to Messrs. Charles Humphries and George A. Cole, of the staff of the British Museum, who copied for me many of the documents appearing in Chapter XII; and to Dr. Alfred A. Kalmus and Mr. Geoffrey Robinson, who assisted me in every possible way throughout the preparation of the book, and who spared neither time nor money in its execution.

My thanks also go to Professor Otto Erich Deutsch, Professor K. G. Fellerer, Miss Rosemary Hughes, Professor Jan La Rue, Dr. Friedrich Matzenauer, Dr. Walter Senn, Dr. Ernst Fritz Schmid, and Dr. Edith Schnapper, for ready assistance at all times. *The Times* kindly allowed me the use of its reference library; and the firm of J. A. Stargardt, Marburg, was most helpful in supplying a microfilm of an unknown



catalogue of the London symphonies. The author and publisher acknowledge with thanks permission to use extracts from the following books:

Cassel and Company, London: C. P. E. Bach, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (Translated and Edited by William J. Mitchell); Novello & Co., Oxford University Press, London: Arnold Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII and XVIII Centuries*; Oxford University Press, London: Leopold Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing* (Translated by Editha Knocker); Professor Jens Peter Larsen and Einar Munksgaard, Copenhagen: *Die Haydn-Überlieferung*.

Of the many librarians and directors of archives who aided me in my work, I should like to single out a few who have been of particular assistance: Frau Dr. Hedwig Kraus (Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna); Professor Dr. Leopold Nowak (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna); Dr. Fritz Raček (Stadtbibliothek, Vienna); Miss Cari Johansson (Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens, Stockholm); Count Wedel (Fürstl. Oettingen-Wallersteinsche Bibliothek, Schloss Harburg); Dr. Martin Cremer (Westdeutsche Bibliothek, Marburg); Mr. A. von Reibnitz (Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen); Oberarchivar Dr. Stail (Fürstl. Thurn und Taxisches Archiv, Regensburg); Mr. Richard S. Hill (Library of Congress, Washington); Mr. A. Hyatt King (British Museum).

The Austrian monasteries have been most helpful in allowing us the freedom of their archives, often in a ruinous state as a result of World War II. I should especially like to express my gratitude to His Grace, the Abbot of the Monastery of Göttweig, Dr. Wilhelm Zedinek, O. S. B.; to His Grace, the Abbot of the Monastery of Schlierbach, Dr. Alois Wiesinger; to His Grace, the Abbot of the Monastery of Reichersberg, Dr. Floridus Buttinger; to P. Dr. Ludwig Koller, O. S. B., of the Monastery of Göttweig; to P. Dr. Wolfgang Hartmann of the Monastery of Herzogenburg; to Subprior P. Wolfgang Siegl and Dr. Max Wipplinger (Haslach an der Mühl), of the Monastery of Schlägl; and especially to P. Dr. Altmann Kellner, O. S. B., of the Monastery of Kremsmünster; Professor A. Trittinger, of the Monastery of Melk; and Professor Hermann Lang, of the Monastery of Lambach.

Apart from these individuals, numerous libraries made their collections available; to them, and to the many persons in these libraries who made a difficult task easier, I wish to express my sincere gratitude. There follows a list of the major libraries in which I worked, or which supplied microfilms, or answered my questions by letter:

*Monasteries in Austria (and South Tyrol)*

Admont; Pfarrkirche Aussee; Geras; Göttweig; Heiligenkreuz; Herzogenburg; Klosterneuburg (K. Lerperger, Esq.); Kremsmünster; Lambach; Lilienfeld; Marienberg; Mehrerau/Bregenz (Prior Adolf Roder); Melk; Michaelbeuern; Muri-Gries (P. Dr. Oswald Jaeggi, O. S. B.); Reichersberg; Rottenmann; St. Lambrecht; St. Florian; St. Paul; Archbischöflic of St. Peter, Salzburg; Schlägl; Seckau; Seitenstetten; Stams; Suben; Voralpe; Wilhering; Wilten; Zwettl.

*Other Libraries and Archives in Austria*

*Eisenstadt*: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum (Sándor Wolf Museum); Stadtpfarrkirche; *Graz*: Fürstbischöfliches Seckauer Ordinariat; *Salzburg*: Library of the Mozarteum; *Vienna*: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde; Nationalbibliothek; Stadtbibliothek; Schottenstift; Minoritenkloster; the Piaristenkirche, Michaelerkirche and Peterskirche; the Musikwissenschaftliches Institut of the Vienna University (Professor Dr. Erich Schenk).

*Germany*

The Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Berlin (formerly the Preussische Staatsbibliothek); the Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen; the Westdeutsche Bibliothek, Marburg; the Library of Prince Thurn und Taxis, Regensburg; the Proske-Bibliothek, Regensburg; the Library of Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein, Schloss Harburg; the Library of Prince Fürstenberg, Donaueschingen; the Library of Count Schönborn, Schloss Wiesenheid; the Library of the Princes of Hohenzollern, Sigmaringen (Dr. Meyer); the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Dr. H. Halm); the Monastery of Metten, Bavaria; the Library of Prince Leiningen, Amorbach.

*Italy*

The Conservatorio Giuseppe Verdi, Milan; the Biblioteca Estense, Modena; the Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello, Venice (Professor Piovesan); Biblioteca Naz. Marciana, Venice; the Conservatorio G. B. Martini, Bologna; the Conservatorio Luigi Cherubini, Florence; the Bib. Nazionale, Laurenziana, Marciana and Riccardi, Florence; the Bib. Antoniana, in the Basilica del Santo, Padua; the Conservatory Library, Padua; the Liceo Musicale, Genoa; Conservatorio S. Pietro a Majella, Naples.

*England*

The British Museum; Royal College of Music, London; Henry Watson Library, Manchester; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

*Paris*

Bibliothèque Nationale; Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique; Bibliothèque de l'Opéra.

*Budapest*

The Esterházy Archives (in The Hungarian National Museum).

*U. S. A.*

The Boston Public Library; the New York Public Library; the Library of Congress, Washington.

*Switzerland*

Zentralbibliothek, Zürich; Monastery of Einsiedeln (P. Dr. Oswald Jaeggi, O. S. B.); Universitätsbibliothek, Basel.

*Stockholm*

Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens, Bibliotek.

*Vienna, June, 1955.*

H. C. R. L.

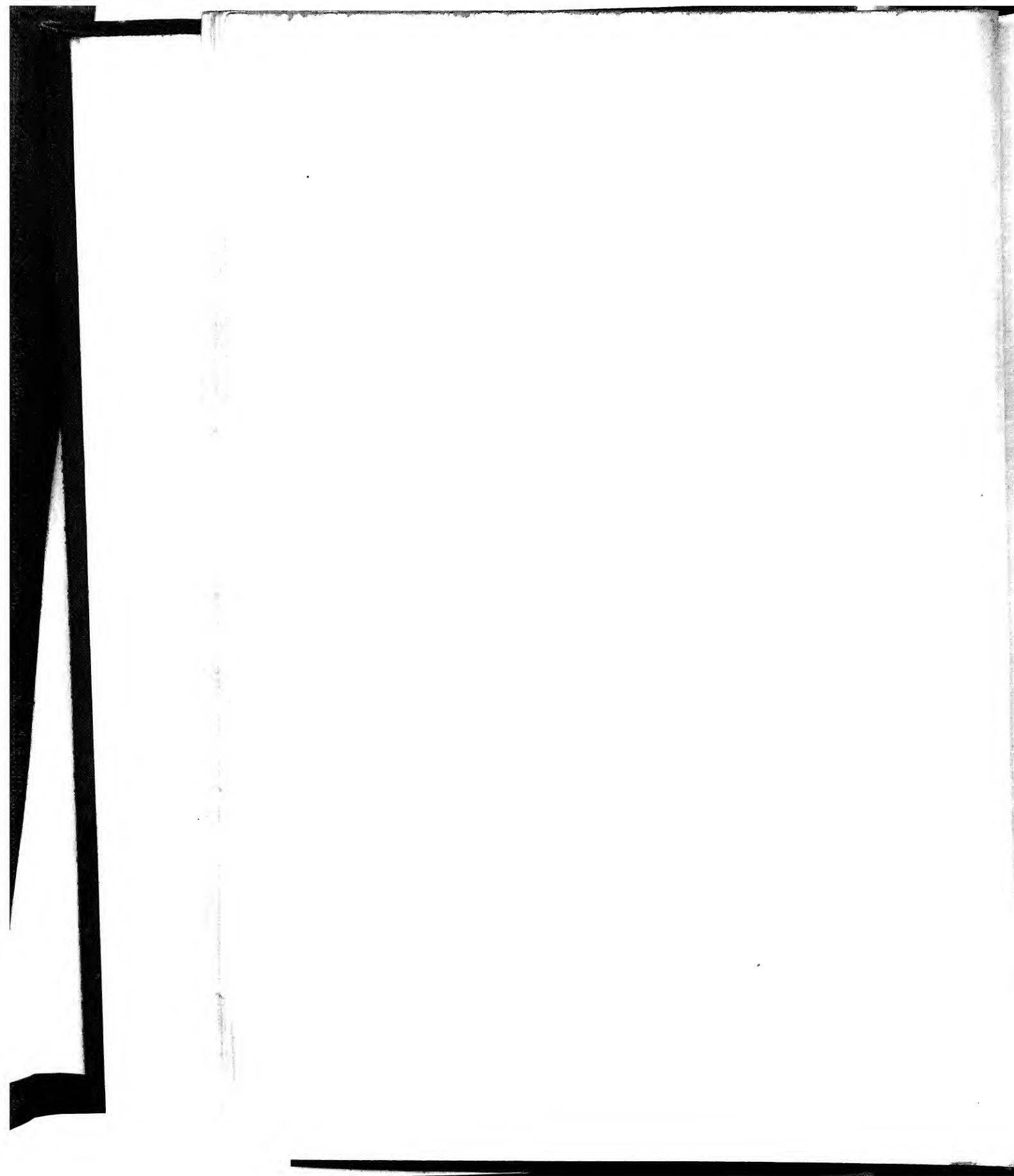
## ABBREVIATIONS

Aut.	Autograph.
B. & H.	The firm of Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig.
Br. Cat.	Breitkopf Catalogue (see page 1, <i>infra</i> ).
BM	British Museum.
Bst	Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (now Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek; collection dispersed, see Appendix I).
C. E.	Complete Edition (refers to that part of the Haydn Works published by the Haydn Society; cf. G. A., <i>infra</i> ).
DKE	Jens Peter Larsen: <i>Drei Haydn Kataloge</i> , Copenhagen, 1941: facsimile of EK, Kees and HV.
DTÖ	Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich.
EH	Esterházy Archives, Budapest (now National Museum).
EK	Haydn's so called <i>Entwurf Katalog</i> (see page 4, <i>infra</i> ).
G. A.	Gesamtausgabe (refers to that part of the Haydn Works published by Breitkopf & Härtel; cf. C. E., <i>supra</i> ).
GdM	Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.
HUB	Jens Peter Larsen: <i>Die Haydn-Überlieferung</i> , Copenhagen, 1939.
HV	The so called <i>Haydn Verzeichnis</i> , prepared by Johann Elssler in 1805 (see page 7, <i>infra</i> ).
PCons	Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique, Paris.
PNat	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
VNat	Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.
VSt	Stadtbibliothek, Vienna.

## IDENTIFICATION OF HAYDN'S MUSIC

The symphonies are cited after Mandyczewski's chronological list (category I) in the B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe*; doubtful and spurious symphonies by the numbers of the B. & H. list (category III = spurious and category IV = doubtful). A new list of these works is found in Appendix II. The overtures are cited after their numbers in the B. & H. list (category II). The movements of individual works are indicated thus: No. 35/IV (= Symphony No. 35, 4th movement). Concerti are listed by *genre*, since there are rarely more than one or two of each category; occasionally, works not found in EK or HV are identified by their numbers in DKE. Clavier sonatas are listed according to the catalogue of Karl Päsler in Series XIV of the B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe*. Masses are listed by their titles, as are cantatas, arias, etc. Quartets are identified by the traditional (if wholly ridiculous) opus numbers; clavier trios, however, are given in the new chronological listing by Larsen in DKE, and the B. & H. numbers placed in brackets. All other works, if not immediately recognizable, are given their numbers in HV, or described by a reference to EK.

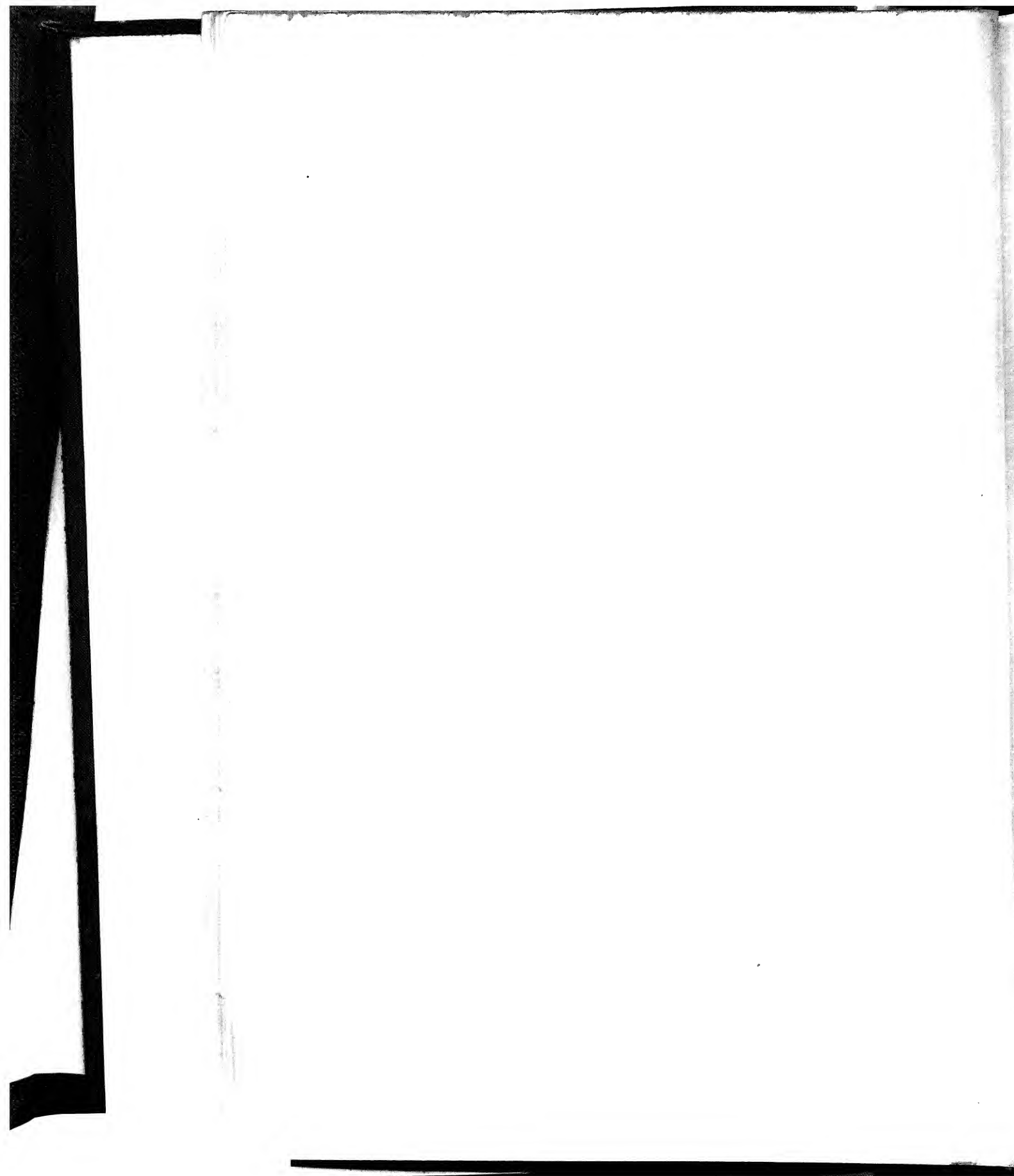
Frequently cited books and articles are often abbreviated; they are, however, always cited the first time in full; the abbreviation is then included, together with the first citation. (E. g. Pohl's biography is abbreviated by 'Pohl I' or 'Pohl II', and so forth.)



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## PART ONE

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## CHAPTER I

### AUTHENTICITY & TERMINOLOGY

At the end of the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1762<sup>1</sup>, Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf writes:

I herewith announce the beginning of the promised *musical catalogues of all practical works by various composers* which may be had at my office; these [compositions] I have made recognizable by their *themes*, in so far as space permitted, and have attempted to differentiate them, one from the other, just as one differentiates books from each other by their titles. Just critics will see by themselves that it is sufficiently difficult to secure a rather considerable stock [*Vorrat*] of such pieces, or, so to speak, to overcome the reluctance of certain musicians [to supply their compositions]; and that it is even more troublesome — a difficult task, indeed — to put these [works] into any kind of order. What conflicts would have to be solved, what secret struggles won, if one were to attempt to give every author his due and if one were to find the right author for pieces which appear under *various names*! And if in such doubtful cases, of which there were all too many, one could not settle anything through enquiries, how easily one would be led away from one's better judgement into error instead of following the correct path!

I must therefore beg forgiveness of those *experts* and *amateurs* of music—nay, of certain composers themselves whose names appear in this catalogue, or will appear in the future—for certain unavoidable mistakes; and at the same time I entreat those whose own pieces are erroneously listed or [who know of] others so listed to send me a notice to that effect so that in case of a new edition of this *catalogue* the old mistakes may be rectified and new ones avoided. I have therefore printed only a small number of copies of this first attempt and have gladly sacrificed profit for the sake of correctness.

Should famous composers be kind enough to compile in an idle [*müßige*] hour a catalogue of their practical compositions themselves and have the goodness to send it to me, I shall not only acknowledge the same with my thanks but shall continue my efforts that much more boldly, depending upon the certainty with which I can rely on such information. It would not hinder matters if I had not the works in question which might be listed in such a catalogue; for I should take steps to secure these, should there be demands for them from music lovers.

The mistaken identity, however, is not the only matter which has led me astray but also the *instruments* and the *number of parts* which I have listed above each and every theme. Who knows what freedom this or that musician has allowed himself in adding or leaving out parts here and there to a work, or in transcribing pieces for another instrument? I have found enough traces of such deliberate alterations; and how many still remain to be discovered, thus giving rise to so many mistakes in my catalogue?

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogo delle Sinfonie che si trovano in manoscritto nella officina musica di Giovanni Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, in Lipsia. Parte Ima 1762.* See Plate I.



### *Authenticity & Terminology*

I must therefore take refuge in the goodness of those who are more exactly informed about these pieces. The satisfaction which they give me through their honest information (for assumptions are not worth much to me — except where they concern those matters which one cannot resolve with complete certainty) is at the same time a service rendered to the whole of music. The study of books has so often occupied the time of many scholars, and certain prolific authors have, in order to protect the world from error, compiled complete catalogues of their works and writings, whereby the history of literature, that vast field, has now been brought into an admirable state of order such as we cannot yet expect in the world of music...

Thus is expressed one of the fundamental problems facing the musicologist who would take for his special study any music of the eighteenth century; namely, authenticity. One must bear in mind that this was an age where physical contact between various European capitals was a matter of weeks or months, a period in which the composer had neither the means nor, very often, the inclination to prevent widespread piracy of his works. This practice, in turn, was largely the fault of unscrupulous copyists and printers, but was also due partly to ignorance. Unless a printer was more than usually ethical, he did not enquire if a certain piece about to be published were authentic; and it was a distinct exception, made in deference to an already world-famous composer, that the French asked permission of Haydn to have his *Stabat Mater* printed<sup>2</sup>. The inefficient system of communications rendered it difficult for a composer even to know of the existence of most foreign prints, not to speak of the innumerable manuscript copies of his works which were circulated in place of prints until about 1780. By the time Breitkopf received Haydn's compositions through devious channels, it was no wonder that he could announce twelve Haydn symphonies, of which two were in reality the first and second movements of the same work<sup>3</sup>. Occasionally, someone would attempt to follow Breitkopf's entreaty; Count Durazzo once sent Haydn a list of trios to identify, and Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein asked his Viennese agent to enquire of Haydn if three symphonies were actually by him. But these are exceptions. It became more profitable to attach Haydn's name, rather than that of an unknown composer, however talented, to a composition; and usually the originator

<sup>2</sup> Franz Artaria & Hugo Botstiber: *Joseph Haydn und das Verlagshaus Artaria*, Vienna, 1909; pp. 12-13. Haydn writes: 'Now something from Paris. Monsieur Le Gros, Directeur of [the] Concert Spirituel, wrote me uncommonly nice things about my *Stabat Mater*... The gentlemen asked permission to have this engraved.'

<sup>3</sup> Breitkopf cat. of 1766: Symphony No. 18/I and II. See Appendix I.



of such a forgery escaped unscathed. Gyrowetz, in his autobiography<sup>4</sup>, tells of arriving in Paris in 1789 and hearing a G major symphony of his own composition played and published under Haydn's name<sup>5</sup>. Haydn's constant war with dishonest copyists will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Still another complication presented itself in Haydn's case: the fact that his brother Michael (1737—1806) was, at least in Austria, almost as celebrated as Joseph; Michael composed several dozen symphonies, many of which are of a high artistic standard. Especially in those monasteries where both Joseph and Michael are well represented — such as Kremsmünster — there is often considerable confusion, some of the MSS. being simply entitled 'Del Sig. Haydn'<sup>6</sup>.

And so, during the course of the eighteenth century, a very large number of symphonies came to be attributed to Haydn. Some works even appear under three or four different names, such as the Symphony III, 21, which is attributed to J. H. in the Breitkopf catalogue of 1767, to Sonnleithner in the Breitkopf catalogue of 1774, to Rugietz in the Breitkopf catalogue of 1776, and to Michael Haydn on a MS. from Stift Admont (formerly Pfarrkirche Aussee, now Graz); or the Symphony III, 31, attributed to J. H. in Brussels, to Filtz in the Breitkopf catalogue of 1766, and to Dittersdorf in Stift Admont. When Eusebius Mandyczewski compiled the list of doubtful (Category IV) and spurious (Category III) Haydn symphonies in Series I, Volume 1 of the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe* (1907), he was able to include 36 in the former category and 38 in the latter. Larsen added nearly three dozen more and withheld a number of others. Without any effort one could point out at least one hundred symphonies which have been falsely attributed to Haydn.

<sup>4</sup> Albert Gyrowetz, [*Selbst-Biographie. Lebensläufe deutscher Musiker...* (Einstein), Band III-IV, Leipzig, 1915; pp. 59 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Larsen [Jens Peter Larsen: *Die Haydn-Uberlieferung*, Copenhagen, 1939, hereinafter abbreviated by HUB], p. 115 thinks that the work in question is the Sieber edition of IV, 31 [*Joseph Haydn's Werke, Gesamtausgabe*, Series I, Vol. 1, Leipzig, 1907, Category IV (doubtful works), No. 31]. This symphony, although very closely patterned after Haydn's mature style, is without question spurious. It has been performed by Désiré Defauw and the Brussels Royal Conservatory Orchestra and recorded as authentic Haydn.

<sup>6</sup> A similar confusion exists in the Míča (Mitscha) family; a symphony in D, preserved in an old copy in Czecho-Slovakia as the work of 'Sig. Mitscha', was published in Prague in 1946 as the work of Franz (František) Wenselas (Václav) Míča (1694—1744), an assertion which is utterly fantastic, as a cursory glance at any of the three movements will show.

The composer must have been partly aware of this situation, for about 1765 he instructed his copyist, Joseph Elssler, to prepare a thematic catalogue of his (Haydn's) works, which is known as the *Entwurf-Katalog* (abbreviated hereinafter as EK).<sup>7</sup> It is a great pity that the first part of this tremendously valuable document appears to have been destroyed during Haydn's lifetime; the loss is particularly deplorable in view of the fact that the lost section seems to have consisted largely, if not entirely, of symphonies. When Haydn prepared the first (and a little later, the second) part of EK, he was still young and in full possession of his powers. In view of the unfortunate lapses of memory which characterized the latter part of his life, when he was engaged in the preparation of his final thematic catalogue, the first parts of EK are rendered all the more valuable.

In its original form, EK was prepared by Joseph Elssler, who made up thematic lists of Haydn's compositions by *genre* and allowed a reasonable space between each *genre* for possible future additions. This earliest portion of the catalogue appears to date from about 1765, and now consists of twenty-four pages. Elssler began the catalogue with a list of symphonies, the last of which appears at the top of page one; the missing works probably included most of the earlier symphonies and, as we shall see, various divertimenti and scherzandi, one of which (in A major) forms the last symphonic entry by Elssler. During the next years almost all of the subsequent entries were made by Haydn himself. Not only did he fill in all the empty staves on the right-hand side of the page; he also had to use the left-hand margin, which was blank, drawing in the staves as well as the themes. Of the first twenty-four pages, only the opening two contain symphonies (these are reproduced here as Plates II and III):

<i>Page</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Right</i>
1	Symphonies 45, 46, 65, 48, (46 crossed out), 47, 44, 52, 43, 42. [All the above by Haydn.]	Scherzando in A, Sym- phonies 27, 29, 31, 28, 35, 59, 38, 49, 58. [All except the first by Haydn.]

<sup>7</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 607, published in facsimile by Jens Peter Larsen in *Drei Haydn Kataloge*, Copenhagen, 1941 (abbreviated hereinafter as DKE). For a complete discussion of EK, see Larsen, HUB, pp. 209 ff. and DKE, pp. 129 ff.

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<i>Page</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Right</i>
2	Symphonies 39, 20, D major (lost; B&H GA Ser. I, Vol. 1; IV, 16). [All the above by Haydn.]	Overture (II, 10, I. movt.), Symphonies 26, 41. [All the above by Haydn.]

It will be observed that each of the entries made on the original (right-hand) side of page one, as well as all the symphonies on page two, bear a number in Haydn's handwriting, as follows: N. 20 (Scherzando in A); N. 12 (No. 27), N. 40 (No. 29), N. 41 (No. 31), [Nos.] 45—56 (Nos. 28, 35, 59, 38, 49, 58; Overture II, 10; Nos. 26, 41, 39, 20, and the lost D Major Symphony [GA Ser. I, IV, 16]). Speaking of this numbering, Larsen<sup>8</sup> says:

This numbering did not spring from anything like a subsequent arrangement [*Harmonisierung*] but, judging from the specimens of the handwriting, obviously originated together with the themes, at least from [Haydn's] No. 40 (Symphony No. 29) onward. This, of course, warrants a certain attention since it could be of importance in reckoning the number of symphonies composed before 1765 and not listed here. The number 56 should, in view of this, be decisive for the symphonies composed up to about 1770; *i. e.*, including [Symphony No.] 41. It would be a mistake, however, to use this as evidence that there might have been 15 unknown symphonies in this period. To the 41 must first be added Nos. 49, 58, and 59, as well as the Overture II, 10 and the lost Symphony IV, 16. Furthermore, we must, in view of the presence of the Scherzando in A, the last of six advertised by Breitkopf in 1765, assume that these six works, none of which is included in [EK's] list of the divertimenti, are all to be reckoned in the 56. Probably we must also add the Quartet [Opus I] No. 5, which is found in Göttsweig and other places as a symphony, also the Parthia [Partita] or Symphony in B flat major, No. 7 of the catalogue of symphonies in HV<sup>9</sup>, which is likewise to be found in Göttsweig under 'Symphonies and Partitas', not under 'Cassatio, Divertimento, and Quartets', and which is also listed in the symphonies of the Quartbuch<sup>10</sup>. Both of these works, too, are lacking in the divertimento catalogue of EK. And with this the 41 symphonies would have become 54 and the list of unrecorded symphonies of this period reduced to two.

It is even possible that the missing numbers were overtures (the three-movement Overture to *Acide* is entitled 'Sinfonia' on the autograph, and is put together with works of this *genre* in Göttsweig) or divertimenti. Even if, as Larsen thinks possible, the lost part of EK did not include all of the first 41 (*i. e.* 54) early works — and it must be remembered that No. 27 was apparently added afterwards by Haydn and planned for insertion among the very earliest symphonies,

<sup>8</sup> HUB, p. 220<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Haydn-Verzeichnis (Haydn catalogue), see below.

<sup>10</sup> A catalogue submitted to Haydn for correction. See p. 12.

which explains its low number (12) — it is still extremely doubtful if we may expect to discover more than one or two unknown symphonies amongst those composed before about 1770.

Subsequently, one of Haydn's copyists added another block of symphonies<sup>11</sup>, viz. Nos. 64, 42, 51, 55, 43, 54, 56, 57, 68, 9, 61, 66, 39, and 33, to which Haydn himself, slightly later, added Nos. 69, 67, 71, 63, 75, 53, 27, 12, 72, 34/II, 60, Overture II, 1; 70, 62, 74, 73, Overture II, 13; 78, 77, 76, and 81. This block entry (EK, pp. 25—28) constitutes the second part of the catalogue, as far as symphonies are concerned. The third part of EK, prepared much later, towards the end of the century, commences with what appears to be part of an identical copy, or perhaps first draft, of the so-called 'Kees catalogue' discussed below. The one page (two sides) which has been preserved is in the same handwriting and contains the same numerical order as the Kees catalogue. On the right-hand side the copyist entered the number of instruments for each work; Haydn added the tempi from memory and none of these agrees with those of the original sources (autographs, authentic parts). The works are Nos. 83, 87; the oratorio *The Seven Words*; 4, 37, 58; Overture II, 4; 89, 88, 91, 90, and 92. Attached to this copyist's entries are '12 grosse Sinfonien verfasst in England', in the composer's already aging handwriting, with the following themes: Nos. 99, 101, 97, 94, 95, 96, 100, Overture II, 3 ('M[usik] zur einer Englischen Opera 1994' [sic], 102, 103, *Sinfonia Concertante* in B flat (autograph 1792), 104, 94 (theme slightly different from above), 93, (Baryton Trio HV 64, [crossed out]); then a note by Haydn: 'Von drey alt[en] Sinfonien' Nos. 18 (slow movement), 2, 17, 34/II, 73, 19, 15, 32, 3, Overture II, 5 (to *Acide*), 36, 59, 54 (*Presto*), 33, 27.

This last section of EK, beginning with the entries by the Kees copyist, should not really be placed with the rest of the catalogue, since it obviously represents, together with the Kees catalogue and 'Quartbuch', a preliminary study for HV. This can be seen by the numerous duplications of works already found in the other two block entries of symphonies; viz. Nos. 27, 33, 34/II, 54 (*Presto*), 58, 59, and 73, as well as the Overture II, 5, originally listed on page 17 of EK as the beginning of the opera *Acide*. It is therefore to be assumed that the third portion of EK was not, at least directly, based upon either of the first two.

<sup>11</sup> See pp. 66 ff.

Taking into consideration all three parts of EK, we find that the following symphonies of Mandyczewski's list have been omitted: Nos. 1, 5—8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 21—25, 30, and 40, all of which are almost certainly to be dated 1765 or before; of those works composed after 1784, the following are lacking: Nos. 79, 80, 82, 84—86, and 98. Of the symphonies written between c. 1765 and 1784, only No. 50 (1773) is missing.

Up to this point, Haydn's autographs or authentic parts have deliberately not been taken into consideration. A complete list of these will be found at the beginning of Chapter II. It is enlightening, however, to combine the results of EK with the composer's own manuscripts. Of the symphonies missing in EK, several are preserved in authentic copies and/or Haydn's handwriting, viz. Nos. 7, 8, 13, 14, 21—24, 30, 40, 50, 79, 80, 82, 84—86, and 98, so that only Nos. 1, 5, 6, 10, 11, 16, and 25 are found neither in EK nor in authentic copies or holograph *MS*. It might be added that Griesinger's authentic biography<sup>12</sup> vouches for the authenticity of No. 1: 'As music director in the service of Count Morzin, Haydn composed his first symphony...' [Here the first two measures of the theme are engraved].

When Haydn was no longer able to compose, he busied himself with the preparation of an elaborate catalogue<sup>13</sup>, the actual writing of which he entrusted to his valet and copyist, Johann Elssler. Whereas EK, while known to the older generation of Haydn scholars, was treated as a sketch or draft of minor importance, this main catalogue of 1805 has generally been accepted as the basis for all questions of authenticity. Although prepared by Elssler, it has always been called the *Haydn-Verzeichnis* (Haydn catalogue) and abbreviated HV, which we adopt here, albeit with distinct reservations, as a concession to tradition. The original title is significant: 'Catalogue of all those compositions which I can approximately [*beyläufig*] recall having produced between my 18th and 73rd year.' This admission of *beyläufig* was recognized soon after the catalogue was in circulation, and in 1810 we find Härtel (of Breitkopf & Härtel) writing in the

<sup>12</sup> Georg August Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn*, Leipzig, 1810, p. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Original in the Esterházy archives, now National Museum, Budapest. A second copy, also by Johann Elssler, in the archives of Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig. For a complete discussion of HV, see Larsen, HUB (esp. pp. 251 ff.) and DKE.

appendix to Griesinger's *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn*<sup>14</sup> the following criticism of HV:

The catalogue of Haydn compositions, as listed on page 4, ... has been accepted, having come from Haydn himself, as definitive for the number as well as the authenticity of works to which Haydn's name is attached ... Haydn, in the great modesty of his character, and in view of the (in earlier years) complete lack of recognition of what his efforts meant to the world, never thought of making such a catalogue, or even possessing all his own works in their entirety. When the publisher of this biography attempted, in the year 1799, to put together a complete edition of all Haydn's works<sup>15</sup> and corresponded about this with the honoured man, it turned out that he was scarcely able to recall half of his production with any certainty, and, upon investigation of these works, was appalled by their number. In order to relieve him somewhat of his burden, the publisher put together a list of all the works by Haydn which were once a part of the publisher's collection, with the theme of each work included, and sent this to Father Haydn, who then underlined what he thought authentic, added the date of composition so far as he was able to do so, and crossed out those works falsely ascribed to him, adding the masses, baryton pieces and Scottish songs, which were lacking in the list. ... Accordingly, one will certainly find nothing therein which bears Haydn's name falsely; but just as certainly one cannot by any means find therein everything which should be; and while one must be astounded, as was everywhere the case, by the fertility of this creative genius as evidenced even by this catalogue, still one would be even more astounded were it possible to see everything which he brought into the world placed together — something which is patently no longer possible. For example, the publisher of this biography owns a not inconsiderable number of partly excellent compositions of various kinds composed by Haydn, which were first received after the said catalogue had already been drawn up, but which are, in view of internal and external evidence, quite certainly by Haydn...

Speaking of this quotation, Larsen says: 'Härtel's remarks allow themselves to be separated into three main points: (1) The Elssler catalogue was not worked out by Haydn, but only *revised* and *supplemented* by him. (2) The basis of the catalogue consists of the collection of themes which was sent to Haydn by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1799 in connection with the approaching publication of the *Oeuvres complètes*. (3) The catalogue includes only authentic works, but must not be regarded as complete.'

Only one statement in Härtel is directly erroneous; namely, that 'Haydn ... never thought of making such a catalogue'. Obviously the existence of EK and, as we shall see, other catalogues in Haydn's possession could not have been known to Härtel, but it was through these older sources that the composer was able to compile HV as

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 121 ff. Also Larsen, HUB, pp. 256 ff.

<sup>15</sup> The so-called *Oeuvres complètes*, for which Haydn wrote the preface, consisting of clavier sonatas, violin sonatas, clavier trios, songs, and — somewhat later — of masses and a few symphonies.

efficiently as he did. The incompleteness, however, concerns mostly those categories of compositions which Haydn thought less important than the symphonies, clavier sonatas, operas, masses, string quartets, and baryton trios. Of these it is unlikely that more than a few are missing in HV. Larsen, one of whose main concerns it was to refute the fabulous statements and 'Haydn renaissance' of Adolf Sandberger, devoted his attention to the symphonies, and was able to re-establish the basic reliability of the Mandyczewski list. He was also able to prove that HV left out very few of the string quartets, baryton music, and clavier sonatas; and Carl Maria Brand<sup>16</sup> could further establish that not a single mass is omitted. In the case of many other *genres*, however, in particular divertimenti, string trios, minor church music, cantatas, concerti, 'insertion arias' (not one of which is listed in HV) for use in the operas of other composers, and dance music, HV is often incomplete because of Haydn's poor memory, the lack of good sources and the composer's own deprecating attitude towards the pieces in question. Even leaving aside for the moment a group of works which recent scholarship believes authentic but for which we have no absolute proof (such as the Clavier Concerto in D Major, published in 1784 by Artaria), there is a disturbingly large number of pieces whose authenticity is assured by autographs or authentic parts but which is lacking in HV; some of these works are even listed in EK, such as the early *Te Deum* (copies in Melk, Göttweig, etc.), the Horn Trio (1767), two of the three organ concerti, and the Concerto in F for Violin, Cembalo, and Strings. Moreover, we have incontrovertible proof of authenticity for at least eight nocturni for the King of Naples, six concerti for two lyrae, thirty 'insertion arias'<sup>17</sup>, several marches and divertimenti, more than fifteen pieces of smaller church music<sup>18</sup>, a Horn Concerto in D (1762), fifty pieces of dance music, three large cantatas, and possibly a number of smaller operas (*Singspiele*). More problematical is the enormous quantity of divertimenti, string trios, and the like which exist in old MSS. but for which there is no further proof of Haydn's authorship.

<sup>16</sup> *Die Messen von Joseph Haydn*, Würzburg, 1941.

<sup>17</sup> A number of these is preserved in holograph MS. in the Esterházy archives; an even larger collection, formerly a part of the *Kaiserliche Sammlung* at Graz, is now in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; two scores by Johann and one by Joseph Elssler are in this collection, while a third is signed 'copista d'Artaria'. See p. 46.

<sup>18</sup> Important collection in the Stadtpfarrkirche, Eisenstadt, and in the Esterházy archives, Budapest. A good many of these pieces are arrangements from larger works, such as *Applausus*, *Philemon und Baucis*, etc.

It is to be hoped that the Complete Edition and the planned English edition of Larsen's *Haydn-Uberlieferung* will shed more light on these aspects of Haydn's creative activity.

Larsen's research into the antecedents of the symphonic catalogue in HV is undoubtedly the most valuable contribution to Haydniana since Pohl. Larsen was able to establish that HV was based upon (1) the third part of EK, drawn up by Haydn himself towards the end of the eighteenth century and (2) the so-called 'Kees catalogue', the latter having been actually discovered by Larsen in the Thurn und Taxis Library in Regensburg<sup>19</sup>. As this problem is admirably discussed in HUB in considerable detail, only a short summary of the results need be given here.

The 'Kees catalogue', as it is called, is entitled *Catalogo / Del Sinfonien / Del Giuseppe Haydn*. On the right-hand side of the title page, at the top, are the words 'Catalogue de Mr de Kees à Vienne' in another handwriting (see Plate IV). The relationship of von Kees to Haydn will be discussed in Chapter II. Suffice it to say here that the wealthy Viennese amateur was an ardent admirer of both Haydn and Mozart, collected the scores and parts of their music (his collection, which must have been very large, was sold by auction after his death in the seventeen-nineties; a large part of it is now in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, and a smaller part, including the catalogue, found its way to the Thurn und Taxis Library in Regensburg), and performed these compositions with a large orchestral force. The Kees catalogue includes ninety-four symphonies, overtures, and the instrumental version of the oratorio *The Seven Words*. The approximate date when this document was drawn up can be surmised by the last two entries, Symphonies 96 and 95, which are both marked 'NB von London gekommen'. This would place the catalogue approximately in the period of 1791-2. More important is the fact that, with the exception of two spurious works (in the catalogue No. 10, a symphony in C major, and No. 76, a symphony in G major<sup>20</sup>) Haydn took over the list exactly as it stands in the Kees catalogue and incorporated it wholly into HV, as even a cursory comparison of the two sources will show. In order to complete the list,

<sup>19</sup> Cat. J. Haydn 85, reproduced in its entirety in Larsen, DKE.

<sup>20</sup> The symphony is a work of Haydn's brother Michael. The author of the C major symphony, of which there is a copy in the Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection at Schloss Harburg, has not been discovered.



he used material from the third part of EK which, as we have seen, was partly in the same handwriting as Kees.

Kees includes all the Haydn symphonies in Mandyczewski's list from No. 1 to No. 92 except Nos. 2, 3, 15, 17-19, 25, 27, 32, 33, 36, 59, and 73 (the last movement, in the original version<sup>21</sup> as Prelude to Act III of *La Fedeltà Premiata*, is found in Kees as No. 61). It is certainly no accident that of these missing works all except No. 25 are found in the third part of EK. And the late (Salomon) symphonies, also missing in Kees, are carefully listed in the third part of EK, one work, No. 98, being omitted. It will be noticed that Haydn found it sufficient to combine Kees and the third part of EK to form HV, and that the much more valuable first part(s) of EK as well as the 'Quartbuch' were not used, at least directly.

HV, using the two main sources listed above, contains 118 themes. Eleven of these are overtures, one is the *Sinfonia Concertante*, one *The Seven Words*, and one the Symphony-Partita in B Flat (HV 7), this latter being taken from Kees, where it is also listed as No. 7. The following works are listed twice in HV: No. 34 (slow movement as HV 17, second movement as HV 91) and No. 54 (slow introduction as HV 32, succeeding *Presto* as HV 100)<sup>22</sup>. Of Mandyczewski's 104 symphonies, 102 are included, Nos. 25 and 98 being omitted. No. 98, for which we have an autograph and at least one set of authentic parts by Johann Elssler (Schloss Harburg), is, of course, authentic. No. 25 is found in the 'Quartbuch', as well as in copies in Göttweig and Melk, and there is adequate reason that this, the only such work, was accepted into Mandyczewski's list without absolute proof of its authenticity.

Summing up the importance of the symphonic catalogue in HV, Larsen<sup>23</sup> says:

With the exception of the two works, Symphonies [Nos.] 98 and 25, admitted by Mandyczewski into his list, of which the first is certainly and the second probably authentic, besides quite a small number of incomplete or no longer extant works or works lying on the border of symphonic territory — Berlin Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 12<sup>24</sup>; the Quartet-Symphony (Quartet HV [Opus 1] No. 5); GA IV, 16

<sup>21</sup> See p. 37.

<sup>22</sup> This error, like that of No. 34, is traceable to EK. However, the autograph of No. 54 (Esterházy archives) also begins with the *presto*, the opening slow introduction having been added later; the introduction is found in old parts in the Esterházy archives and in numerous old MSS. See Appendix I.

<sup>23</sup> HUB, pp. 269/70.

<sup>24</sup> See, however, p. 56.

[EK p. 2]; and, if one will, the "Parthia" in A<sup>25</sup> — the symphonic catalogue in HV contains all the authentic Haydn symphonies known to-day, and only these authentic symphonies, along with certain equally authentic overtures and works of the borderline category ... It must be regarded as an exception if a symphony which is found in none of these catalogues [*i. e.* HV, Kees, EK, 'Quartbuch', etc.] turns out to be a work of Haydn; and one dares to accept such a work only when there is weighty evidence based upon sources, or absolutely convincing stylistic proof.

During the preceding pages, reference has been frequently made to the so-called 'Quartbuch', a catalogue of works by various composers which was submitted by someone to Haydn for correction and is now in the Esterházy Archives. It was deliberately not discussed until now because, unless one knows all of the circumstances surrounding EK, Kees, and HV, the 'Quartbuch' is likely to be very confusing. As we have seen, Haydn's memory, especially in later years, was extremely unreliable; this fact is of considerable importance if the 'Quartbuch' is to be properly evaluated.

We have seen that HV was primarily based upon the Kees catalogue with the assistance of the third part of EK, which included all except one of the earlier symphonies (before 1770). One immediately asks the question, how did Haydn manage to recall the themes of these early symphonies? As we know, the original beginning of EK probably included a comprehensive list of the earlier symphonies; and although it is uncertain when these pages were lost, it appears that they were already missing when Haydn began to prepare the third part of EK; otherwise there would have been no need for him to use the Kees catalogue. It is therefore quite revealing to find that the 'Quartbuch' includes all except one of those early symphonies — even No. 25 — which are lacking in Kees; *viz.* Nos. 2, 3, 15, 17/19, 25, 27, 32, 36, 59. No. 33 is lacking in both Kees and the 'Quartbuch'<sup>26</sup>. There can be little doubt that the 'Quartbuch' was the source for those themes in the third part of EK which supplement Kees.

The 'Quartbuch', or 'kleine Quartbuch' (little folio book), as it is variously called, contains a relatively large number of Haydn compositions, along with works by many contemporary composers. Haydn looked through the catalogue<sup>27</sup> and made a number of superficial

<sup>25</sup> See, however, pp. 25 *f.*

<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, No. 33 is found in the *second* part of EK on p. 28.

<sup>27</sup> It is entitled: '2 Thematischer Cathalog [*sic*] verschiedener Composition von verschiedenen Meistern, 2 Bände'; on the first page of vol. 1 Haydn wrote: '94 Stück sind hierin angemerket von Jos. Haydn', and on the first page of vol. 2: 'Hierin sind 61 Sinfonien und 2 Divertimenti von Jos. Haydn.' The 'Quartbuch'

corrections, crossing out a number of themes falsely attributed to him (*inter alia* G. A. III, Nos. 22, 28, 35, 36). But Haydn's efforts to purge the 'Quartbuch' of spurious compositions were only very casual, or else his notably poor memory was unable to help him; for he neglected to cross out a number of doubtful and spurious symphonies. Some of these are by Michael Haydn<sup>28</sup>, and are listed as such in the valuable thematic catalogue by Perger<sup>29</sup>; one is variously attributed to Körzel (in the Göttweig catalogue) and Johann Michael Schmid (in Admont — the Breitkopf catalogue of 1774 ascribes the work to 'Gius. Schmidt', possibly another composer!); one (Appendix II, No. 32) is by Holzbauer. It will be seen, from these few examples, that Haydn's perusal of the 'Quartbuch' was hardly very thorough.

The 'Quartbuch' was the subject of a long controversy between Adolf Sandberger and Larsen<sup>30</sup>, most of which was the result of Sandberger's attempts to defend his untenable statement that he had discovered seventy-eight authentic symphonies not in the Mandy-czewski list. During this struggle, the problem of the 'Quartbuch' was raised. Sandberger attempted to show that this was a 'repertory catalogue' of the music formerly in the Esterházy archives, a theory which, for reasons that need not be discussed here, is completely groundless. Larsen maintained that it 'in all probability represented a catalogue of the music in Stift Melk about 1775'. Larsen's hypothesis is founded largely on the fact that the copyist of the 'Quartbuch', Johann Nep. Weigl, wrote sundry MSS. still in the monastery at Melk, including various works by Haydn, particularly duplicate string parts to symphonies — for example, No. 61<sup>31</sup>.

Of the Haydn symphonies listed in the 'Quartbuch', Melk now contains copies of Nos. 3, 5, 14 (twice), 16, 23, 25—27, 39, 43, 44, 48, 52, and 56—60. The 'Quartbuch' itself lacks, of the first 60 Haydn symphonies, Nos. 4, 6—8, 20, 33, 50, 51, and 53, of which Nos. 4, 51, and 53 are, however, present in Melk. If we assume that the 'Quart-

was destroyed in 1944 when the Esterházy Archives in Budapest were bombed, but we are fortunate in having a copy, preserved as 'suppl. mus. 9040' in the Vienna Nationalbibliothek.

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>29</sup> Lothar Herbert Perger, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Instrumentalwerke von Mich. Haydn*. Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich. XIV. Jahrgang, 2. Teil, Vienna, 1907.

<sup>30</sup> *Acta musicologica*, VII, pp. 111 ff.; VIII, 18 ff.; 149 ff. and *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters*, 1933; pp. 35 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Cat. IV, No. 82.

buch' was actually drawn up about 1775, the absence of No. 53<sup>32</sup> is explained, for the copy at present in Melk utilizes as its finale the Overture II, 7 which was composed, as the autograph informs us, in 1777. Moreover, the *MS.*<sup>33</sup> of No. 51 in Melk contains the version of the minuet with two trios — as against the Esterházy *MS.* with only one — and this, together with the general appearance of the *MS.*, points rather to the period c. 1780. On the other hand, the *MS.*<sup>34</sup> of No. 4, missing in the 'Quartbuch', appears to have been part of the original collection; and so, if the *MSS.* of Nos. 51 and 53 seem to confirm Larsen's theory, that of No. 4 certainly speaks against it. Still another fact renders Melk as a source for the 'Quartbuch' doubtful; namely, that not all the present *MSS.* at Melk are part of the original collection. A typical example is the *MS.*<sup>35</sup> of Symphony No. 27, present in the 'Quartbuch'; the Melk *MS.* was copied by the writer of the two duplicate violin parts to the authentic Oettingen-Wallerstein *MS.* of No. 92 in Schloss Harburg, about 1788. That this copyist was primarily active in the latter half, rather than the middle, of the eighteenth century is also attested by the watermarks of the *MS.*, which include the letters AM(MA), three half-moons of decreasing size, and a characteristic ornament which looks like a bell with a line drawn through it, the line culminating in an arrow. This type of paper was first used by Haydn in his autographs of about 1790 and is frequently encountered after that for many years; Mozart's autograph of the *Requiem* (K. 626) also contains these letters. It is therefore doubtful if we are dealing with a *MS.* which can be earlier than c. 1790. Not only is the *MS.* itself a late one; the title page shows us that Melk acquired it in 1847 from a certain Ignatius Zeppezauer. Another *MS.* in Melk, that of No. 63<sup>36</sup>, in the same handwriting as No. 27, seems to have been acquired about this time; it also bears the signature 'Zeppezauer m.p.'. A second copy of No. 63<sup>36</sup>, undoubtedly that belonging to the original collection, is inscribed 'C[hor]o] M[elk] 1780'.

Larsen assumed that, as was the case in so many Austrian monasteries, the musical archives at Melk had been very poorly kept, thus

<sup>32</sup> Cat. IV, No. 83.

<sup>33</sup> Cat. IV, No. 92.

<sup>34</sup> Cat. IV, No. 48.

<sup>35</sup> Cat. IV, No. 344.

<sup>36</sup> Both copies of No. 63 are incorporated in cat. IV, No. 77.

allowing many *MSS.* to disappear or be permanently mislaid. Although this has certainly been the case with Göttweig and is probably true of St. Florian as well, it is somewhat less certain in the case of Melk or, for that matter, Kremsmünster. Both these archives have always been kept in some kind of order, and the catalogue drawn up in Melk in 1821 does not contain any Haydn works which have since disappeared; on the contrary, some were added after that date, as we have seen. This means that of Haydn's symphonies composed before about 1775 which were supposed, according to Larsen's theory, to have been present at one time in the Melk archives (not to speak of later works), some thirty odd<sup>37</sup> must have disappeared between 1775 and 1820. This hypothesis is a little difficult to believe, allowing even for chaotic conditions in the Napoleonic period and the inefficiency which still characterizes the Austrians' attitude towards their old musical *MSS.* Perhaps one day the real origin of the 'Quartbuch' will be discovered. Until such time, Sandberger's theory that it represented the *MSS.* in the Esterházy archives must be completely discounted and Larsen's may be accepted only with the reservations shown above.

Mandyczewski's list of spurious (Category III) and doubtful (Category IV) works was enlarged in DKE by Larsen who, in addition, added more information regarding the sources of certain works in the original Mandyczewski catalogue. This information, together with new material discovered by this writer, is presented in Appendix II.

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As an examination of EK or HV shows, it is necessary to separate the two terms 'overture' and 'symphony', a division which Haydn thought necessary but which he was inclined to overlook when preparing his thematic catalogues. As is commonly known, composers in the first part of the eighteenth century called a prelude to an opera 'Sinfonia', which term was also later applied to real 'symphonies', these having gradually outgrown their original function as curtain-raisers to operatic productions. Haydn, in a letter to his publishers Artaria of October 20, 1782<sup>38</sup>, requests that they should 'use the title Overture instead of Sinfonie' for the six overtures to various

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<sup>37</sup> Not to speak of various compositions of other kinds, such as divertimenti, as well as over a hundred symphonies by other composers, listed in the 'Quartbuch' and lacking in Melk.

<sup>38</sup> Artaria-Botstiber, p. 25.

operas (or other pieces) which Artaria was about to bring out. Despite Haydn's wishes, the print was entitled 'Sei Sinfonie a gran orchestre opera XXXV'.

Of the sixteen overtures in Mandyczewski's list, several may be dismissed. II, 9 ('Music to King Lear') is listed in the collection at Schwerin under the name of W. Stegmann; in the Esterházy archives the piece is found under 'Uncertain authors'; while the score of some of the movements in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (Vienna) by Johann Elssler<sup>39</sup> on 'small post paper', as it is described in a letter<sup>40</sup> from Haydn to Marianna von Genzinger, mentions no composer. This latter is almost overwhelming evidence; for if anyone knew whether Haydn had composed this music it was Elssler, and his omission of his master's name makes it almost certain that the whole suite is spurious. The musical thought, as such, while most attractive and often thoroughly dramatic, is certainly not by Haydn, though it is possible that he undertook to re-orchestrate the work: the three main versions listed above differ considerably from each other in this respect. II, 11, supposedly the Overture to *La Fedeltà Premiata*, is actually the beginning of the first number of the opera itself, as an examination of the composer's autograph shows. II, 12, listed as the Overture to *Il Mondo della Luna* is in fact the prelude to Act III of that opera; this is vouched for in the (authentic?) MS. at the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, as well as in various other old MSS.

The authenticity of all the others except II, 4 and II, 8 is assured by autographs or authentic copies and the Artaria Op. XXXV. II, 4 appeared about 1786<sup>41</sup> in an apparently authentic first edition, was included in the Kees catalogue (No. 87) and, more important, in the third part of EK, where Haydn wrote the erroneous tempo marking *Adagio* under it, this being corrected to *Allo* in HV (No. 85). An examination of the work leaves no room for doubt that it is in fact authentic.

With II, 8, the Overture to *Philemon und Baucis*, we are also without any doubt dealing with an authentic work by Haydn. Pohl knew the overture, which he found in the 'Frankfurt Collection', and a copy of this MS. is now in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde. The

<sup>39</sup> HUB, pp. 271-2. The author wishes to thank Prof. Larsen for having drawn his attention to this copy.

<sup>40</sup> Dated London, January 8, 1791.

<sup>41</sup> Larsen, HUB, p. 110, esp. footnote 32.

# SINFONIE.

I. Sinf. di ASPLMAYR, a2 Clar. Tym. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.

II. Sinfonie di CARLO DITTERS.  
I. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B. II. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.

I. Sinf. di GIOV. ADOLF HASSE, dell'Opera Piccola e Turke.  
a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B.

IV. Sinfonie di GIUSEPPE HAYDEN.  
I. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B. II. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B.

III. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B. IV. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B.

VI. Sinfonie di FREDERICO HENNIG.  
I. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B. II. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B.

III. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B. IV. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B.

V. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B. VI. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B.

III. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B. IV. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B.

V. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B. VI. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B.

# SINFONIE.

II. Sinfonie di G. A. HILLER.  
I. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B. II. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.

I. Sinfonie di KOEHLICH. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B.

III. Sinfonie di GIUSEPPE MISLEWECEK, a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.

I. Sinf. di GIO. AMAD. NAUMANN. I. Sinf. di CARLO D'ORDONEZ.  
a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B. II. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.

III. Sinfonie di WENZESLAW PICHTEL.  
I. Terpiche, a2 Cor. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B. II. Euterpe, a2 Cor. 2 Flaut. Trac. 2 Viol. V. e B.

III. Sinfonie di GIUSEPPE TOESCHL.  
I. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B. II. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.

III. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B. IV. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.

V. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B. VI. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.

III. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B. IV. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.

V. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B. VI. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.

III. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B. IV. a2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.

I Two pages from the Breitkopf catalogue of 1769. On the left-hand page are four Haydn Symphonies: Nos. 24, 36, 38 and 27.









*Le Matin, a più Strumenti Concertanti*  
*Le Midi, a più Strumenti Concertanti*  
*Le Soir, a più Strumenti Concertanti*  
*Sinfonia, con Flauti, Oboe, e Corni*  
*Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni*  
*Deto*  
*Deto*  
*Partita con Oboe, Corni*  
*Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni*  
*Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni*

IV The so-called Kees  
 catalogue of Haydn's Sym-  
 phonies, page two. Library  
 of Prince Thurn und Taxis,  
 Regensburg.

work is listed, like all the marionette operas, in both EK and HV without any theme; but the original libretto is extant. In 1950, Larsen discovered, in Paris, a copy of the complete score by Viennese copyists (the paper and watermarks are Italian) which agrees with the original libretto except in the last section, where praise of the Hapsburg dynasty is found in the libretto, undoubtedly to honour the Empress Maria Theresia when she visited Esterháza in 1773 and heard a performance of the work. This section is omitted in the Paris MS., which substitutes a copy of Gluck's ballet music to *Paride ed Helena* (1769). The overture, whose two movements agree with Pohl's Frankfurt copy, fits not only dramatically but also tonally with the opening D minor number of the opera (*Cortine auf Donnerwetter*). A comparison of the overture with the fiery symphonies in minor tonality of the year 1772 shows that we are dealing with one of Haydn's very finest pieces in the form. The second movement, in F major, is less attractive but also typical of the period; it has a certain stylistic resemblance to the second movement of Symphony No. 55 (1774).

The prelude to Act III<sup>42</sup> of *La Fedeltà Premiata*, which later formed the finale of Symphony No. 73, cannot properly be considered an overture in the same sense as the others; together with II, 12 (prelude to Act III of *Il Mondo della Luna*) and a large number of miscellaneous orchestral pieces from *Philemon und Baucis*, *L'Incontro Improvviso*, *Il Mondo della Luna*, *Orlando*, *Armida* and *Orfeo* — to name only those works with important orchestral pieces — they must be placed in another category which one might describe as 'incidental music in Haydn's dramatic works'. There are strong internal grounds for placing II, 4 in this *genre*; it has the character of a closing rather than an opening movement and may have served originally as a prelude to the final act of some opera which Haydn conducted in Esterháza.

If we turn to the operas<sup>43</sup> themselves, it will be seen that, especially for the earlier ones, very few overtures are extant. It appears that Haydn often physically removed them from the main body of the scores. Thus, the overtures to *Acide* and *Il Mondo della Luna*,

<sup>42</sup> Not to be confused with II, 11, the supposed Overture to Act I. See above.

<sup>43</sup> Many of them are preserved in Haydn's holograph MSS. in the Esterházy archives; another valuable collection is the — apparently authentic — series of copies in the Nationalbibliothek at Vienna. See Analytical Notes to Haydn's *Orfeo ed Euridice*, Boston, 1951, esp. catalogue.

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both preserved in autograph, are not with the rest of the operas. It seems likely that the engravers' copy of the 'Sei Sinfonie' of Artaria was procured by removing the appropriate overtures from their respective operas, which may explain why the autographs of the operas so seldom contain their overtures. It would be worth while, on the basis of style and tonality, *etc.*, to attempt to provide the earlier operas with their rightful overtures, some of which must certainly be a part of Artaria's Op. XXXV.

A list of the extant operas and their relationship, where ascertainable, to the overtures is as follows:

<i>Opera</i>	<i>Overture</i>	<i>References</i> <sup>44</sup>
Der Krumme Teufel (1751?)	entire music lost	Dies <sup>45</sup> , Griesinger.
Der Neue Krumme Teufel (1758?)	entire music lost	Dies, Griesinger.
Acide e Galatea (Acide) (1762)	II, 5	EK; Aut. of II, 5 (PCons.).
La Marchesa di Napoli (1762)	only fragment of opera extant (no overture preserved)	Aut. (EH)
La Vedova Il Dottore Il Sganarello } (1762)	entire music lost	EK
La Canterina (1766)	no overture	Aut. (EH)
Lo Speciale (1768)	no overture	Aut. (EH)
Le Pescatrici (1769)	no overture	Aut. fragment (EH)
L'Infedeltà Delusa (1773)	no overture	Aut. (EH)
Philemon und Baucis (Part I) (1773?)	only fragments of opera extant (no overture preserved)	Libretto; Aut. fragment (Bst).
Philemon und Baucis (Part II) (1773?)	II, 8	PCons.; Libretto (VSt); GdM.
Alceste, marionette opera (1773?) (Haydn?)	entire music lost	Letter from Count Morzin (Sándor-Wolf-Museum, Eisenstadt); 'Beschreibung des Schlosses Esterházy' (1784), p. 39.
Herebschabbas, marionette opera (1773)	entire music lost	Dies, p. 217.

<sup>44</sup> The sources given here are selected with a view to showing any possible relationship between the overtures and the operas. Works such as *Die Feuersbrunst* (played by the Wahr players at Esterháza in 1776), for which Haydn is supposed to have used Symphony No. 59 as incidental music, are — since they cannot properly be classed as operas — not considered here. The same applies to *Der Zerstreute*: see p. 349 ff.

<sup>45</sup> Albert Christian Dies, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn*, Vienna, 1810.

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Opera	Overture	References
L'Incontro Improvviso (1775)	possibly II, 6 <sup>46</sup>	see footnote; Aut. (Leningrad); VNat.
La Vera Constanza (1776?)	II, 15	Aut. (PCons.); VNat; Bst.
Dido (Didone Abbandonata) (1777?) (1778?)	entire music lost	EK; HV; Dies p. 217: 1778.
Genoveva (Genovevens vierter Theil) (1777)	entire music lost	HV; Dies, p. 217.
Die Bestrafte Rachgier (or, Das abgebrannte Haus) (?)	entire music lost	EK; HV; Dies, p. 217.
Il Mondo della Luna (1777)	Lacking in GA II (should be Sym. 63/I)	Aut. fragment (EH); VNat (authentic copy?).
L'Isola Disabitata (1779)	II, 13	Kees No. 62; Joh. Elssler (Bst); auth. copy (Library of Congress, Washington), etc.
La Fedeltà Premiata (1780)	no overture to Act I extant	Aut. (EH, Bst)
Orlando Paladino (1782)	II, 16	Aut. (BM); copy (EH), etc.
Armida (1784)	II, 14	Aut. (Royal College of Music, London); Joh. Elssler (GdM); Bst; VNat.
L'Anima del Filosofo (Orfeo ed Euridice) (1791)	(II, 3?) <sup>47</sup>	Aut. copy (Bst); but on basis of Haydn's diary, EK ('Music for an English opera 1[7] 94'), cat. of works written in England (Dies, Griesinger): probably Overture to J. P. Salomon's 'Windsor Castle', 1794.

The overtures to the oratorios are sufficiently well known not to require a detailed listing of their respective sources.

Having established the number and, as far as was possible, the place of the overtures in relation to the operas, it is now necessary to effect the differentiation between 'overture' and 'symphony'. Where we find works consisting of one movement, which may exist as a se-

<sup>46</sup> There is a possibility that II, 6 belongs to this opera; apart from the obvious fact that the tonality of D major is the correct one, the presence of extra percussion ('Tambur Cinelli') automatically narrows the search to this opera, the only one which contains supplementary percussion besides timpani. Furthermore, the extant fragment of the autograph of II, 6 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 7) contains watermarks which indicate that the work is to be placed in the years 1774/75; see Larsen, HUB, p. 166. The autograph was formerly in EH, but was lent to someone in 1858: Prof. Larsen discovered the MS. intact in Leningrad (1954).

<sup>47</sup> For my reasons for believing that this overture belongs not to *Orfeo* but to Salomon's *Windsor Castle*, see preface to my edition of the work (Haydn-Mozart Presse, Salzburg, 1953), also Analytical Notes to *Orfeo ed Euridice*, esp. p. 8 and footnote 3.

parate entity or contain a modulation to the actual beginning of the opera, we may without difficulty regard them as true overtures. Such are II, 2, II, 3, II, 4 (see, however, page 17), II, 7 (despite Larsen's assertion to the contrary<sup>48</sup>), II, 16 and those to *Il Mondo* and the oratorios. The Overture II, 8 contains two movements, the first modulating into the second (D minor to F major), and cannot be played as a self-sufficient piece. II, 13, II, 14, and II, 15 are made up of several short pieces, many of which are dependent upon each other; as an example, II, 13 in G minor (to *L'Isola Disabitata*) will serve: the opening *Largo* introduction leads, through a sustained series of dominant (V) chords, to a quick movement, while this, in turn, also ends on the dominant in preparation for a sort of stately gavotte (G major, *Allegretto*); and even this movement turns gracefully from G major to G minor, ending on the same sombre V chord, after which a minute recapitulation of the quick movement concludes the work. II, 15 and II, 16 (using material from their respective operas) are equally close-knit. As our cursory examination shows, this type of overture is far removed from the symphonic form as practised by Haydn.

The earlier the overture, however, the more difficult becomes the problem<sup>49</sup>. Even if we avoid the question by following Haydn's own wishes in applying the term 'overture' to II, 1, II, 6 and II, 10 (three of the six works in Artaria's Op. XXXV, the others being characterized as overtures on other grounds), we must still reconcile the fact that these works generally consist of three movements (fast, slow, fast) and can be played as real entities, while the others, discussed above, are intimately connected with the dramatic piece which was to follow and contain certain formal elements which remove them from the sphere of the symphony. Whereas the first movement of Haydn's Overture to *Philemon und Baucis* is, like that to Mozart's

<sup>48</sup> HUB, pp. 270 and 272. The autograph (Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 20) shows that, following a double bar drawn in later by Haydn with the word 'Fine', the music modulated to the dominant of C major. Haydn used this movement as a second version of the finale of Symphony No. 53. By slightly altering the main theme he was able to use it again as No. 62/I. In its original form, however, the piece never formed part of a 'three- (four-) movement' (Larsen) work. See also Complete Edition, Series I, Vol. 5, pp. 320 ff.

<sup>49</sup> In 1768, Haydn suggested that the first movement of 'any symphony' be played as a prelude to his cantata *Applausus* (autograph, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde); this is quite characteristic of his attitude in this period towards the function of the overture.

*Nozze di Figaro*, constructed in abridged sonata form, the earlier works are closely patterned after their symphonic prototypes, and it is only in the character of II,1, II,6, and II,10 that we are able to guess that they are not real symphonies. Their finales, however, differ from those of the symphonies to which they might be compared in other respects, being much shorter, and often using material already expounded in the first movement.

It is with II,5, the Overture to *Acide*, the earliest of all these, that we reach the point where there is no difference between the symphony and overture forms. It is therefore not surprising that we find the work in the monasteries of Göttweig and St. Florian together with other early symphonies, and without any mark of distinction separating it from its symphonic companions. There is little difference between II,5 and Symphony No. 9, which varies from II,5 only in its choice of a minuet as finale — the usual form of the operatic overture in Italy in the seventeen-thirties and -forties. Otherwise, there is the same style, treatment of form, and orchestration in both these early Haydn works<sup>50</sup>. If we did not know that II,5 belonged to *Acide*, we should undoubtedly place it in the list of early symphonies; and if we were to find that Symphony No. 9 was actually the Overture to *La Marchesa di Napoli*, composed during the same year, we should not hesitate to remove it from its place in Haydn's symphonic heritage<sup>51</sup>.

In order that some clarity may be obtained in this field, a suggested chronological list of the overtures is herewith given:

Chron. No.	B. & H. No.	Reason for Chronological Position
1	II, 5	Autograph 1762
2	II, 10	(c. 1766-9) EK p. 2.
3	II, 1	(c. 1769-73) undated fragment of Autograph (watermarks suggest this date; see Larsen HUB, p. 166).
4	II, 8	(1773?) Overture to Opera 'Philemon und Baucis', first performed 1773.
5	II, 2	1774-5 Overture to Oratorio 'Il Ritorno di Tobia'
6	II, 6	(c. 1775) perhaps belonging to 'L'Incontro Improvviso' (Autograph: 1775). See p. 19.
7	II, 15	(1776?) 'La Vera Costanza'
8	—	Overture to Opera 'Il Mondo della Luna' (Symphony 63/I) Autograph 1777.

<sup>50</sup> II, 5 is dated 1762 on the autograph; the now lost autograph of No. 9 bore the same date, according to Alois Fuchs who saw the MS. at the office of Artaria in Vienna.

<sup>51</sup> See also p. 225.

### Authenticity & Terminology

<i>Chron. No.</i>	<i>B. &amp; H. No.</i>	<i>Reason for Chronological Position</i>
9	II, 7	Autograph 1777
10	II, 13	Autograph 1779
11	II, 16	Autograph 1782
12	II, 14	Autograph 1784
13	—	Overture to Oratorio 'The Seven Words', Autograph 1785
13 a	II, 4	First (possibly authentic) print by Hoffmeister, Vienna, c. 1786: work may have been written earlier, and may not be an overture in strict sense.
14	II, 3	1791 ? 1794 ? Autograph, Haydn's diary (1794), EK. See p. 19.
15	—	Overture to Oratorio 'The Creation', 1798.
16	—	Overture to Oratorio 'The Seasons', 1801.

(Nos. 8 and 9 were arranged on the basis of tonality.)

While the separation of the overtures from the symphonies does not constitute a serious or insoluble problem, excepting the very earliest works, there is another question which is far more difficult, if not impossible, to answer: how shall the class of works called 'divertimenti' (for lack of a better title) be separated from the earliest symphonies? In attempting to effect a working solution to this problem, one should bear in mind that it is always possible to achieve some kind of division if one consents to lay down arbitrary or stringent rules, such as: a symphony must have the normal order and number of movements (fast, slow, [minuet], finale), must be scored *inter alia* for strings (*i. e.*, not for winds alone), and must adopt a serious language, as compared with the lighter divertimenti, cassations, *etc.* Unfortunately, Haydn's real symphonies — that is, those listed and accepted as such by Mandyczewski — violate all the rules which even the most careful analysis might attempt to establish. In the order and number of movements, in the character of the music, even in the orchestration, one often finds Haydn symphonies which depart from what can be described as the 'normal' course of the eighteenth-century symphony. The problem is only confused by the sources, which frequently call Haydn's symphonies *notturmi*, *scherzandi*, *partitas*, *divertimenti*, *concertini*, *cassations*, *concertanti*, and *New Grand Overtures*; while works really belonging to these categories equally often appear as symphonies. In the normal course of such investigations, one would automatically turn to the composer himself in order to seek clarification; for the composer's own terminology should be followed if it is at all feasible to do so. Where the terms employed by the composer are in themselves illogical or self-contradictory, we must attempt



to regroup his compositions without violating his own expressed wishes. It is possible to learn something of Haydn's use of this complicated eighteenth-century terminology by referring to EK. That Haydn did not apply his titles as indiscriminately as the usual contemporary sources can be seen from the first entries of the string quartets. Joseph Elssler originally entitled each one of these 'Cassatio'<sup>52</sup>, which Haydn in every case later crossed out, substituting the word 'Divertimento' (or 'Divert'). The explanation of this is probably very simple: Haydn realized that there was no difference between 'divertimento' and 'cassatio' and wanted to standardize the term for the *genre*, which, as will be observed, he used in the broadest sense.

EK uses 'divertimento' for string quartets ('à quattro' or 'à 4<sup>tro</sup>'), string trios ('à tre'), baryton solos, duos, and trios ('per il Pariton [*sic*] Solo'), clavier sonatas ('per il Cembalo Solo'), small, concerto-like works with clavier ('per il Cembalo con Pariton e 2 Violini', 'per il Cembalo con 2 Violini e Basso', 'per il Cembalo col Violino [,] 2 Corni e Basso', *etc.*), and for the small orchestral pieces with which the term is usually associated. These latter were originally entitled simply 'Ex G' or 'Ex E mol', but Haydn later added the number of parts ('a 9<sup>ve</sup> Stromenti', 'a Sei con 2 flauti', *etc.*) in order to render their subsequent identification easier. If we examine the composer's autographs, we see that 'divertimento' was even used for certain categories of works found under other titles in EK, *e. g.* the 'Trio per il Corno da Caccia' (EK), 'Sonata per il Cembalo col Violino e Violoncello' (*i. e.* Clavier Trio — HV's entry is in French), 'Feld Parthie' (EK), *etc.* Even a short piece for clavier, such as the famous 'Andante con variazioni' in F minor is entitled 'Divertimento' in Haydn's holograph *MS*.

The separation of most of these works placed together by Haydn in the 'divertimento' category into their respective fields is not difficult: we can establish generic titles for string quartets, string trios, clavier sonatas, the various works for baryton, smaller clavier pieces, *etc.* The difficulties arise in the exact difference between symphonies and divertimenti for chamber orchestra.

Within the *genre* of divertimenti for chamber orchestra the autographs and EK are quite informative, and as far as the sources are

<sup>52</sup> Most of the earliest sources for the quartets (Breitkopf catalogue, the Kremsmünster *MS*. of 1762 and other, early *MSS.* in the Austrian and German collections) use the term 'cassatio' until about 1770, after which 'divertimento' was usually applied.

preserved they shed some light on the problem of terminology. The autographs of eight extant works for the King of Naples (1790) are entitled 'Notturmi' by Haydn. Otherwise no authentic documents ever used this particular term. Certain of the divertimenti for winds appear under the title of 'Feld Parthie' in EK, but this is really more of a subtitle. Every other work in this general category is entitled simply 'divertimento', both in EK and HV.

The problematic compositions are (1) six works for one flute, two oboes, two horns, two violins, and bass (*i. e.* with bassoon, violoncello, and harpsichord) listed in the Breitkopf catalogue of 1765 as 'Scherzandi' but often called 'divertimenti' or 'symphonies' in old MSS. EK, as we have seen, lists the sixth, in A major, under the title 'Sinfonia Ex A'. In other words, Haydn seems to have placed this, and probably the other five, in the group of symphonies.

(2) A work in B flat major for two oboes, one bassoon, two horns, and strings, listed in the Göttweig catalogue and preserved in a Göttweig MS. of 1765 under the title 'Parthia'. This piece is, however, included as a symphony in the 'Quarzbuch', in the Kees catalogue (No. 7), and was accepted in HV's symphonic catalogue as No. 7.

(3) A work in A major for two oboes, two horns, and strings, found in a Göttweig MS. as 'Parthia'. In the 'Quarzbuch' it is listed as a symphony, and Haydn did not correct either the title or the authorship.

(4) The original version of the Quartet in B flat, Opus I/5, as a symphony with two oboes and two horns added. As such it exists in the Göttweig catalogue (1762), in an old MS. (1767) in St. Florian, and in a MS. at Stockholm.

Although only one of the six works in (1), the Scherzando in A, is provided with absolute proof of Haydn's authenticity, we are assuming that they are all authentic; our belief is based primarily upon the old sources and is reinforced by an examination of the pieces themselves.

A short summary of the internal criteria is perhaps in order here. The six 'Scherzandi' were obviously composed as a series, for each work has the identical outward form (*viz.*, fast, minuet, slow, fast) and orchestration as listed above, with the flute used only in the trio of the minuet in every work. That all six works belong together and are the work of one composer seems beyond doubt; and that we are dealing with the music of Joseph Haydn is also quite certain. As the analyses in Chapter VI attempt to show, the 'Scherzandi'

are predecessors of the earliest symphonies and can be best described as 'little symphonies'. The outward form adhered to in every one of the six works shows its relationship to the divertimento; on the other hand, however, it does not always make use of that type of orchestration. By omitting the second minuet of the typical divertimento and through the deliberate use of symphonic scoring, as opposed to the usual *concertante*, loose grouping of the instruments in the early divertimenti, Haydn creates a form which is really neither a symphony nor a divertimento. Two facts, however, speak for the inclusion of these six works in the divertimento category: (1) that Haydn did not include them in HV's symphonic catalogue, and (2) the miniature quality of the movements themselves, which are so tiny that one could hardly imagine their being part of even the earliest and most primitive Haydn symphony. The finale of the E major piece consists of sixteen measures! The stylized use of the flute, which, as we have seen, appears only in the trios, is also more characteristic of works in the divertimento form. Although it would not be entirely wrong to place these 'Scherzandi' among the earliest symphonies, it was considered preferable to regard them as hybrid specimens basically adhering to the divertimento form.

The Symphony in B flat entered in HV as No. 7 was, as we have seen, entitled 'Parthia'<sup>53</sup> in Göttweig. (It must be pointed out that the Austrian monasteries often called the early Haydn symphonies by other names; thus, No. 5 in Kremsmünster is termed 'Notturmo' and even No. 43 is generally entitled 'Divertimento' in most of the old Austrian MSS.) The work has the following order of movements: fast, minuet, slow, fast. This in itself is not overwhelming evidence that we are dealing with a divertimento; for Symphonies No. 32, 44<sup>54</sup> and possibly No. 37 also have this particular arrangement. Otherwise the length and orchestration of the music is in accordance with the Haydn symphonies before or about 1761; for a discussion of the work itself, see Chapter VI.

Both the Symphony in A and the Symphony-Quartet in B flat are true symphonic works without any problems of order. The first of these, though not unlike Haydn's symphonies of c. 1763/1764, is found

<sup>53</sup> In Göttweig, 'Parthien' are grouped together with symphonies, not with the divertimenti (cassations, notturmi, etc.).

<sup>54</sup> In the *Gesamtausgabe*, Series I, Vol. 4 this symphony was printed in the wrong order. See Appendix I.

in the Sigmaringen catalogue<sup>55</sup> of 1766 as 'Symph. in A. a 2 VV [violins] / 2 Corni viola 2 oboe / e Basso' by Ordoñez<sup>56</sup>, thus rendering Haydn's authorship somewhat doubtful; while that in B flat major, consisting of three movements without minuet, was considered one of the earliest Haydn symphonies and accordingly placed in Chapter VI.

If a shadow of doubt might also be cast, judging from inner criteria, on the authenticity of HV 7, there is little question that the other B flat symphony is genuine Haydn. It may be that the primitive, almost totally impersonal character of some of the movements of HV 7 account for the faint belief that we are dealing with an apocryphal composition. Only in the minuet is there a real breath of Haydn's style. Until more information comes to light, we may, however, safely regard it as genuine.

<sup>55</sup> CATALOGUS / Über die / Sämtliche Musikalische Werck, / und derselben Authora, nach Al- / phabetischer Ordnung; welche von Ihro Hochfürst: Durchlaucht / dem Durchlauchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Carl Friedrich Erbprinzen / zu Hohenzollern [etc.] consignitt von mir dem / Expeditions Rath, und / Music: Directore / Schindele / a<sup>o</sup>: 1766. I am much indebted to Dr. Ernst Fritz Schmid of Augsburg for drawing my attention to this important document.

<sup>56</sup> Carlos d' (Karl von) Ordoñez (also: Ordonnez, Ordonitz) (1734-1786) was active in Vienna in the second half of the eighteenth century. He is reported to have played violin in the *Kaiserliche Hofcapelle* after 1766, and from 1770 to 1780 he was violinist in the *Viennese Tonkünstler-Societät*, for which Haydn composed his oratorio *Il Ritorno di Tobia*. Six string quartets by Ordoñez were printed as Opus 1 in Lyon, and Gerber (Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, Leipzig, 1790, Vol. I, p. 45) reports that they were received 'not without success'; a number of his works exists in MS. in Austrian collections. Several other pieces by Ordoñez were erroneously attributed to Haydn, whose style was, especially in earlier years, very similar to that of the Spanish composer.

## CHAPTER II

### THE SOURCES

Not only is there no collected edition of Haydn's music but there is also no catalogue of Haydn sources, although it is to be hoped that both of these lamentable gaps will be filled in the not too distant future. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the sources for the symphonies be examined in some detail here. As a mere listing of the enormous quantity of MSS. and printed editions of the Haydn symphonies can give the reader no idea whatever of their relative value, it will be the purpose of this chapter not only to present the available material but also to attempt some kind of critical evaluation of it.

Obviously the primary sources are the composer's autographs, but, as will be seen, these are comparatively few in number and begin to appear in quantity only during the last twenty odd symphonies. The following are preserved to-day<sup>1</sup>:

<i>Work</i>	<i>Location of Autograph</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Location of Autograph</i>
7	EH	50	Bst
(9	formerly Artaria <sup>2</sup> )	54	EH
13	EH	55	Bst
21	EH	56	Bst
22	EH	57	EH
23	EH	61	EH
24	EH	63	EH 1st Movt (fragment).
28	Bst (minus finale).	73	Bst (incomplete).
29	EH	82	PCons.
30	EH	83	PNat.
31	EH	84	Wildeg (Aargau, Switzerland).
35	EH	85	Bst (fragment).
40	Meyerstein, London (now BM).	86	PNat.
42	EH	—	Bst (fragment).
45	EH	87	PNat.
46	EH	89	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
47	EH		
49	Stockholm	90	Washington

<sup>1</sup> The fragment of a C major symphony, Bst Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 12, is discussed elsewhere; see p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> This autograph was noted by A. Fuchs in his catalogue as being in possession of Artaria; it has long since disappeared: see HUB, p. 45 and C. F. Pohl, *Joseph Haydn* (Vols. I and II, Leipzig, 1875—1882, here referred to as 'Pohl I' and 'Pohl II'), Vol. I, p. 230.

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<i>Work</i>	<i>Location of Autograph</i>	<i>Work</i>	<i>Location of Autograph</i>
91	New York (private possession).	99	Bst
(93	Braunschweig <sup>3</sup> )	100	EH (minus 2nd movt.)
94	Bst and Washington.	101	Bst
95	BM	102	Bst
96	BM	103	BM
97	<sup>4</sup>	104	Bst
98	Bst		

Of almost equal value are the authentic copies, *i. e.* manuscripts made either directly under the composer's supervision or by copyists whom we know to have been attached to Haydn in one way or another. The primary collection of such authentic copies is, of course, that in the Esterházy archives. More than two dozen handwritings are found in the Esterházy *MSS.* of Haydn's symphonies, most of which were probably copied by musicians in the orchestra there<sup>5</sup>. These copyists assume an additional importance for us only should their handwritings appear on a piece of Haydn's music outside the Esterházy circle, as in the case of the Oettingen-Wallerstein *MSS.* of Nos. 90—92; the authenticity of these *MSS.*, however, is vouched for by the presence of numerous corrections and additions in Haydn's own handwriting. It is significant that with the exception of these three all the authentic *MSS.* of Haydn's symphonies found up to now outside the Esterházy archives were written not by one of the nameless Esterházy musicians but by persons whose identities are known to us and who were much more closely connected with the composer.

Throughout his life, Haydn had trouble with dishonest and inefficient copyists. Most of them did not hesitate to pirate the works they were copying, and it is certain that many of the Haydn symphonies even in the best collections are good *MSS.* made illegally from an authentic source. Mozart, in a letter to his father of May 15, 1784, says: 'I beg you to have the four concerti copied at home, for the Salzburg copyists are not to be trusted any more than those in Vienna — I know quite certainly that Hofstetter makes duplicate copies of [Michael?]

<sup>3</sup> This autograph, seen by Pohl, was formerly in possession of the Hofbuchhandlung Leibrock, Braunschweig; it has since disappeared.

<sup>4</sup> The writer was furnished a photostatic copy of this valuable autograph, which was sold by auction in the spring of 1951 by Gerd Rosen, Berlin, to the heirs of Stefan Zweig.

<sup>5</sup> Pohl (II, 372) relates that a violinist engaged in the Esterházy band in 1760 was to 'make himself available for the copying of music'.

### The Sources

Haydn's music...' And Haydn complains to Artaria<sup>6</sup> a few years later (letter of October 7, 1787) about the theft of some quartets which Artaria seems to have thought Haydn's copyists had pirated. Haydn writes: '....I was astounded [to receive] your letter before last about the theft of the quartets. I assure you by my honour that these were not copied by my copyist, who is the most honourable fellow [*Kerl*], but that your own copyist is a rascal [*Spitzbub*]; he offered mine eight ducats last winter if he [Haydn's copyist] would send him the *Seven Words*, and I regret that I am not in Vienna myself so that I could have him arrested...'

It was not only the dishonesty which must have distressed Haydn but the incredible inefficiency of the average copyist. In the Esterházy archives, there are even symphonies with measures missing (for instance, in the winds of No. 65); and it is hard to believe that Haydn's band could have played with anything approaching reasonable accuracy from parts such as the Esterházy MSS. of Nos. 49 or 52<sup>7</sup>. There is also evidence of the poor standard in other countries from Haydn's own pen. To Frau von Genzinger he writes from London (letter of March 2, 1792): '....It is equally impossible for me to send Herr von Kees the promised symphonies at present; for here, too, there is a great want of faithful copyists.'<sup>8</sup>

A few years after his engagement in the Prince's retinue, Haydn seems to have singled out one of the musicians of the Esterházy circle to act as a sort of staff copyist, to whom he could entrust his more important tasks: Joseph Elssler, Prince Esterházy's official copyist of music. The earliest extant MSS. in which the elder Elssler seems to have participated are the symphonies (Nos. 12, 21, 29) in St. Florian and the first part of EK. Besides these we have the *Salve Regina* (GdM) that bears his name and by which we can identify his handwriting<sup>9</sup>, an aria (VNat, formerly *Kaiserliche Sammlung* in Graz), part of Symphony No. 67 in Kremsmünster, a volume of baryton trios in Washington, a trio by Luigi Tomasini and the *Missa Sti. Nicolai* (St. Florian); in the Esterházy archives we find only some baryton trios and portions of a few symphonies (Nos. 53, 63,

<sup>6</sup> Artaria-Botstiber, p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> See Complete Edition, Series I, Vol. 5, *Revisionsbericht* to No. 52, Sources A and B.

<sup>8</sup> J. C. Hadden, *Haydn*, London, 1902, p. 227.

<sup>9</sup> See Larsen, HUB, p. 63.

70, 75). The fact that most of his *MSS.* are found outside the Esterházy collection suggests that many works which he must have copied were burned in one of the two fires, in 1768 and 1779, which we know to have destroyed so many works by the composer; and it is significant that the extant works are either baryton trios, which the Prince may have kept in his part of the palace and not with the other *Musikalien*, or symphonies composed after 1779<sup>10</sup>. The elder Elssler must be reckoned as Haydn's principal copyist from the early 'sixties until his death in 1782. (See Plate VI.)

Following the death of Joseph Elssler, Haydn engaged a copyist named Radnitzky, about whom no one could discover anything concrete except that he copied some symphonies for Haydn. Through the kind assistance of Otto Erich Deutsch the author has been able to establish the identity of this elusive figure<sup>11</sup>: Johann Radnitzky died in 1790 in Vienna and was a professional music copyist. Larsen<sup>12</sup> succeeded in dispelling the notion, held by Karl Päsler and others, that Radnitzky was a 'house copyist' — in other words, a substitute for Joseph Elssler. The error seems to have begun with the so-called 'Wahl catalogue', a list of Haydn sources in Europe prepared by Dr. Wahl before World War I for Breitkopf & Härtel; in this catalogue a good many *MSS.* are ascribed to Radnitzky which are not by him at all. Actually, the following are the known Radnitzky sources: two *MSS.* in the British Museum (Eg. 2335, 2379), viz. Symphonies Nos. 76—78, all of which are signed on various parts

<sup>10</sup> About my contention that No. 53 was not composed in 1774, as indicated in the Mandyczewski list, but at the earliest in 1777 and probably even later, see below.

<sup>11</sup> The Radnitzky family (also spelled 'Radnizki' and 'Radnizky') came from Rakonitz in Bohemia; most of the family, including Johann and his brother, Peter, moved to Vienna, but their mother, together with two sisters, remained in Rakonitz. Johann died in the night of 24th to 25th January 1790 at the age of forty, in the hospital of the Barmherzige Brüder in the Taborstrasse. The 'Totenprotokoll' of the City of Vienna tells us that he died of 'Faulfieber' and was a 'copyist of music'; he lived, with one of his sisters, in the suburb of Leopoldstadt at House No. 22. His brother Peter, who died on 3rd October 1832 at the age of seventy-two, lived at Windmühle No. 70 in Vienna and was, in earlier years, a valet and later a 'copyist of music'; apparently he assumed the latter profession only after his brother's death. Johann died a pauper, and the Vienna City register lists Peter as 'destitute'. Though it is just possible that we may be dealing with Peter, it seems more likely that Johann was Haydn's copyist in the 'eighties. However, the unknown copyist who seems to have assisted Johann, and whose handwriting is so similar, may in fact be that of Peter, who could have supplemented his valet's salary by copying in his brother's 'office'.

<sup>12</sup> HUB, pp. 66 ff.



by Radnitzky (or abbreviated 'Rky') (see Plate VIII); parts of Symphonies Nos. 62, 74 and two copies of 76 (GdM); an aria from *Orlando Paladino* in the monastery of Göttweig; parts of Symphony No. 60 in St. Florian; certain parts of Symphonies Nos. 78 and 79 — the latter together with Joseph Jr or Johann Elssler — in the Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection at Schloss Harburg; a copy of Symphony No. 66 in Milan, and, in that library, part of Symphony No. 79 (the rest is by Joseph Jr or Johann Elssler); and portions of Symphonies 76, 81, and the Overture II, 14 in the Esterházy archives. At the same time, Haydn was using a large number of copyists, probably none of whom he could trust; those symphonies composed between 1782 and 1790 in the Esterházy archives were usually so disposed that no one copyist had all the parts of any one work. This is particularly the case with Symphonies Nos. 76, 77, 78, 79, and 81. It is possible that Haydn was training Radnitzky for the post of 'house copyist' and that he proved unsatisfactory.

At the same time as Radnitzky the two sons of Joseph Elssler come on the scene. The elder son, Joseph Jr (1767—1843), is reported by Pohl<sup>13</sup> to have taken over his father's activity as official court copyist after 1782. It was, however, the younger son, Johann (Johannes, 1769—1843), who became Haydn's next 'house copyist'; according to his own statements, made much later, he seems to have joined Haydn's household as valet-copyist in 1790, after Haydn's discharge from the Esterházy *Capelle*. Larsen<sup>14</sup> believes that his activity as a copyist of Haydn's works began somewhat earlier; and Elssler himself once suggested 1787 as the beginning of his activity as 'amanuensis'. After 1790 he became, at any rate, a permanent member of Haydn's household and, except during the first London trip, copied almost everything for the composer. Of this period — i. e. after 1790 — there are countless MSS. by Johann Elssler in his very characteristic handwriting. It is the early period which leaves several questions unanswered.

The first of these problems does not concern Johann but Joseph Jr. If we accept Pohl's statement that Joseph Jr, 'although only fifteen years of age', continued in the official position of his father, as the main Esterházy copyist — and as Pohl's thesis is supported by authentic documents in the Esterházy archives there is no reason to

<sup>13</sup> I, p. 268 ff.

<sup>14</sup> HUB, pp. 63 ff.

doubt it — we should expect to find a number of *MSS.* by Joseph Elssler Jr, especially since he remained with the band until after Haydn's death, participating in all of the late Haydn masses as oboist. But his handwriting has never been identified, and there are apparently no manuscripts in the Esterházy archives written by him. On the other hand, it is believed<sup>15</sup> that a number of *MSS.* by the young Johann Elssler can be identified, amongst them Symphonies Nos. 80—81, 82—87 in the British Museum, parts of Symphonies Nos. 79, 80, and 81 in Regensburg, Nos. 76, 77, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 88 (*etc.*) in the Esterházy archives, and parts of Nos. 90 and 91 in the Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection at Schloss Harburg. (We are here confining ourselves only to Symphonies.) If we accept the supposition that these *MSS.* were written by Johann Elssler — and it is probable that at least Nos. 90 and 91 cannot be ascribed to him — it must mean that he began copying about 1784. Besides the above-mentioned *MSS.*, Schloss Harburg also has a copy of Symphony No. 81 in which the *duplicate* violin I, II and bass parts are written in the same handwriting as those *MSS.* ascribed to the youthful Johann Elssler<sup>16</sup>. Larsen<sup>17</sup> says of the manuscripts (Eg 2379) in the British Museum that they are 'presumably by [Johann] Elssler' and quotes a letter from Mr. Cecil Oldman which reads: 'I have now carefully examined Eg 2379 from beginning to end and have come to the conclusion that all of the pieces in it, from the earliest to the latest, were written by the same person. Many of them at first look quite different from the typical examples, but this is merely because they were written on smaller paper or with a different kind of pen. If this single copyist was the younger Elssler (and I think it must have been), it is clear that Pohl's account... of the Elsslers will have to be revised.'

<sup>15</sup> HUB, pp. 60—61, 64, *etc.*

<sup>16</sup> The rest of the symphony is by a 'house copyist' who must have been employed as a member of the Prince's staff. The most plausible theory is that the Prince, finding that his copy of the symphony was very poor (and it must be remembered that Kraft Ernst was actively interested in such questions as authenticity, *etc.*), requested Haydn to send him correct copies of the principal parts (the violins and the bass) and that Haydn did so, employing one of the Elsslers (who was familiar with the work, having copied it for Forster) to execute the commission.

<sup>17</sup> HUB, p. 62/63 and esp. footnote 10 on p. 63. The statement by Mr. Oldman is in any case incorrect, since Eg. 2379 also includes Radnitzky's signed copy of Symphony No. 76.

*Sinfonien*

1. *Adagio* *Moderato*

2. *Largo* *Spiritoso*

3. *Alla Breve* *Alla Breve*

4. *Alla Breve* *Largo*

5. *Andante* *Andante*

6. *Spiritoso* *Molto*

7. *Allegro* *Allegro*

8. *Molto Allato* *Poco Allegro*

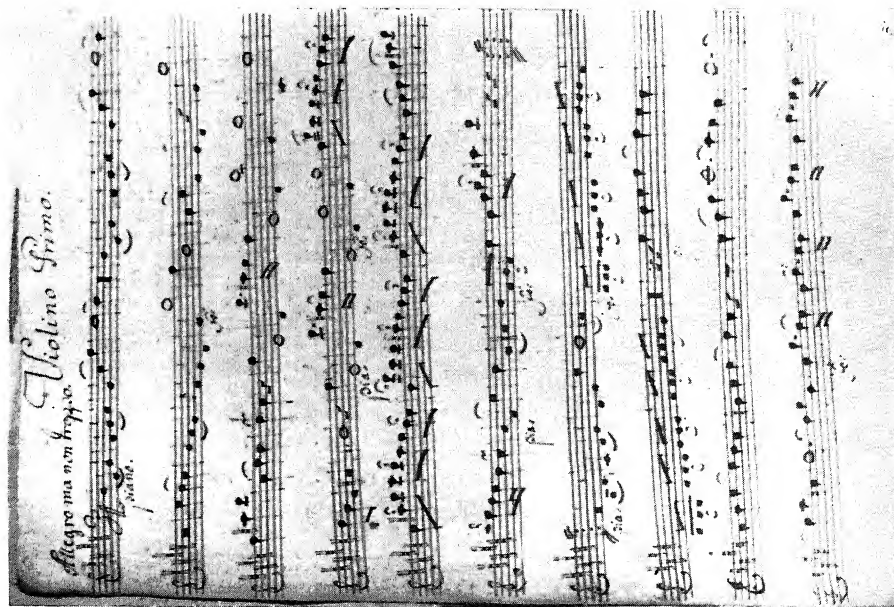
9. *Poco Allegro* *Spiritoso*

10. *Allegretto* *Allegretto*

11. *Allegretto* *Allegretto*

12. *Allegro* *Allegro*

V The Elssler catalogue of 1805 (*Haydn-Verzeichniß*). First page of the portion dealing with the Symphonies. Formerly in the Archives of Prince Esterházy (now in the National Museum, Budapest).



VI (Left) Symphony No. 29. First page of the first violin part. MS. copied by Joseph Elsler Sr., Monastery of St. Florian, Upper Austria.



VII (Right) Symphony No. 60. From the MS. written by Johann Elsler. Formerly in the Archives of Prince Esterházy (now in the National Museum, Budapest).

### The Sources

A renewed examination seems nevertheless to indicate that not all the above *MSS.* were written by one person, even if we take into consideration the contrast between Johann Elssler's handwriting at the time of his early *MSS.*, when he was still under twenty and his hand as yet unformed, and of the later *MSS.*, when his style became unmistakable. Yet there is a similarity between all of the *MSS.* listed above which is quite baffling. Some of the letters are very much like each other, others quite different. The explanation that immediately suggests itself is that we are dealing with the handwritings of two brothers, Joseph Jr and Johann Elssler, both of whom exhibit a typical rounded hand, with certain traits common to all professional copyists, in addition to other, rather similar characteristics. It appears that as Johann matured he gradually took over his brother's function until the end of the decade, at which time Joseph may have ceased copying entirely. It would be very difficult to suggest which of these two handwritings is actually Johann, and which Joseph Jr. Since both are obviously to be placed in the inner circle of 'house copyists', the question is not particularly important; but it would be interesting to have a really detailed examination of all the controversial *MSS.*<sup>18</sup> (See Plates V, VII and IX.)

The following list of authentic copies, or rather copies by persons known to have had a direct connection with Haydn, is certainly incomplete. The task of locating Elssler, or other authentic copies will possibly never be completed; and the search is all the more difficult since valuable *MSS.* must be in private collections whose owners often have no idea of their importance.

<i>Work</i>	<i>Name of Copyist (when known)</i> (Unless otherwise noted, the source listed consists of orchestral parts.)	<i>Location</i>
7	?	EH
(8) <sup>19</sup>	Johann Elssler	Artaria)
14	Joseph Elssler Sr	St. Florian
21	" "	St. Florian
22	?	EH
28	?	EH
29	Joseph Elssler Sr	St. Florian
39	?	EH

<sup>18</sup> Cf. my article on the Elssler family in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. 3.

<sup>19</sup> This source is mentioned on Pohl's score of the work (GdM XIII, 19052). The present whereabouts of this Elssler copy is not known.

# The Sources

Work	Name of Copyist (when known) (Unless otherwise noted, the source listed consists of orchestral parts.)	Location
(—	?	Schlägl) <sup>20</sup>
40	?	EH
41	?	EH
42	?	EH
45	?	EH
46	?	EH
47	?	EH
48	?	EH
49	?	EH
51	?	EH
52	?	EH (2 copies)
53	Partly by Joseph Elssler Sr	EH
54	?	EH
55	?	EH
57	?	EH
59	?	EH
60	?	EH
—	Johann Elssler (1803?)	EH
—	Radnitzky	St. Florian
62	Radnitzky (except for 1 part)	GdM
—	?	EH
63	?	EH
65	?	EH
66	?	EH
—	Partly Radnitzky	Milan
67	Joseph Elssler Sr (except horns)	Kremsmünster
— (incomplete)	?	EH
69	?	EH (2 copies)
70	Partly Joseph Elssler Sr	EH
72	?	EH
74	Radnitzky	GdM
75	Partly Joseph Elssler Sr	EH
76	Partly Radnitzky, partly Johanna Elssler [or Joseph Jr?]	EH
—	Radnitzky	BM
—	Partly Radnitzky	GdM <sup>21</sup>
—	—	GdM
77	Partly Johann Elssler [or Joseph Jr?]	EH
—	Radnitzky	BM
78	Partly Radnitzky	EH
—	Radnitzky	BM
—	Partly Radnitzky	Harburg
79	Partly Johann Elssler [or Joseph Jr?]	EH
—	ditto	Regensburg
—	Radnitzky and Johann Elssler [or Joseph Jr?]	Harburg
—	ditto	Milan
80	Johann Elssler [or Joseph Jr?]	BM
—	Partly ditto	Regensburg
81	Partly Radnitzky, partly Johann Elssler [or Joseph Jr?]	EH

<sup>20</sup> Authenticity only on the basis of the watermark of the paper, which is the second Esterházy type; see below p. 44 and 61.

<sup>21</sup> Probably part of the Kees Collection: see below.

# The Sources

Work	Name of Copyist (when known) (Unless otherwise noted, the source listed consists of orchestral parts.)	Location
—	Johann Elssler [or Joseph Jr?] <sup>22</sup>	BM
—	ditto	Regensburg
—	ditto	Harburg
82	Johann Elssler [or Joseph Jr?] <sup>22</sup>	EH
—	" " " " "	BM
83	" " " " "	BM
—	Johann Elssler	Berlin (destroyed) <sup>23</sup>
84	Johann Elssler [or Joseph Jr?]	EH
—	" " " " "	BM
—	" " " " "	BM (Add. 32174)
85	" " " " "	EH
—	" " " " "	BM
86	" " " " "	EH
—	" " " " "	BM
87	" " " " "	BM
88	" " " " "	EH
89	" " " " "	EH (score)
—	" " " " "	EH (parts: 2 sets)
90	? (Corrections by Haydn)	Harburg
91	ditto	Harburg
92	? <sup>24</sup>	Harburg
—	Johann Elssler [or Joseph Jr?]	EH (score)
—	" " " " "	EH (parts)
93	" " " " "	EH (score)
—	Johann Elssler	Harburg
94	Johann Elssler [or Joseph Jr?]	EH (score)
95	Johann Elssler	EH
96	" "	EH
—	" "	Harburg

<sup>22</sup> The probability of the copyist concerned being Johann increases with all these works, composed in 1785 and 1786.

<sup>23</sup> At one time in the Hochschule für Musik, Berlin.

<sup>24</sup> The handwriting of the duplicate violin I and II parts, with additions and corrections by Haydn is identical with that of certain copies in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (*Kaiserliche Sammlung*) and Melk (Symphony No. 27; one of the two copies of Symphony No. 63). This would seem to lend a certain authenticity to this copyist, though it seems more likely that we are dealing with a professional Viennese copyist and not with one of the members of Haydn's band, a theory which is supported by the absence of any sources in this person's handwriting in the Esterházy archives. We have identified him in the appendix as 'Viennese professional copyist No. 3'. The trumpet and drum parts of the Harburg MS. are, however, written by an Esterházy copyist whose handwriting is known to us through other authentic MSS. The remaining parts of No. 92 were written by an unknown copyist on paper with a watermark (lily with letters SB) not found in any other copy of Haydn's music (he later used English paper which includes a lily, albeit of a very different form and with other letters: see below, p. 62). Harburg also owns various MSS. by this copyist, e. g. Ignaz Pleyel's Symphony in F (see Appendix II), cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 369, and certain works by Rosetti, *Kapellmeister* at the court of Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein. It seems therefore probable that the copyist had no connection with Haydn. Larsen's suggestion (HUB, p. 90, note 69) that this might possibly be Haydn in the rôle of a copyist must be rejected.



### The Sources

<i>Work</i>	<i>Name of Copyist (when known)</i> (Unless otherwise noted, the source listed consists of orchestral parts.)	<i>Location</i>
97	Johann Elssler	EH
—	" "	Harburg
98	" "	Harburg
—	Copyist of authentic copy of <i>Orfeo</i> in EH	BM
99	Johann Elssler	EH (score)
—	" "	EH (parts)
100	" "	EH
101	" "	EH (score)
—	" "	EH (parts)
103	" "	EH

The importance of the so-called 'Kees' catalogue has been discussed in Chapter I. It was thought that the collection (from which the catalogue must have been made) had disappeared: the entire library of Ritter von Kees was sold by auction (announcement in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 1796, No. 29, p. 1007; see Larsen, HUB, p. 243; Jahn, *W. A. Mozart*, Vol. III, p. 323) after his death in 1796. This wealthy patron of music had for many years given private concerts in his house, and Gyrowetz, in his autobiography, tells us that the finest composers (*inter alia* Haydn and Mozart) and virtuosi attended his weekly soirées. In the seventeen-eighties, Kees directed the concerts given at the Augarten in Vienna, and provided much of the music from his own library. Larsen was able to find a tiny part of the Kees archives in the collection of Prince Thurn und Taxis in Regensburg — copies of Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 10, 37, 50, 91 and 92, written by the copyist of the Kees catalogue, which is also in Regensburg. The author has, in the course of his research at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, discovered a collection which in all probability contains many of the Haydn symphonies originally belonging to Kees. Whether all the 73 Haydn symphonies and overtures — some of which are doubtful and spurious works — in the GdM collection were originally part of the Kees library, or whether some were added by the later owner, cannot be established with certainty; some of the Haydn symphonies in the list printed below are not in the Kees catalogue. But there is strong evidence that a large part, if perhaps not all, of the copies were in fact once part of the Kees collection.

The four symphonies written by the Kees copyist and now in Regensburg are, significantly, missing from the GdM collection. Secondly, the collection stops where the Kees catalogue stops, *i. e.* at



### *The Sources*

Symphony No. 92 (the two 'Salomon' symphonies, Nos. 95 and 96, marked at the end of the Kees catalogue 'NB von London gekommen', excepted). Thirdly, the copy of No. 73 ('La Chasse') in GdM has a different order from that of the autograph (Bst) and the first edition of Torricella, *i. e.* IV-II-III-I; this symphony is listed in the Kees catalogue with the theme of the finale. Moreover, both sources indicate trumpets and drums, which are missing in the Torricella print. A final, and perhaps the most convincing, bit of evidence is that many of the GdM copies were written by the Kees copyist.

It may be asked what proof we have that Haydn had anything more than a casual connection with Kees. Happily, we have sufficient evidence of a very close relationship: Haydn's letters to Marianna von Genzinger, written in England during 1791 and 1792, are full of references to the Viennese patron. In a letter of 8th January 1791, the composer writes:

.... P.S. I have a request to make. I think I must have left my symphony in E flat, that you returned to me, in my room at home, or mislaid it on the journey. I missed it yesterday, and being in pressing need of it, I beg you urgently to procure it for me, through my kind friend, Herr v. Kees.... If Herr v. Kees hesitates about this, which I don't think likely, pray send him this letter...

On 13th October of the same year, he writes:

.... Amongst other things, Herr v. Kees writes to me that he should like to know my position in London...

And on 17th November:

I write in the greatest haste, to request that you will send the accompanying packet... to Herr v. Kees, as it contains the two new symphonies [Nos. 95 and 96] I promised...

On 2nd February 1792, he apologizes for not having written to Kees, and a month later he says:

.... P.S. Please apologize to Herr v. Kees for want of time preventing my sending him the new symphonies. I hope to have the honour of directing them myself in your house...

After his return to Vienna in 1792, he writes, on 4th August:

As Herr v. Kees has invited me to lunch to-day, I shall have the opportunity to give his wife the knitting needles I promised. If you would be kind enough to have a few of these sent over, I shall be able to fulfil my promise; for which I kiss your Grace's hands...

It is, therefore, no surprise to find that there is, amongst the Kees copies in GdM, an authentic *MS.* by Johann Radnitzky, bearing his characteristic 'Rky' on most of the parts. Many of the symphonies written about 1780—1785 are preserved in the handwriting of the Kees copyist, and from the standpoint of textual reliability there seems little doubt that most of these copies were made from authentic sources. Since, however, the Kees copyist cannot be placed in the same inner circle as Radnitzky or the Elsslers, we have included only the one Radnitzky *MS.* (Symphony No. 76) in the list of authentic copies above. But if this Kees collection cannot be termed authentic in the same sense as that, for example, in the Esterházy archives, it is of great importance in establishing the musical text of many works for which there are no autographs.

In the following list it will be seen that there are occasionally two different numbers for one work in the GdM catalogue. This is because the later owner of the collection — who, incidentally, numbered the copies with Roman numerals which have no ascertainable significance — had a large orchestra at his disposal, and made duplicate string parts of two or three symphonies, binding them together; thus, the duplicate parts of one work are contained in the folio of another. The original title pages of the collection in GdM are, with one or two exceptions, destroyed; the later owner usually wrote his own, *e. g.* 'Tre Sinfonie / Del Sig. Giuseppe Haydn / [red ink:] 55. 56. 57.', each part bearing a separate title at the head of each symphony, *e. g.* 'Sinfonia LVI / del Sig. Haydn'. The Regensburg copies, on the other hand, contain the original title pages, and it is curious that the old catalogue numbers of Nos. 91 and 92 (entitled '91' and '92') are very close to the numbers of these two works in the Kees catalogue, where they are listed as Nos. 90 and 92. It is a pity that the GdM copies contain practically no original title pages.

[The Kees Collection?]

Symphony	Copyist	(1) Regensburg		
		Old Cat. No.	Kees Catalogue	Catalogue of Lib.
10	Kees	'94/No. 2'	75	J. Haydn 6
37	Kees	95 (75?)	85	J. Haydn 22
50	Kees	58	70	J. Haydn 33
91	partly Kees	91	90	J. Haydn 63
92	partly Kees	92	92	J. Haydn 65

*The Sources*

(2) <i>Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde</i>				(Group XIII)
<i>Symphony</i>	<i>Copyist</i>	<i>Old Cat. No.</i>	<i>Kees Catalogue</i>	<i>Catalogue of Lib.</i>
8	?	XII	3	19052
9	Kees	XXIV	4	19059, 19060
11	Kees	III	5	19054
12	?	LXIX	12	6653 (incomplete)
13	?	LXIV	15	19071
14	?	LXXIII	8	19069, 1337, 40438
16	?	VIII	13	9055
18	?	LXXII	(missing)	40838
19	?	LXXI	(missing)	1340
20	?	LXII	6	19067
21	Kees	XXVII	17	8483
22	Kees	XVI	21	19056
24	Kees	XXIII	20	19059, 19060
28	Kees	XXI	25	19058
32	?	X	(missing)	1339
33	?	LVII	(missing)	8085
39	?	V	24	6657, 1329
40	?	XXV	16	8482
41	?	XVIII	30	8400
42	?	XIX	36	8493
43	?	XXVIII	41	6650
44	?	VII	40	8118
46	'Schmutzer'	LVIII	44	8497
47	'Schmutzer'	XXVI	48	19061
48	?	LXV	34	8509
49	?	LX	42	6655
51	?	LXI	35	6655, 8405
52	?	XXXVI	28	8503, 19065
53	?	XIV	54	6659
54	?	LIX	33	8112
55	?	XLIX	29	8404
56	?	VI	31	8494
57	?	XVII	45	8489
58	?	L	86	6648
59	?	II	(missing)	19053
60	?	IV	47	1329
62	?	XXIX	55	8406
63	Kees	XXXI	59	19063
65	?	XXII	39	6649
66	?	XIII	52	8508
67	partly Kees	XXXV	53	8503
69	Kees	XXXIV	51	6163
70	Kees	XXXII	58	8506
71	Kees	XI	56	8401, 1339
73	Kees	XXXIII	61	8534, 8506
74	Kees	XXX	60	6646
75	partly Kees	IX	57	8505
76	Radnitzky	XXXVIII	68	8515
77	Kees	XXXVII	67	8514
78	?	XX	69	8516
79	Kees	XLI	73	8403
80	partly Kees	XXXX (XL)	71	8518
81	Kees	XLII	72	8161
82	?	LI	80	6660
83	?	LII	81	6660, 8523

*The Sources*

<i>Symphony</i>	(2) <i>Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde.</i>		<i>Kees Catalogue</i>	(Group XIII)
	<i>Copyist</i>	<i>Old Cat. Nr.</i>		<i>Catalogue of Lib.</i>
84	?	LIII	79	8522, 8523
85	?	LIV	78	8521
86	?	LV	77	8520, 8521
87	?	LVI	82	8521, 8524
88	?	LXVI	89	8525
89	?	LXVII	88	8528
90	?	LXVIII	91	8531

Besides these authentic symphonies, the collection at GdM contains several overtures, viz. II, 1 ('Sinfonia XLVIII', cat. 8477), II, 2 ('Sinfonia XXXIX', cat. 8515 & 8479), II, 9 ('Sinfonia XLVI', cat. 8475) and II, 15 ('Sinfonia XLVII', cat. 8476); copies of spurious and doubtful symphonies (e. g. III, 4; III, 10; and III, 26), none of which, incidentally, was written by the Kees copyist, have been listed under their respective works in Appendix II.

Next in importance to these authentic MSS. are the collections found in the Austro-German-Czech monasteries. The significance of these ecclesiastical centres of culture in the development of musical life in Central Europe during the eighteenth century can hardly be overestimated. The monasteries provide us with the greatest quantity of existing Haydn sources, and a part of his music has survived only in copies preserved in these far-flung collections. A critical edition of Haydn's works must rely largely upon such copies from these abbeys as are still available to us after the ravages of many wars. Especially for the works no longer existing in autograph, the copies at many Austrian monasteries often furnish us with the earliest and most reliable texts.

It appears that Haydn actually maintained a personal relationship with some of these institutions, such as those at St. Florian and Kremsmünster; and it is almost certain that the abbeys of Melk and Göttweig received music directly from the composer. Haydn's personal connection with St. Florian is suggested by the presence there of a number of MSS. by the elder Joseph Elssler. Besides several Haydn symphonies and one mass, there is also in St. Florian a string trio by Luigi Tomasini, Haydn's leader in the Esterházy band, written by Joseph Elssler. And there is even one source by Radnitzky at St. Florian, i. e. a MS. of Haydn's Symphony No. 60.

The Haydn sources at this monastery appear to come from four collections, the owners of which signed their name ('Pro Usu', etc.) on the title pages. The first two of these names are by far the most frequent: one Johann Michael Planck, and a 'Dr. Stocker, Physici Provincialis Lincensis'. All the Joseph Elssler MSS. belonged to the latter, who appears to have ordered his music from Vienna or Eisenstadt; none of the Haydn sources with the name 'Dr. Stocker' on the title page is written on paper with the Kremsmünster or Linz watermark. Moreover, the handwritings of several copyists identified as Viennese professional writers are found amongst the Stocker sources. On the other hand, all the Planck copies were made by one and the same copyist on local Upper Austrian paper, mostly from the Kremsmünster paper mill. For example, Symphony No. 14 may be found in St. Florian in two copies, one 'Pro usu J: Mich: Planck' and one, by Joseph Elssler, 'Ex Musicalibus Dris Stocker'. The other two owners, Johannes Schäfler and the musician Joann (Johann) Josephi (Joseph) Glöggl from Linz, appear on very few copies. Schäfler owned the only two spurious Haydn symphonies now in St. Florian, while Glöggl's name appears only on one Haydn symphony (No. 52). Both Planck as well as Stocker, to judge from the occasional dates of performance marked on the title pages, acquired most of their Haydn MSS. between c. 1765 and c. 1775. Those of Glöggl and Schäfler belong rather to the latter date.

In Kremsmünster, almost all the Haydn sources were copied by local monks on paper from their own mill, and only very few copies seem to have been imported from Vienna. Haydn's relationship with Kremsmünster, however, is suggested by the entry of the cantata *Applausus* in EK, over the theme of which Haydn wrote, as an old man, that the work was written for the installation of the 'Abt in Crems Münster' — the old spelling of the abbey; and whilst modern research has been able to prove that the forgetful old man of seventy erred, still the entry shows that he must have remembered a strong tie with the Benedictine monastery. And a copy of Symphony No. 67, almost entirely written by Joseph Elssler, is still preserved in Kremsmünster. The earliest Haydn sources there are a set of five string quartets from Opera 1 and 2 dated 1762 and a 'Symphonia' (Divertimento) for strings (HV 2) dated 1763. Even these — which constitute, together with some sources in Göttweig, the earliest dated Haydn MSS. in Austrian monasteries — were written

on paper from the local Kremsmünster mill and are signed by a local cleric. One wonders from which manuscripts the monks in Kremsmünster copied their Haydn sources. The obvious proximity of Lambach suggests that abbey as a possible answer, but a comparison of the two Haydn collections makes this possibility very remote. The large number of Haydn's symphonies in Kremsmünster is of very unequal value, and several works, such as Nos. 17, 34 and 59 were even rewritten so as to omit the oboe parts. On the other hand, not only the Joseph Elssler copy but also others are of considerable textual importance; the *MS.* of No. 48, for example, is in certain respects as important as that from the Esterházy collection, despite the timpani part which, having been omitted from the original Kremsmünster copy, was newly composed by one of the monks. (Certain measures of his version are, however, better than the very crude timpani part of the Esterházy source.)

If Haydn's personal connection with the Lower Austrian monastery of Göttweig cannot be proved by documentary evidence, the suggestion of it is nevertheless very strong. Together with Kremsmünster, Göttweig has the earliest Haydn sources of any Austrian monastery: four symphonies (Nos. 3—5 and in B flat [Opus I/5]), dated 1762. These and a large number of other works were sent at a very early date to Göttweig, and for this reason a quantity of Haydn symphonies not preserved in autograph is first recorded in copies at this monastery. Actually, most of the *MSS.* themselves have long since been destroyed, and their existence is known to us only through the well-known 'Göttweig catalogue'. At one time, Göttweig possessed several Haydn autographs, including that of the *Missa Cellensis* ('Mariazellermesse') and it still owns a number of copies by Johann Elssler and Radnitzky; these were not, as might be expected, part of the original Göttweig archives but were acquired during the nineteenth century from Alois Fuchs, an eager Haydn enthusiast who at various times owned many valuable autographs.

Similarly, the Haydn sources at the Benedictine monastery of Melk cannot be traced directly to the composer; but here there is other conclusive evidence: Haydn's pupil, Robert Kimmerling (Kymmerling), was *Regenschori* at Melk from 1761 to 1777, and there are parts of several Haydn works in Melk written by Johann Nep. Weigl, the compiler of the 'Quartbuch'. The earliest dated Haydn *MSS.* there appear to be a number of quartets, arranged from early pieces for

wind band, and dated 1765. As at St. Florian, the Haydn sources in Melk are partly local, partly Viennese. For textual problems the latter have often proved to be especially reliable, even containing the unusual ornament + and showing a very clear and convincing relationship to the autograph. Such a source is the *MS.* of Symphony No. 61; this bears so strong resemblance to Haydn's holograph manuscript that it seems clear that Haydn must have furnished, if not the autograph itself, the original parts. In another case, that of Symphony No. 65, Melk showed itself to be far nearer Haydn's intentions, as far as these may be explicitly determined without an autograph, than the source in the Esterházy archives. The present *Regenschori* at Melk, Prof. Adolf Trittinger, who has been of the greatest assistance in all matters, maintains that there were at one time Haydn autographs in Melk, these having been sold during the nineteenth century when the monastery was short of funds. It is perhaps worth recording that the collection at Melk contains the only known copy in existence of Haydn's Violin Concerto in A major<sup>25</sup>, and one of the rare sources for the Cembalo (Organ?) Concerto in C major (Larsen DKE C-2).

If Melk, Göttweig, Kremsmünster, and St. Florian may be considered those monasteries not only containing the largest Haydn collections but probably once having had the closest connections with the composer, there are many other monasteries<sup>26</sup> with important Haydn collections which may also have had direct contact with Eisenstadt or Esterháza.

It is now generally believed that Haydn wrote his cantata *Applausus* not for Kremsmünster, as he suggested in EK, nor for Göttweig, as was believed by the earlier Haydn scholars, but for the monastery of Zwettl<sup>27</sup>, in Lower Austria. All the numerous copies of Haydn's symphonies there are by the copyist of the Erzherzog Rudolf Collection (GdM) if, indeed, they did not actually belong to the Archduke. In any case, the *MSS.* cannot be earlier than c. 1800. There is an autograph<sup>28</sup> of six minuets and trios in the monastery of Seitenstetten

<sup>25</sup> Score published by the Haydn-Mozart Presse, Salzburg, 1952, edited by Anton Heiller and H. C. Robbins Landon.

<sup>26</sup> Stift Klosterneuburg, a few miles from Vienna, contains *MSS.* of all the Haydn masses, including the original version (uncut) of the *Missa St. Caecilia* and a copy of the *Nelson Mass* largely written by Johann Elssler. Little secular music has as yet been located at the monastery.

<sup>27</sup> Leopold Nowak, *Joseph Haydn*, Vienna, 1950, p. 206 ff.

<sup>28</sup> The autograph is now in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. The music is not preserved at all in any other contemporary copy and was not known to Pohl.

(Lower Austria) which is probably one of the earliest extant; unfortunately, the *MS.* is not dated. There are many copies of Haydn symphonies in Seitenstetten, but of variable textual reliability.

The Benedictine monastery at Lambach (Upper Austria) is — or, at least, was — another important Haydn centre. Not only does it contain a very valuable catalogue, the main portion of which was prepared in 1768, but it also has at least one work (Symphony No. 2) which is apparently not duplicated in any other Austrian monastery. The catalogue lists several other works which have since disappeared, including Symphony No. 1. The whole Haydn collection points to an early connection<sup>29</sup> with the composer, and, as far as could be determined from a recent (1953) visit, Lambach owns no works of Haydn in *MS.* later than Symphonies Nos. 45 and 46 (1772).

Two further monasteries deserve special mention for their Haydn sources, viz. Schlägl (Mühlviertel) and Stams (Tyrol). The former contains a very important and sizeable collection of eighteenth-century music; musical standards at Schlägl seem to have been among the highest in Austria, judging from the profuse number of difficult concerti for the violin and harpsichord. Of the Haydn copies there, one gives rise to considerable speculation; namely, the *MS.* of Symphony No. 39, written on paper from the Esterházy paper mill. The possible significance of this source is discussed below<sup>30</sup>. Apart from this unexplainable presence of an 'Esterházy' source, the archives at Schlägl yield one of the largest collections of early Haydn compositions to be found in an Austrian monastery. Some of the sources are by Viennese copyists, and some are transcribed on local paper. Their textual reliability appears to be far greater than, for example, that of the Seitenstetten sources, which are more numerous.

The second collection, at Stams, is of equal interest. It appears that some of the symphonies by Haydn in this Tyrolean monastery were adapted by the *Regenschori* of the period, Stefano Paluselli; thus we find that the Stams *MS.* of Symphony No. 1 contains a minuet, while that of Symphony No. 70 contains two minuets<sup>31</sup>. It is therefore no surprise that these two sources were copied on paper bearing a typical Innsbruck watermark; there are, however, many

<sup>29</sup> See Josef Rittsteuer, *Die Beziehungen des Stiftes Lambach zu Burgenland*, in *Burgenländische Forschungen*, Heft 19 (Eisenstadt, 1952).

<sup>30</sup> See p. 61.

<sup>31</sup> For further discussion of these two and other cases, see Appendix I.



Haydn pieces ordered directly from Vienna. Stams also owns old and valuable copies of almost all the quartets from Opera 1 and 2, as well as a curious *MS.* of the 'Toy' Symphony ascribed to 'Rev. D. Edmundo Angerer / ord. S.ti Benediction Fiecht' and entitled 'Berchtolds / gaden Musick'. (The *MS.* is only a further<sup>32</sup> proof that this work cannot possibly be by Haydn.)

Apparently most of the major monasteries not only borrowed from each other but also ordered from the same Viennese firms. A few examples of the latter must suffice. One professional Viennese copyist appears *inter alia*<sup>33</sup> in *MSS.* at St. Florian, the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (*Kaiserliche Sammlung*), and Kremsmünster (for identification the reader is referred to Source C1 of Symphony No. 52 in the Complete Edition). This copyist was evidently a Viennese, and many of his *MSS.* can be found in the former Emperor's Collection (*Kaiserliche Sammlung*); as a writer he is not only reliable but seems to have had access to particularly trustworthy sources. Another Viennese copyist (Appendix I: Viennese professional copyist No. 2; see C. E. No. 52, Source D1) is the writer of *MSS.* in St. Florian, Melk, Regensburg, Schloss Harburg, and in various sources (not Haydn) in Lambach. At least one *MS.* (of a string trio) in Seitenstetten is by a copyist who made most of the earliest *MSS.* for J. Michael Planck in St. Florian.

Besides those mentioned, Herzogenburg, Lilienfeld, Geras, Schlierbach, St. Peter (Salzburg), Michaelbeuern, St. Lambrecht, and further Austrian monasteries, as well as others in Hungary, Switzerland, South Germany, and Czecho-Slovakia contain *MSS.* of Haydn's symphonies in varying quantities and of varying importance and quality. For the first sixty odd symphonies these copies are of the greatest value, even in cases where we possess authentic sources. (See Appendix I for further details.)

Of scarcely less individual value are the substantial Haydn collections scattered around European libraries. Usually these collections are the results of many acquisitions and cannot be valued *en masse*.

<sup>32</sup> Ernst Fritz Schmid has discovered a *MS.* by Leopold Mozart in the Bavarian State Library of Munich in which the three movements of the 'Toy' Symphony are included: see Appendix II.

<sup>33</sup> The author also owns two violin sonatas by Benda in this copyist's handwriting. Several works by Wagenseil in this copyist's handwriting were sold in an auction at Vienna in 1953. We have identified him in the appendix as 'Viennese professional copyist No. 1'.

The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, however, is fortunate to have three entire collections, each containing a large number of Haydn's orchestral works. One of these, the probable 'Kees Collection', has already been discussed. The second in importance, the so-called *Kaiserliche Sammlung* (Emperor's Collection), is unfortunately split into several parts, most of the instrumental works being in GdM and the vocal and operatic music in VNat. It is from this collection that we have the Radnitzky MS. of Symphony No. 62 (GdM) as well as one aria by the elder Elssler (VNat. ms 3402) and two by Johann (VNat mss 9837 and 9841), which show that the collection is to be taken seriously. The third GdM series comes from the private library of the Archduke Rudolf. Although from a critical standpoint many of its sources are practically worthless, as widespread tests<sup>34</sup> have established, nevertheless its very magnitude requires that it be carefully examined; and it often happens that one or the other symphony which is otherwise very rare can be located in the Erzherzog Rudolf Collection. Such an instance is the first version of Symphony No. 53 with the Finale called 'A' in the Complete Edition. It might be added that portions of the Haydn MSS. of this collection found their way to Melk, Göttweig, Zwettl, and the Mozarteum Library in Salzburg: see under Appendix I.

Two of the most important Haydn collections lie in Bavaria. The first of these, the library of Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein, was formerly in Maihingen and is now located in the castle at Harburg. In 1781, Haydn wrote to Prince Kraft Ernst, offering him some new quartets<sup>35</sup>. Three years later, the Prince, dissatisfied with the doubtful sources of Haydn's symphonies which he had been receiving, appealed directly to the composer through the Prince's Viennese agent, von Müller, to discover if three certain symphonies — the thematic beginnings were listed — were actually by Haydn, to which an affirmative answer was given. It may be deduced from the above that the Haydn sources now in the library can be regarded as authentic only after 1781. The various symphonies which had been col-

<sup>34</sup> Complete Edition, Series I, Vol. 5, Symphonies 51 and 53; Series I, Vol. 10, Symphony 95, etc.

<sup>35</sup> See Larsen, HUB, p. 84; this appears to have been the first correspondence between Haydn and the Prince. In 1783, von Müller noted that '4 large, new Haydn symphonies' had been copied and delivered. See also Sandberger, *Zur Geschichte des Haydn'schen Streichquartetts* in the *Altbayrische Monatsschrift*, Jahrgang 2, Heft 2/3 (Munich, 1900).

lected before then cannot have been ordered from the composer, whereas after 1781 it can be assumed that the Prince took especial care to see that Haydn's works were ordered either from Haydn directly or from Artaria. In the following years, Oettingen-Wallerstein received from the composer the oratorio *Il Ritorno di Tobia* (Johann Elssler), Symphonies Nos. 78, 79, 81, 90—92, and several of the 'Salomon' symphonies<sup>36</sup>.

The other Bavarian collection is that of Prince Thurn und Taxis in Regensburg<sup>37</sup>. There are some 70 Haydn symphonies, mostly *MS.* copies, in these archives. From the standpoint of textual accuracy, the sources are of rather unequal value: some are obviously local in origin<sup>38</sup>, and show traces of having been edited (*e. g.* the copy of Symphony No. 5), while others are Viennese copies of considerable importance. As we have seen, Regensburg owns copies of four Haydn symphonies written by the Kees copyist, as well as the valuable Kees catalogue. Moreover, Larsen<sup>39</sup> discovered three symphonies (Nos. 79, 80 and 81) there, of which the principal parts are by Johann Elssler; whether they were sent to Regensburg by Haydn, or whether they reached the collection by another channel, remains an open question. It is not only the Haydn sources themselves which make the collection of great value to us, however, but also the numerous copies of works by other composers. There are, for example, seven symphonies by Gottfried van Swieten in the Thurn und Taxis library, of which no less than three were, in the eighteenth century, ascribed to Joseph Haydn, and which may now be restored to their rightful author<sup>40</sup>.

Of considerable interest is the discovery that the collections of Oettingen-Wallerstein and Thurn und Taxis contain *MSS.* by the same copyists. The handwriting of the duplicate string parts (violins and

<sup>36</sup> These copies of the 'Salomon' symphonies are treated in more detail in Chapter IV.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Sigfrid Färber, *Das Regensburger Fürstlich Thurn und Taxische Hoftheater und seine Oper, 1760-1786* in *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins von Oberpfalz und Regensburg*, Vol. 86, Regensburg, 1936.

<sup>38</sup> Mostly German paper with the characteristic watermarks of a heart with letters attached; or the number '4' together with a heart and letters; or the letters 'WOLFEG'. These watermarks occur *inter alia* in German copies in Schloss Harburg, in Munich, and in the monastery of Stams.

<sup>39</sup> HUB. p. 64.

<sup>40</sup> Symphonies III, 17 (confirmed by sources in Schwerin and Breitkopf catalogue of 1782); IV, 10 (confirmed by a Viennese source in Schloss Harburg and a *MS.* from the Erzherzog Rudolf Collection in the monastery of Zwettl); and IV, 27 (no confirmation as yet).

bass) of those 'Salomon' symphonies in Johann Elssler's handwriting in Schloss Harburg is identical with that of the same works in Regensburg. The paper and watermarks (an ornament with the letters HCB) are also identical. This copyist also made various other *MSS.* in both collections. Furthermore, some of the middle symphonies contain handwritings common to both collections. It is obvious that a close connection<sup>41</sup> existed between the two royal libraries, but it is impossible to say, except in those cases where Elssler is concerned, which library received which works direct from Haydn. It is certain that Symphonies Nos. 90—92 in Regensburg were not copied from the (authentic) *MSS.* in Schloss Harburg, since Oettingen-Wallerstein was under the impression that Haydn wrote these three works especially for him<sup>42</sup>. But apart from this one exception, it is probable that much exchange went on between the two houses.

There are other large collections of Haydn symphonies throughout Europe; most of these had nothing to do with the composer directly and therefore lose part of their importance except as subsidiary sources. Amongst these are the 'lost' Frankfurt-am-Main library which figures in much of Pohl's work, and others in Venice, Milan, Florence, Padua, Modena, Bologna, Stockholm and various French, Czecho-Slovak and Hungarian centres. At least two of the Czecho-Slovak<sup>43</sup> collections,

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<sup>41</sup> Count Wedel, who is at present in charge of the castle at Harburg, kindly informed me that the first wife of Prince Kraft Ernst Oettingen-Wallerstein was Marie-Therese, née Princess Thurn und Taxis. They were married in 1774 at Schloss Taxis near Dischingen, summer residence of the Regensburg family. A few miles away from Schloss Taxis was Hohenaltheim, summer residence of the Oettingen-Wallerstein clan. The connection between the two families could hardly have been closer.

<sup>42</sup> It must be admitted that Haydn indulged in some very sharp business practices here. Larsen (*HUB*, p. 86) thinks that Haydn's excuse in his letter to the Prince of November 29, 1789 is valid. The composer maintained that he was prevented from copying the scores (instead of the orchestral parts) and sending them because of eye trouble which, however, did not prevent him from dedicating the autograph of No. 91 to 'Mons. Le Conte d'Ogny' and sending No. 90 and probably No. 92 to him as well. The *MSS.* of Nos. 91 and 92 in Regensburg are undoubtedly from the Kees collection and therefore copied from a source close to Haydn. It is even possible that he arranged the French, German and English editions (Imbault, Sieber, Le Duc; Hummel [André?]; Forster, Longman & Broderip), although this is conjecture. A similar case is the set of three symphonies, Nos. 76—78, which Haydn offered to Boyer (Paris), Forster (London), and possibly to Torricella (Vienna), and Artaria.

<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, the collection at Raudnitz, according to Larsen, who investigated these *MSS.* before the war, does not contain anything of special importance.



VIII Symphony No. 77. From the MS. written and signed by Johann Radnitzky. British Museum, London.

*Sinfonia*

*Clarini*  
in g.

*Fagotti*  
in b.

*Oboe*  
in b.

*Flauti*  
in b.

*Fagotti*  
in b.

*Violini*

*Viola*

*Violoncelli*

*Bassi*

Handwritten musical score for the IX Symphony No. 94. The score is written on ten staves, each labeled with an instrument: Clarini, Fagotti, Oboe, Flauti, Fagotti, Violini, Viola, Violoncelli, and Bassi. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as 'f' (forte) and 'p' (piano). There are also some performance instructions like 'Solo' and 'Crescendo'. The handwriting is in dark ink on aged paper.

IX Symphony No. 94. From the MS. possibly written by Joseph Elssler Jr. Formerly in the Archives of Prince Esterházy (now in the National Museum, Budapest).



X The monastery of St. Florian, Upper Austria. Engraving by Vischer c. 1674, before the monastery was remodelled in the Baroque style.



XI The monastery of Lambach, Upper Austria. Engraving by Johann Ziegler, c. 1770.



the Schwarzenberg 'central-archives' (Krummau) and that of the Piaristen Abbey (Kromeritz), contain much material of value, including the original versions of various divertimenti, previously believed lost<sup>44</sup>.

Until the beginning of the 1780's, Haydn seems to have preserved a permanent connection with the Austrian monasteries as well as the various private collections discussed above. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, the influence and position of the monasteries declined sharply, partly as a result of the purges of Joseph II. Lambach, for example, ceased to order Haydn works after about 1772 (see above), and Herzogenburg, which had received a considerable number of Haydn works in the 'sixties, ordered less and less during the 'seventies. Whereas Haydn was actually commissioned by an Austrian monastery to write a cantata in 1768, it is doubtful if this would have occurred twenty years later. The decline in importance of the monasteries coincided with an even more revolutionary change; namely, that during the decade 1780—1790, printed music began to replace handwritten copies. For a while Haydn used to withhold publication of a work until he had sent manuscript copies to those institutions which had, so to speak, a standing order for his latest compositions, but it soon became cheaper and more practical for them to order printed copies from Artaria or Hummel. Even remote French prints found their way into the secluded Austrian abbeys: parts of Venier's editions of Haydn symphonies have been discovered in St. Florian. As Haydn became increasingly famous, he found it more profitable to centre his attentions upon publishers rather than monasteries or princely houses. Typical cases in point are the Haydn masses. The early works are all found in *MS.* copies in the monasteries, up to and including the 'Mariazellermesse' (1782). But almost all the extant manuscripts<sup>45</sup> of those masses printed by Breitkopf which are found in Austrian monasteries turn out to have been copied from the Breitkopf scores. To choose another example: Melk began to purchase Artaria prints during this decade, as did Oettingen-Wallerstein, the Abbey of Seitenstetten, and the libraries in Italy. It was more practical to order Artaria's edition of the 'Paris' symphonies than to request the more expensive copies in manuscript. In Kremsmünster one is surprised to find manuscripts of the 'Paris' and

<sup>44</sup> This information was kindly supplied by Antony van Hoboken.

<sup>45</sup> An important exception is Klosterneuburg.

'Salomon' symphonies; but examination shows that they are simply copies of the Artaria editions.

The question of Haydn prints is one of the most involved and complicated facing the musicologist. This is not the place to enter into the details of this problem; and we have in general restricted ourselves to a discussion of authentic or otherwise important prints.

The earliest editions of Haydn's music seem to have appeared in France during the middle of the 1760's. It will probably never be discovered whether Haydn had anything at all to do with these various editions of the first quartets (*divertimenti*), symphonies and chamber music (string trios, *etc.*); but it is highly doubtful. Nevertheless, the firms Chevardière, Venier, Huberty, *etc.*, managed to collect and issue a very sizeable number of authentic, doubtful and even spurious Haydn works. A few years later, Hummel (Amsterdam and Berlin), Bremner, Longman & Broderip, Forster (London) and several French firms (Bailleux, Sieber), *etc.*, began to find Haydn increasingly profitable. There is, however, absolutely no proof that until the middle or end of the 'seventies Haydn had any compensation for, or even realized the existence of, most of these prints<sup>46</sup>.

Surprisingly enough, Haydn's first dealings with publishers seem to have been, not with his already famous quartets, *divertimenti* and symphonies, but with sonatas. The Viennese publisher Kurzböck issued in the year 1774 the Sonatas for piano (*cembalo*) Nos. 21—26, which were promptly pirated by Hummel, who, probably because of his name and the more elegant lay-out, practically eliminated Kurzböck's edition<sup>47</sup>. In 1779, however, the Viennese firm of Artaria & Company entered into relationship with the composer which proved to be highly profitable for both parties. Until the first London visit, Artaria was Haydn's chief publisher. For our purposes, it shall suffice here to discuss only the symphonies issued by this firm. A word must be added on the subject of 'authentic' and 'non-authentic' editions. It is known that Symphonies Nos. 69 and 79—87 were personally supervised by the composer. The remaining works should, according to Larsen<sup>48</sup>, be considered unsupervised prints. The symphonies which fall into this category are Nos. 73, 76—78, 88—89,

<sup>46</sup> See Pohl I, p. 32 and Larsen, HUB, p. 103.

<sup>47</sup> See Complete Edition, Series XIV, Vol. 1 (Karl Päsler) and also the text revisions of Sonatas 21—26 in Vol. 2.

<sup>48</sup> HUB, p. 106.



93—98 and several works of the second London period. Whether these prints can be traced to Haydn directly or not, Nos. 88—89 and all of the first Salomon symphonies (with the possible exception of No. 94), appear to be based upon sources which came directly either from Haydn or from Elssler<sup>49</sup>. It is possible that Haydn simply entered into an unofficial agreement with Artaria for these works. The matter is, in any case, quite unimportant, since it can be proved that Artaria had reliable manuscripts from which to engrave.

It is generally believed, if not proved, that Haydn also furnished the texts from which Torricella engraved Symphonies No. 73 (issued before Artaria's edition)<sup>50</sup> and Nos. 76—78, which both Hummel and Artaria appear to have reprinted.

Bossler and Boyer, as well as Sieber and Hummel seem to have established some sort of connection with Haydn during these years. Larsen<sup>51</sup> quotes a notice in Cramer's magazine of May 27, 1783, in which Bossler writes: 'I have given the order to... Haydn... for three new... symphonies which he will furnish before the end of June...'; these symphonies are, of course, Nos. 76—78. The composer also offered the works to Boyer, as is shown in a newly discovered letter<sup>52</sup>.

On October 25, 1784, Haydn attempted to persuade Nadermann, the later 'Successeur de C<sup>n</sup>. Boyer', to purchase three new symphonies; the reference to an earlier set of three symphonies is not entirely clear, but possibly the Boyer rather than the Nadermann print is meant. Haydn writes: '....since you... received from me three symphonies of my composition last year, may I now offer three quite new, very diligently composed symphonies, cleanly and correctly written for 15 ducats...' The first three are without doubt Nos. 76—78, the second three Nos. 79—81. The Boyer edition (Opus 37, copy in the Paris Conservatoire, Réserve H 251 a-g) is the only early French engraving of this set thus far discovered. It is not impossible that Boyer and Nadermann made a joint agreement regarding these works.

Haydn's relationship to Hummel is suggested in a number of letters to Artaria, in one of which, dated December 10, 1785<sup>53</sup>, the composer

<sup>49</sup> See Chapter IV.

<sup>50</sup> See Artaria-Botstiber, p. 26.

<sup>51</sup> HUB, p. 111.

<sup>52</sup> The writer wishes to express his thanks to Prof. Otto Erich Deutsch, who drew his attention to this interesting document.

<sup>53</sup> Artaria-Botstiber, p. 34.

threatens to send a score to Hummel in Berlin on account of Artaria's terrible engraving mistakes.

There also seems to have been some kind of connection between Haydn and the French publisher Sieber, for in a letter to Artaria of April 6, 1789<sup>54</sup>, the composer says: '...please expedite immediately the enclosed letter to the Parisian printer Sieber in Paris. It concerns his best interests...' Further and more concrete facts have not as yet come to light, although the correspondence between Count Morzin and Haydn, now in the Sándor Wolf Museum at Eisenstadt, makes frequent reference to Paris. Count Morzin, as early as the beginning of the 'eighties, took great pains to establish Haydn's business relations with the French capital.

In the meantime, Haydn began a profitable business with the English publisher, Forster, who had been printing Haydn's works for several years and now wanted a more reliable source for his firm. During the 1780's<sup>55</sup> the composer sent him the manuscript parts for Symphonies 70, 74, 76—78, 80—81, and 82—87<sup>56</sup>, a total of thirteen works. As was pointed out before, the *MS.* parts for these works by one of the two younger Elsslers and Radnitzky are, with two exceptions (Nos. 70 and 74), still in existence.

Even for the second six Salomon symphonies, printed editions are of secondary importance. (The textual problems of the first set are discussed in the next chapter.) The only editions of Nos. 99-104 of which the authenticity is absolutely certain are Salomon's publication of the complete parts, issued with Monzani & Cimador in London, and two arrangements of all six works (see Appendix I). It is possible that the Gombart (Augsburg) prints of the second set were based on authentic parts, but this is by no means certain. We have no evidence at all, textual or otherwise, that Haydn had anything to do with those published by Imbault, Pleyel, Sieber, André, Hummel, Simrock (despite his assertion that his engravings were made 'd'après les Partitions originales'), Breitkopf & Härtel (scores, issued in 1806 *et seq.*), or Artaria, whose prints of Nos. 100, 101 and 103, issued in 1799, appear to be pirated from one of the German editions. Our knowledge of the

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57 f.

<sup>55</sup> See Larsen, HUB, pp. 116 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Besides the authentic Artaria edition of the 'Paris' symphonies, there are the Imbault prints, 'Gravé d'après les Partitions originales'. Other authentic Imbault editions have not been discovered; see Pohl II, pp. 175 ff.

### *The Sources*

authentic texts of Nos. 99-104 rests solely upon the autographs, the few extant Elssler sources, and the afore-mentioned Salomon edition.

From the foregoing it becomes clear that (1) all the authentic or probably authentic printed editions of Haydn's symphonies are duplicated by authentic MSS.; (2) the authentic prints can only supplement the existing manuscripts in establishing the composer's original texts; and (3) for those symphonies which do not survive in authentic MS(S)., the secondary manuscripts must generally be given preference over the (non-authentic) printed editions. It is hardly surprising that even the rather primitive MS. of Symphony No. 2 in Lambach, to choose an instance at random, gives a more accurate picture of Haydn's music than the early French printed edition by Venier<sup>57</sup>.

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<sup>57</sup> It is a peculiar fact that Haydn scholars often tend to underestimate the importance of MS. orchestral parts. Even such a careful editor as Helmut Schultz insisted again and again on using Le Duc scores instead of the many available MSS. from the Austrian monasteries (see Complete Edition, Series I, Vol. 4).

### CHAPTER III

## CHRONOLOGY

Haydn's catalogues do not list dates of composition, and apart from a smattering of references in Haydn's letters and other contemporary documents (newspapers, *etc.*) we are usually forced to rely on the composer's autographs for exact dates. However, unlike his brother Michael, who dated his manuscripts with a most satisfying exactitude (for example: *di me giovanni michele Haydn, a Salisburgo, 23 Maggio 783*), Joseph very seldom gave the day or even the month of composition<sup>1</sup>, usually confining himself only to the year. After he became very famous, he began to note the place when this was not Vienna, *i. e.* London or Eisenstadt. Within those groups of symphonies surviving in autograph, such as Nos. 21—24 (1764), 28—31 (1765), 45—47 (1772), 54—57 (1774) or 93—96 (1791) it will probably never be possible to establish the exact chronological order.

In Series I of the new Complete Edition<sup>2</sup> it will be noted that Mandyczewski's list of 104 symphonies was left intact, despite the fact that about half of the works are now believed to be in the wrong position. On the other hand, it is doubtful if the intrinsic worth of this catalogue has been impaired; it has taken forty years for Mandyczewski's numbering to be adopted, and even now one occasionally goes to a concert to hear Symphony No. 13<sup>3</sup> and actually hears No. 88. The errors in the list must be separated into several categories. The first concerns those symphonies of which the autographs were discovered after Mandyczewski's list had been published. The autographs affecting chronology are Nos. 40, 49, 83, 87, and 97. Nos. 90 and 91 do not change their positions, despite the fact that B. & H. lists them a year too early. No. 40, dated 1763 instead of before 1770,

<sup>1</sup> Exceptions are Symphony No. 35 (December 1, 1767), the *Missa in Angustiis* ('Nelson Mass'), the *Schöpfungsmesse*, Sonata No. 49 in E flat, a song and some other, smaller pieces. Symphony No. 70 may also belong to this category: see note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Differences between Series I, Vol. 5, and the corrected list in the newest volume (Series I, Vol. 6), may be examined in Appendix I.

<sup>3</sup> The old numbering used by Breitkopf & Härtel until the advent of Mandyczewski's list.

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should follow No. 13; No. 49 (1768 instead of before 1773) should be No. 35 a; Nos. 83 and 87 should precede No. 82 — Mandyczewski dated them one year (1786) later than they were actually written; No. 97 is not 1791/2 but 1792. The second category concerns those works of which sources have been found to bear an earlier date than that assigned in the old list; and the third those which must be assigned a different date for stylistic reasons.

The following list will perhaps clarify the matter most readily. Works having the same date (presence or absence of qualifying *ca.* or *um* is not considered) in both lists are, of course, omitted:

	<i>B. &amp; H. Gesamtausgabe</i>	<i>Haydn Society's edition</i>
3	um 1761 (Br. 1769)	ca. 1760 (Göttweig 1762)
4	um 1761 (Br. 1767)	ca. 1760 (Göttweig 1762)
5	um 1761 (Br. 1766)	ca. 1760 (Göttweig 1762)
10	vor 1763 (Br. 1766)	ca. 1760—3 (Br. 1766)
11	vor 1763 (no reason given)	ca. 1760 (Göttweig 1776)
14	vor 1764 (Br. 1766)	ca. 1763 (Göttweig 1764)
15	vor 1764 (Br. 1767)	ca. 1763 (Göttweig 1764)
16	um 1764 (Br. 1767)	ca. 1760—3 (Göttweig 1766)
17	um 1764 (Br. 1766)	ca. 1760—3 (Br. 1766)
18	um 1764 (Br. 1766)	ca. 1760—4 (Br. 1766)
19	um 1764 (Br. 1766)	ca. 1760—3 (Br. 1766)
20	um 1764 (Br. 1766)	ca. 1760—4 (Br. 1766)
25	um 1765 (Br. 1767)	ca. 1760—4 (Br. 1766)
26	um 1765 (Br. 1775)	ca. 1767—8 (Göttweig 1772)
27	um 1765 (Br. 1769)	ca. 1760—5 (Br. 1769)
32	vor 1766 (Br. 1766)	ca. 1760—5 (Br. 1766)
33	vor 1767 (Br. 1767)	ca. 1763—5 (Br. 1767)
34	vor 1767 (Br. 1767)	ca. 1765 (Br. 1767)
36	vor 1769 (Br. 1769)	ca. 1765—8 (Br. 1769)
37	vor 1769 (no reason given)	ca. 1760—5 (Göttweig 1769)
38	vor 1769 (Br. 1769)	ca. 1767—8 (Göttweig and Br. 1769)
39	vor 1770 (Br. 1773)	ca. 1768 (Göttweig 1770)
40	vor 1770 (Br. 1776)	1763 (Autograph)
41	vor 1771 (Br. 1772)	ca. 1770 (Göttweig 1771)
49	vor 1773 (Br. 1773)	1768 (Autograph)
51	vor 1774 (Br. 1774)	ca. 1772—4 (Br. 1774)
52	vor 1774 (Br. 1774)	ca. 1772—4 (Br. 1774)
53	vor 1774 (Br. 1779)	ca. 1775 (Br. 1779)
58	vor 1775 (no reason given)	ca. 1767—8 (Göttweig 1775 and EK-1)
59	vor 1776 (Br. 1776)	ca. 1767—8 (Göttweig and Kremsmünster 1769, EK-1)
62	1777 (Br. 1782)	ca. 1780 (Le Duc 1779/80)
64	vor 1778 (Br. 1778)	ca. 1775 (Br. 1778)
65	vor 1778 (Br. 1778)	ca. 1772—4 (EK-1, Br. 1778)
66—68	vor 1779 (Br. 1779)	ca. 1778—9 (Hummel 1779)
69	vor 1779 (Br. 1779)	ca. 1778—9 (Göttweig 1779)
70	1779 (Br. 1782)	ca. 1780 <sup>4</sup> (Göttweig 1781)

<sup>4</sup> Parts in the Esterházy archives, partly by Joseph Elssler, are dated '779 die 18<sup>te</sup> Xbris'.

### Chronology

	<i>B. &amp; H. Gesamtausgabe</i>	<i>Haydn Society's edition</i>
72	vor 1781 (Br. 1781)	ca. 1761—5 (stylistic grounds)
74	vor 1782 (Br. 1782/4)	ca. 1780 (Forster 1781?)
75	vor 1782 (Br. 1782/4)	ca. 1783 (Göttweig 1781)
76—78	vor 1782 (Br. 1782/4)	ca. 1783 (Torricella 1783?)
79—80	um 1783 (Br. 1785)	ca. 1784 (Forster 1784) <sup>5</sup>
81	um 1784 (Br. 1785)	ca. 1784 (Forster 1784)
83, 87	1786 (no reason given)	1785 (Autograph)
90, 91	um 1787 (no reason given)	1788 (Autograph)
97	1791/2 (no reason given)	1792 (Autograph)

The most significant changes apart from those works shifted because of an autograph are Nos. 26, 58, 59, 65 and 72, whose new positions are prompted by internal as well as external reasons.

As in deciding the authenticity of a given symphony, the establishment of its chronological position must be determined through two basic factors: external and internal evidence; and just as in using these two factors to decide a problem of authenticity, it is preferable to make the basic decision, if possible, on purely external grounds. Internal evidence must, as always, be used with extreme caution, but as will be shown below, there are certain cases where an erroneous chronological position can be rectified by examining internal criteria.

Haydn's autographs from the years 1761 to 1795 provide us with exact dates for Symphonies 7, 9, 13, 21—24, 28—31, 35, 40, 42, 45—47, 49, 50, 54—57, 61, 63, 73, 82—84, 86—87, 89—91 and 93—104. They also furnish a valuable basis for comparison with incomplete or undated autographs, whose general appearance (handwriting, *etc.*) and type of paper (watermarks) can be compared with existing, dated holograph manuscripts. However, very few symphonic fragments of this nature have been discovered, and the one important autograph fragment still remains shrouded in mystery. The C major Symphony in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 12) is described by Larsen as a 'Symphony-Fragment (?)' and dated by him *c.* 1769—1773 on the basis of the watermarks (Esterházy paper with letters 'IGW' and springing stag); it turns out to have a last movement which Haydn used as the first version of the finale of Symphony No. 63, the first movement of which is in turn based on the Overture to *Il Mondo della Luna*, dated 1777. The C major fragment includes a minuet which was not, how-

<sup>5</sup> Symphony No. 79 was not one of those sent by Haydn to Forster; whether Haydn deliberately omitted it is not known. That it belongs to the other two is attested by several MSS. and prints.

ever, used in No. 63; and Haydn, perhaps noting that the (original) finale was in a style more akin to the symphonies of c. 1773/1774, substituted another of a very different character. (The symphony is discussed in Chapter X.)

If, however, the autographs do not shed much light on the few extant fragments<sup>6</sup>, they do provide a most important basis for dating other copies using the same paper. A short summary of the salient characteristics of Haydn's autographs therefore appears necessary. Photographs of typical specimens from the years 1761, 1763, 1765, 1768, 1774, 1777, 1782, c. 1785, 1788, 1791, 1794 and 1795 are reproduced in this book. As may be observed by examining these accompanying illustrations, Haydn's handwriting, as well as the size and format of the paper, underwent considerable changes in the more than three decades which these autographs span. The most striking difference between the earliest and the most mature MSS. is the steadily decreasing size of his handwriting together with the steadily increasing sense of exactitude. Larsen<sup>7</sup> describes the whole process as follows:

Haydn's handwriting in his earlier works can best be described as large. From about the middle of the 'sixties the size decreases little by little and settles into a middle size from the beginning of the 'seventies to the early 'nineties. From this point onwards the handwriting becomes still smaller, and very thin and fine, often presenting a most attractive picture from an aesthetic standpoint; all of which is in keeping with the fact that the works of this last period — like those of the earlier years — are generally very carefully written, in contradistinction to the time (from about 1770 to 1790) in between, when Haydn often turned out manuscripts in great haste.

Whereas the earlier manuscripts are often rather angular, with their tall stems, long staccato dots and typically baroque format, the later manuscripts are surprisingly twentieth-century in their precise, unromantic efficiency. In his earlier MSS. Haydn will often write out the words *piano*, *pianiss*, *forte*, *fortiss*, *col'arco*, or *forzato*, as time goes on there are more and more *pia*, *for*, *forz*, and finally *p*, *f*, *ff*, *arco*, *fz*. Similarly, Haydn is at first very careful to note *Viola col Basso*, while later he contents himself with the sign // or simply the insertion of the bass clef into the viola's stave.

<sup>6</sup> The first two pages of No. 85 (Berlin Staatsbibliothek) are undated; as it is almost certain that the work belongs to the 1785–1786 group of 'Paris' symphonies, a comparison of the fragment with its neighbouring symphonies does not yield more than we had previously surmised.

<sup>7</sup> HUB, pp. 159 f.

### Chronology

The music-paper used by Haydn in his symphonies can be conveniently separated into three basic categories<sup>8</sup>, a division which can be more or less applied to the entire span of Haydn's compositions: (1) Italian, (2) Esterházy and (3) English types. The Italian paper was presumably used for the symphonies up until 1762, as attested by the extant autographs of other categories of compositions during this most obscure period of Haydn's life<sup>9</sup>. The only autograph of a symphony written before No. 56 (1774) to use this Italian paper is No. 7. Between No. 7 and No. 56 (beginning with No. 12 of 1763) all the symphonic autographs utilize Esterházy paper. There are, however, several Haydn MSS. written on Italian paper in this period which is otherwise devoted to the Esterházy sort. Haydn's symphonic activity might be said to correspond with his paper types roughly as follows (only extant autographs are considered):

- (up until) 1762: Italian (No. 7)
- 1762—1774: Esterházy (Nos. 12—55)
- 1774—1788: Italian (Nos. 56—91)
- 1791—1792: English (Nos. 94—98)
- 1793: Italian (No. 99 and parts of 100 and 101)
- 1794—1795: English (Nos. 102—104 and parts of 100 and 101)

The Italian paper has as its main characteristics a quarto or oblong format generally of ten or twelve staves with watermarks which almost always, as far as can be determined, consist of three

<sup>8</sup> See HUB, pp. 162 ff. Until recently it was believed that the three-crescent paper was Viennese in origin. However, the monumental treatise, *Watermarks mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* by Edward Heawood (Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae, Hilversum, 1950) shows without any question that this paper was Italian. Many such Italian watermarks in Heawood's book (e. g. Nos. 813, 824, 867, 869, 870, 874, 876, 877, 878, 884 [identical with 820!], 1262 and 1263) are also found in Haydn's autographs. Furthermore, proof of this fact comes, surprisingly, from Haydn's own pen: in a receipt in the Esterházy Archives (HUB, p. 167) Haydn refers to 'venezianisches Papier', which was in fact the place of origin of most of the paper he used. Larsen (HUB, pp. 167 ff.) requires considerable correction in this regard. The Italian paper was exported to Vienna and, being superior to that produced by local Austrian mills, was used there not only for MSS. but also for printed music, as I was able to discover by examination of the watermarks found in numerous prints by Artaria et al.

<sup>9</sup> The Divertimento in F for 2 English horns, 2 bassoons, 2 horns and 2 violins of 1760; the 'Seitenstetten' minuets (undated); the *Salve Regina* and the Organ Concerto in C major, both of 1756 (?). (In the two latter MSS. Haydn added the date about 1800 and, in view of his notably poor memory, 1756 cannot with certainty be regarded as correct.)



half moons with various accompanying letters. This paper was used by countless composers, copyists and printers and can be found in enormous quantity to-day in the larger Austrian libraries as well as in various other European centres to which Viennese or Italian music was exported. The three half moons are generally of a decreasing size, each one smaller than its neighbour, but it can also happen that they are of almost equal size<sup>10</sup>. The accompanying letters are many and varied, sometimes a single letter ('M', 'W'), sometimes two or more ('GV', 'GFA' or 'REAL') on one line, here and there in more than one line ('BV' over 'C'). Until about the turn of the century, the presence of the three crescents is, with the exception of one or two types of paper (such as that containing the letters 'GF' under a cartouche, together with three stars in an ornate baroque frame), almost obligatory. It may have been decided to introduce a change with the new century, for after about 1800 a single half moon begins to make its appearance. It is significant that only very late works of Haydn, such as the *Harmoniemesse* (1802) and the Scottish songs (after 1800) utilize this one-moon type of paper. The authentic parts of *The Seasons*<sup>11</sup> (composed in 1801) and some of the authentic parts to *The Creation* also bear this watermark. The various letters found together with both the single- and three-moon paper can, up to a certain point, be used to determine the approximate date of a manuscript or print. Unfortunately, no one seems to have made a thorough study of this particular phase of European musical life, though a specialized treatise would be of invaluable help in establishing the chronology of many manuscripts of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert. While it was not possible to devote more than a limited space to this problem, the author thought it of sufficient importance to list all the watermarks of the principal sources in the catalogue (Appendix I). In order to supplement the information gained by examining Haydn's own dated autographs<sup>12</sup> a number of dated manuscripts by Haydn's contemporaries, such as Gluck and Mozart, has been consulted. Chronological data derived from these watermarks must, however, be

<sup>10</sup> As in the paper of Haydn's (undated) autograph of a set of minuets with trios in the Monastery of Seitenstetten (now Nationalbibliothek, Vienna).

<sup>11</sup> Discovered by the author in 1950 in the Vienna Stadtbibliothek together with the original performance material of *The Creation*.

<sup>12</sup> An incomplete but useful list of Haydn's autographs using Italian watermarks is found in Larsen, HUB, pp. 167—169.

used with considerable caution. For example, the authentic copy of Symphony No. 67, partly by Joseph Elssler, in the monastery of Kremsmünster utilizes Italian paper with two sets of watermarks: (1) three half-moons of decreasing size, an ornament containing three stars and a moon depending from it with the letters 'GF'; (2) three half moons of decreasing size with the letter 'M'. Haydn's autographs using these watermarks are *inter alia* dated 1771 ('M' alone), 1773<sup>13</sup> (the 'GF' type), and 1777 (the 'GF' type). Another example: the copy of Symphony No. 77 (c. 1783) in the Esterházy archives contains, *inter alia*, the watermark 'GFA' under an eagle. This watermark appears in Haydn autographs of 1779 and 1798 as well as in paper used for the authentic material to *The Seasons* (after 1801). It can be seen from these two examples that a certain type of Italian paper was often in circulation for many years, rendering its usefulness for the purpose of exact dating somewhat unsatisfactory. Nevertheless, after a long study of these watermarks, a certain definite pattern seems to emerge, which will undoubtedly make very good sense when all the salient information is collected. It is hoped that the list which has been prepared will provide incentive to examine this problem more thoroughly than is possible within the confines of this book.

Haydn's second general type of paper is probably Hungarian in origin<sup>14</sup>. This Esterházy paper has as its primary characteristic a splendid stag springing into the air, with various letters attached; these, as far as Haydn sources are concerned, are 'IGW', 'IGS', and 'IGP'. The latter, instead of having a stag as partner, has a rather comical figure of a 'baroque' man with a cocked hat, knee breeches and

<sup>13</sup> A copy of Symphony No. 29 in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna (cat. XII, 8117), dated '7 Aug: 773', also contains the 'GF' type of watermark.

<sup>14</sup> Larsen, HUB, p. 163, footnotes 8 and 9. Recently (1951), I was able to study the MSS. in the Stadtpfarrkirche at Eisenstadt, where there are many valuable old sources by Caldara, Pergolesi (*Stabat Mater*) as well as Haydn. *Inter alia* I discovered several new types of stag in these MSS., one of which stood stationary with his head slightly over his shoulder, another being a tiny animal about one-fifth the size of those found in Haydn MSS. Although the stag is a typical feature of this Esterházy paper it is not limited to Burgenland and the East but appears in paper produced by the monastery of Kremsmünster. The Kremsmünster stag, which is considerably different from that of the Esterházy paper, can be seen in the piece listed under Joseph Haydn's name there, 'O Tremenda Majestas', cat. Ser. D, Fasc. 13, 21. Under the stag is a semicircular ornament with the words 'CREMSMUNSTER' and 'FAW'. See below, p. 63.

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a long frock coat; the man appears to have something in his right hand. Concerning the latter type of paper — which appears in Haydn's autographs of Symphonies 46 and 55, and in a *MS.* of Symphony No. 39 in the monastery of Schlögl — there seems to be some mystery. Whereas the other 'stag types' are to be found in a great many Haydn manuscripts from 1762 to about 1775, the baroque man with 'IGP' was only found in these two autographs and one copy. If this is, indeed, Esterházy paper, and the letters 'IGP' are sufficiently close to 'IGW' and 'IGS' to make this more than likely, it is strange that Haydn used it so rarely. The entire credit for discovering this 'stag paper' must go to Larsen, who also unearthed a detail concerning the manufacture of this paper which is most enlightening. Quoting a treatise by Viktor Papp<sup>15</sup> in which is said 'in the (princely) paper factory at Lockenhaus the music paper for the Haydn band was manufactured separately', Larsen suggests that the use of the various letters in the 'stag paper' — 'IGS', 'IGW', 'IGP' — represents the initials of one family, the change of the last letter indicating the various members of it, in accordance with the inverted order of family names practiced in Hungary to this day. If we assume that the music paper made in Lockenhaus is in fact this type containing the stag, which is a logical explanation for such a rare sort of paper, then the presence of this Esterházy paper in such a collection as that of the Stadtpfarrkirche<sup>16</sup> in Eisenstadt suggests that either the copyist had access to the princely paper stores, legally or illegally, or that the copy was made under Haydn's personal supervision; perhaps all three explanations are true in different cases.

Larsen<sup>17</sup> has discovered twelve various types of stags which use the accompanying letters as follows: 1762 (1761?)—1768, 'IGS'; 1767 (1766?)—1775, 'IGW'; 1772 and 1774, 'IGP'. This is not the place to go into further details of the twelve types of stags; but it is hoped that a new edition of HUB will provide illustrations of the various types, for verbal descriptions alone must of necessity be unsatisfactory. The validity of Larsen's chronological assumptions made

<sup>15</sup> HUB p. 163 (and *ff.*), esp. footnote 8. Viktor Papp, *Beethoven és a magyarok* (1927), p. 57.

<sup>16</sup> The 'stag paper' with 'IGW' is found in the *Offertorium de Spiritu Sancto* arranged from *Applausus* (Pohl II, cat. m-1) cat. 101 (old No. 50). Some MSS. by Werner in the Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt, also utilize 'stag paper'.

<sup>17</sup> HUB, p. 164 *ff.*

on the basis of the extant Esterházy autographs is only strengthened by the few recent discoveries of authentic Haydn MSS. using 'stag' paper<sup>18</sup>.

Haydn's English paper is the easiest to recognize. It usually bears as its primary watermark the lily (*fleur-de-lys*) and often contains, moreover, the firm which produced the paper, such as 'J. WHATMAN' or 'J. LARKING'; a number of examples may be observed by consulting the autographs of the 'Salomon' symphonies. Several other characteristic ornaments and letters are found, such as 'GR', a lyre, and so on. After 1794 not only the firm and its signs but also the date was included in the watermark; it is to be regretted that this admirable procedure was first introduced so late in Haydn's lifetime; nevertheless, because of the new law we are able, by examining the watermarks, to date a number of rather late copies in the British Museum which are erroneously described as Salomon's orchestral material used under Haydn's supervision; the parts themselves all bear dates after 1800, several years after Haydn left London for the last time. Would that the Italian firms had included dates with their watermarks!

For copies of Haydn's music, not only the three basic groups (Italy, Esterházy, London) of music paper come into consideration, but also various local types. It is of considerable value to know, for example, whether a source in an Austrian monastery was written on paper of an Italian, Esterházy, or local firm; and for this reason we have found it worthwhile to attempt to identify the watermarks of several paper mills in localities, such as Upper Austria with its many monasteries, where important Haydn sources are found.

Perhaps the most prevalent type of this 'local' paper consists of a thick, 4°-sized sheet bearing the watermarks of a baroque man in frock holding a hammer in one hand and standing beside a sort of shield with crossed hammers upon it, and accompanied by the letters 'IK' or 'IL'. This type bears a certain resemblance to the 'IGP'-baroque-man identified as Esterházy paper; nevertheless it is prob-

<sup>18</sup> As examples the newly discovered MSS. by Joseph Elssler in St. Florian may be cited. Symphony No. 14 is not on 'stag' paper and does not, therefore, come into consideration here. Symphonies 21 (autograph: 1764) and 29 (autograph: 1765) both contain stags with the letters 'IGS'. The Joseph Elssler MS. of the *Missa Sti. Nicolai* (autograph: 1772) utilizes, like the composer's autograph (Berlin Staatsbibliothek), a stag with the letters 'IGW'.

able that they were not made in the same factory. The 'IK'-hammer paper is found in Haydn copies *inter alia* in the monasteries of Melk, Seitenstetten, Herzogenburg, Schlägl, St. Florian, Lambach, Kremsmünster, Schlierbach, Admont (formerly Pfarrkirche, Bad Aussee; now Graz) and St. Lambrecht — an area ranging from near Vienna, to the Czecho-Slovak-German border, and into the middle of Steiermark. It may be that we are dealing with a product of a mill at or near Linz.

The paper mill at Kremsmünster also produced some characteristic paper found in Haydn copies, not only in Kremsmünster itself, but in the neighbouring monasteries of Schlierbach, Lambach and St. Florian. Of the numerous Kremsmünster examples, two basic types seem to emerge, at least from an examination of Haydn copies. The first of these contains one of the Kremsmünster coat of arms (either containing four sections, the standard coat of arms, or six, as over the main portal of the monastery). The second of these contains an animal, often a tall stag with one front hoof raised in a rather coy fashion, together with a circular pattern supporting the words 'CREMS MUNSTER' and 'FAW'; occasionally a springing horse was substituted for the stag, and now and then a lion (the examples of this latter were too faint to permit positive identification). The three initials belong, according to information from P. Dr. Altmann Kellner, OSB<sup>19</sup>, to the family Wurm, who managed the paper mill throughout its existence.

Of the many other types of paper found in Haydn copies, two merit brief attention here. The copy of Symphony No. 14 by Joseph Elssler in St. Florian contains a rather large *fleur-de-lys* together with the letters 'IAVG'. Further examples of this paper are some Haydn sources in Melk (Divertimento in F major, dated 1776, and Divertimento in G major, dated 1773 — Haydn-Verzeichnis 20 and 2, resp.) and the *Offertorium de Spiritu Sancto* in the Stadtpfarrkirche at Eisenstadt<sup>20</sup> where, however, the letters 'IAVG' are found with a rooster sitting, apparently, on these letters over what seem to be the teeth

<sup>19</sup> For his great kindness in this as in all matters I should again like to express my warmest thanks.

<sup>20</sup> Cat. No. 91, old cat. No. 51. This work utilizes parts of the cantata *Applausus* of 1768, ending with an 'Alleluja' which Haydn added especially for this adaptation (autograph partly in the Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt; complete photograph of the autograph there).

of a saw. A recent (1954) trip to the monastery of Melk has enabled us to identify the paper mill from which this type of paper comes. One of the two copies of Haydn's Symphony No. 40 in Melk (cat. IV, No. 50) uses folio paper (c.  $36 \times 23$  cm.) on which the staves have been drawn by hand. The watermarks are (1) the letters 'IAVG'; (2) an eagle in a coat-of-arms; and (3) an eagle worked into a coat-of-arms with the letters 'S.POLTEN' in a semicircle above, and the letters 'ICP' in a straight row beneath. It was, then, a paper mill in the Austrian town of St. Pölten, situated between Vienna and Melk, which furnished this particular type of paper. Further examination of the Haydn copies at Melk revealed additional copies of this as well as other watermarks from the St. Pölten paper mill.

The second type has, as its characteristic watermark, a large number '4', with a line through the lower part, which sits on a heart containing various letters. Although this watermark appears in the Elssler (Haydn) catalogue of 1805, prepared in Vienna, and in an old Viennese theory book of 1770<sup>21</sup>, it is typical for the paper mills of Augsburg, Nürnberg (Heawood, *op. cit.*, Nos. 2938, 3224, 3231, *etc.*) and also Tyrol, especially Innsbruck; for this reason it is found in many of the Haydn sources at Stams, a monastery near the Tyrolean capital. Its presence in Viennese manuscripts or books is, in any case, sufficiently rare that one is curious to know where Haydn, or Elssler, purchased the paper for HV.

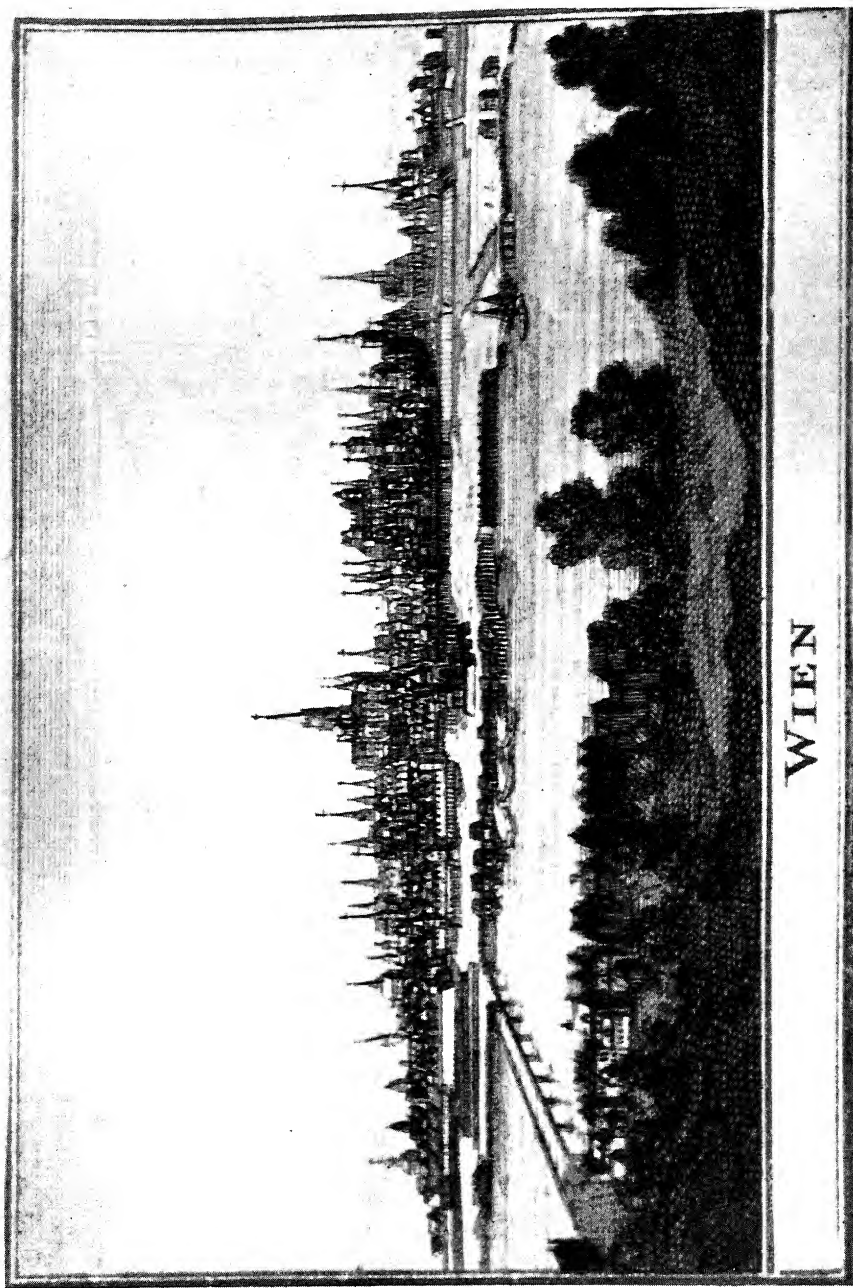
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There is a large number of symphonies for which there is no autograph, and which cannot be dated exactly. Especially amongst the first forty there are many which cannot be assigned an exact chronological position. Most of these are placed 'ca. 1760—1763' or '1761—1765' in the new list of the Complete Edition, thus allowing considerable leeway. To decide, for example, which of these should be placed in the pre-Eisenstadt category — as opposed to the earliest Eisenstadt years — is practically impossible in some cases and uncertain at the very best. There are, however, several sources besides Haydn's autographs which lend invaluable assistance to us in determining chronological order. Of these the most important is undoubtedly EK.

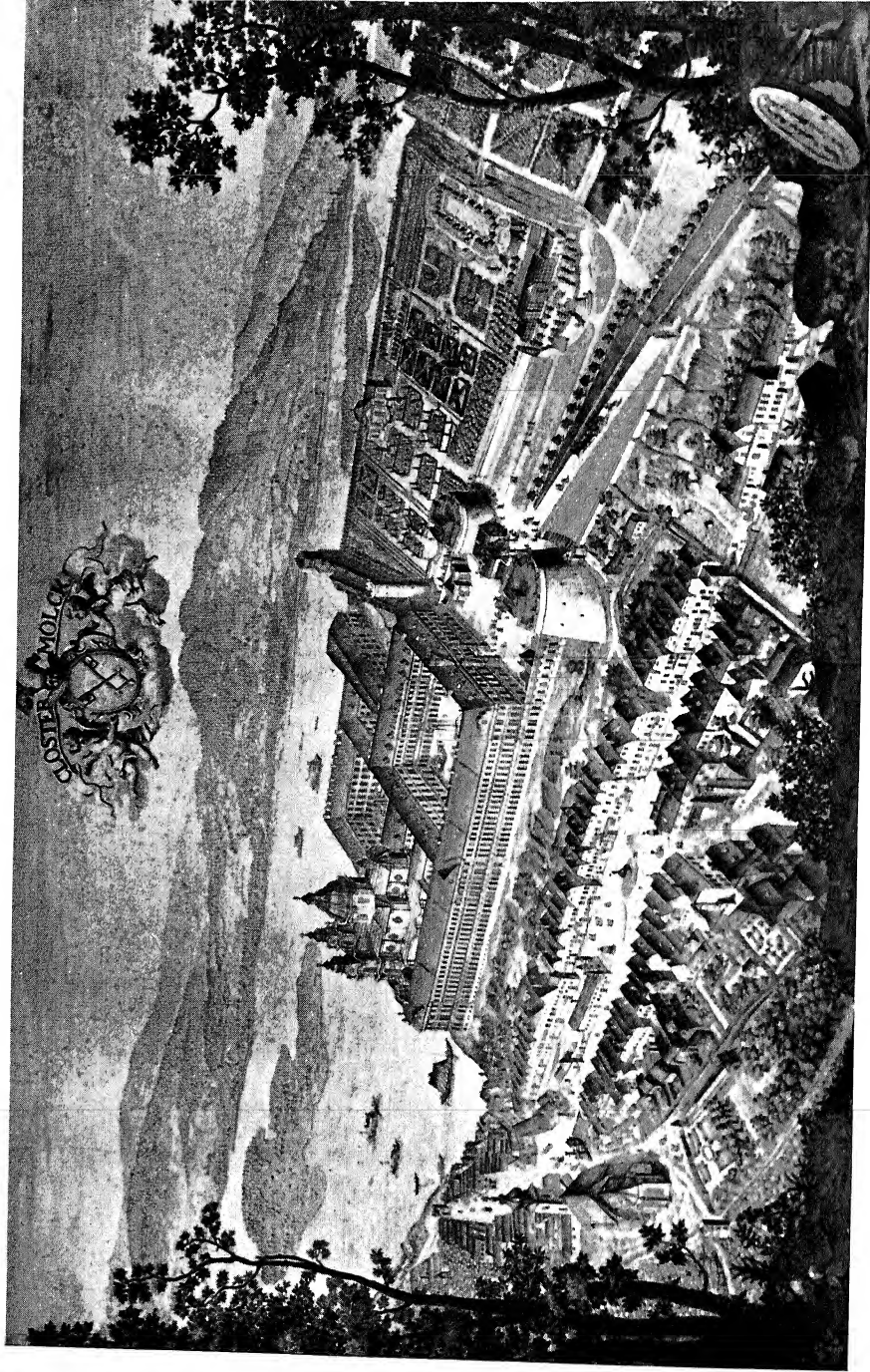
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<sup>21</sup> Daube (see Bibliography).

XII Vienna. Engraving  
by an unknown master,  
early 18th century.







XIII The monastery  
of Melk, Lower Austria.  
Engraving after a  
watercolour by Fritz  
Rosenstingl, c. 1750.



As we have seen in Chapter I, EK is of unique value for establishing the authenticity of symphonies after 1765 and up to about 1784, the approximate year in which the last entry of the second part (pages twenty-five through twenty-eight) was made. Similarly, EK provides us with much information about the chronology of the works between 1765 and 1784. Except for one symphony (No. 50) all those works which Mandyczewski considered as belonging to this period but which are lacking in the first two parts of EK, viz., Nos. 30, 32, 33, 36, 37<sup>22</sup> and 40, must be assigned to the year 1765 or earlier either on the basis of dated autographs (No. 30 [aut. 1765], No. 40 [aut. 1763]) or on account of unmistakable stylistic evidence.

One curious entry amongst those symphonies listed on pages one and two of EK is that of No. 27, placed by Haydn on page one directly after the (Joseph Elssler) theme of the Scherzando in A. As we have pointed out before<sup>23</sup>, the entry for No. 27 seems to indicate that it was made as a supplement to the early, lost portion of EK, and that the peculiar number '12' placed beside it must refer to its insertion amongst the earliest works. Its terse, three-movement structure, and its general thematic character and orchestration make it impossible to believe that it has anything to do with the other entries, which begin with three symphonies, all dated (autograph) 1765. The only other puzzling entries are, as far as the symphonies are concerned, the two themes of Nos. 39 and 20, which Haydn added in pencil on the top of page two. No. 39 first appears in the Göttsweig catalogue in 1770, is also in the Breitkopf catalogue of 1773, and in every way suggests the period of c. 1767/1768. No. 20, on the other hand, is a work which one would place years before, possibly even before 1761. Probably both<sup>24</sup> are afterthoughts, despite the high numbers assigned to them by Haydn ('54' and '55' resp.).

The remaining entries found on the first two pages of EK are far easier to analyse. On page one, Haydn seems to have put down Nos. 29 and 31 together. Both works were composed in 1765 (autographs). The next entry, No. 28, uses slightly darker ink and may have been added<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Nos. 32, 33, 36 and 37 are, however, listed in the third part of EK, made, as we have seen, about the end of the century.

<sup>23</sup> See p. 5. These two pages are reproduced as Plates II and III.

<sup>24</sup> No. 39 appears again, on p. 26, third theme from the top.

<sup>25</sup> The numbering of the three works also suggests this: No. 29 ('40'), 31 ('41'), 28 ('45').

### *Chronology*

together with the next three themes, although No. 28 was also composed in 1765 (autograph). The next are Nos. 35, 59 and 38, and, perhaps a little later, Nos. 49 and 58. No. 35 was composed in December, 1767, No. 49 in 1768. This block is of great importance, showing, as it does, that Nos. 58 and 59 were assigned far too high a place in the 104 and should rightfully be placed between the (approximate) numbers 35 and 39. Still later (possibly 1769 or 1770?) are the three entries at the top right of page two: an overture and Symphonies 26 and 41; EK is of great importance for the correct position of No. 26, which Mandyczewski placed some ten numbers too low. The lost D major Symphony on the left seems to have been entered about this time. Turning again to page one, left hand column, we find a whole row of works which appear to have been entered at three different times; at the bottom No. 42 (autograph: 1771), in the middle Nos. 65, 48, (46 crossed out), 47, 44, 52, 43, of which only Nos. 46 and 47 (both dated 1772) exist in autograph. At the top, Nos. 45 (1772) and 46 (for the second [?] time) were placed. Probably these two represent the last symphonic entries on pages one and two of EK. Particularly interesting is the presence of No. 65 together with the works of 1772, showing that it was placed twenty numbers too high by Mandyczewski. No. 52, which was dated 'before 1774' in the old list, should be moved backwards to *c.* 1772.

The first two pages of EK, then, have provided invaluable material for re-establishing the positions of Symphonies 26, 52, 58, and 59 and for confirming the approximate dates of a number of works not existing in autograph: Nos. 39, 41, 43, 44, 48.

As Larsen points out<sup>26</sup>, pages one and twenty-four of EK seem to 'bear... clear traces of having served as a cover for a long time.' Assuming that the original beginning of the catalogue was lost in Haydn's lifetime — and the confused duplication of symphonies throughout EK strengthens this supposition — Haydn must have wished to replace the many earlier works. That he did not take this matter very seriously until much later — perhaps shortly before HV was prepared — is perhaps one explanation for the peculiar duplications which take place in the next block entry. Page twenty-five begins the second section of EK. Larsen<sup>27</sup> identifies the copyist

<sup>26</sup> HUB, p. 221.

<sup>27</sup> HUB, p. 221.

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who made the first block entry of symphonies on pages twenty-five and twenty-six as 'Elssler (?)', by which the elder copyist is meant. The handwriting is, however, not that of the elder Elssler but an unknown person whose handwriting can be found on various pages of orchestral parts in the Esterházy library; probably he was one of the members of the Esterházy band. The watermarks of the new portion of the catalogue correspond with the last 'stag paper' used by Haydn and suggest the date of this new section of EK as about 1776. Of the works preserved in autograph, one is dated 1771, four 1774 and one 1776. The following are the symphonies of this block entry: (p.25) Nos. 64, 42, 51, 55, 43, 54, 56, 57, 68, 9; (p.26) Nos. 61, 66, 39, 33. Of these Nos. 39, 42 and 43 are duplications of works already entered by Haydn on pages one and two. Apart from two very early works (Nos. 9 and 33), which may have been accidentally entered here, the others seem to have a certain vague kind of order: No. 42 (autograph: 1771), 51 (c. 1772/1774)<sup>28</sup>, 55 (autograph: 1774), 43 (Breitkopf cat.: 1772), 54, 56, 57 (all three autographs: 1774), 68 (Hummel: 1779), 61 (autograph: 1776), 66 (Hummel: 1779). The most important hint comes, however, on the first page of these entries, where No. 64 heads the list; there is a good deal of internal evidence that suggests an earlier date than its appearance in the Breitkopf catalogue of 1778. In the Haydn Society list the work is given the date of c. 1775; it might even be placed a year or two earlier on the strength of EK combined with the inner criteria which will be discussed below<sup>29</sup>.

Following this block entry, the themes are again in Haydn's handwriting. The first two of these (Nos. 69 and 67) were presumably entered between those of the unknown copyist and the four which Haydn placed at the bottom of the page: Nos. 71, 63, 75 and 53. Larsen<sup>30</sup> thinks that Nos. 69 and 67 were entered c. 1777—1779, the other four about 1780. He points out, however, that the first movement of No. 63 is dated — in its form as overture to 'Il Mondo della Luna' — as 1777; but, as we shall see, and as Larsen thinks possible, this symphony was probably put together at least two years after the date of the opera. The most curious entry of all is No. 53, which was supposed to have been performed in London in 1774. No. 53 is first

<sup>28</sup> Assigned too high a number by Mandyczewski.

<sup>29</sup> See Chapter IX, 'Chronology'.

<sup>30</sup> HUB, p. 221.

mentioned, otherwise, in the Breitkopf catalogue of 1780, a date which is probably nearer the truth. The whole problem of this symphony is treated elsewhere<sup>31</sup>.

On pages twenty-seven and twenty-eight, Haydn continued to enter the themes of symphonies. On the top of page twenty-seven, he put down four works (Nos. 27, 12, 72 and the second movement of No. 34) with the curious remark: 'diese folgenden gehen ab' (these following are wanting), which presumably applies to the preparation of a later catalogue, possibly the latter part of EK, or a draft for HV. Why No. 27 is duplicated, in view of the fact that Haydn put down the theme on page one, remains a mystery. The remaining works on pages twenty-seven and twenty-eight are (p. 27): No. 60, Overture II, 1, Nos. 70, 62, 74; (p. 28): No. 73, Overture II, 13 (*L'Isola disabitata*), Nos. 78, 77, 76 and 81. As the earlier works are liberally interspersed with mature pieces, the whole set of themes loses a good deal of whatever chronological significance might have been in the original entries.

The final portion of EK, comprising pages thirty-one to thirty-four, is to be considered a draft for HV. The copyist of the Kees catalogue began this third part of EK; and, indeed, the whole section may be called an appendage to the Kees catalogue. Since this part of EK was probably prepared after 1800, it can have no bearing on our problem.

As the foregoing paragraphs suggest, EK's use in establishing the chronology of Haydn's symphonies decreases with each of the three portions; and whereas the first part was of utmost importance in this respect, the second was of far lesser value and the third of none whatever. EK is, moreover, only of value for the symphonies after 1765; the few earlier works entered at various times are, for our purpose, after-thoughts. Nor is it of much value after the period beginning about 1785. The lost beginning of this catalogue would, if found, undoubtedly be the most important single source for the early symphonies, not only as regards chronology but also authenticity. It should not be forgotten that EK's value as a basis for determining chronology is primarily negative inasmuch as the entries can at best only suggest to us the *latest* possible date of composition<sup>32</sup>. This

<sup>31</sup> See p. 306.

<sup>32</sup> The Kees catalogue also attempts to place Haydn's symphonies in some rough system of chronological order; but this is very approximate at best, and there are some serious mistakes, *inter alia* the presence of Symphonies Nos. 4, 37 and 58

negative reasoning also applies to the dates found on old *MSS.* or in catalogues; thus, all the Haydn works in the original scheme of the Lambach catalogue must have been composed before 1768, at which date the *MS.* was prepared. In this respect, Mandyczewski's usual procedure of dating uncertain works as 'before' a given date is more exact than the new Haydn Society's attempt to combine inner and outer criteria, expressed in the thematic catalogue by 'about' instead of 'before'.

If EK may be considered the primary source for chronology besides the composer's autographs or dated authentic parts (*cf.* Symphony No. 70 in the Esterházy archives), the so-called 'Breitkopf Catalogue(s)' are scarcely of less importance (see also Chapter I; reproduction of two pages from the 1769 supplement as Plate I). The catalogue began as follows: 'Parte I<sup>ma</sup>' (1762), 'Parte II<sup>da</sup>' (1762), 'Parte III<sup>za</sup>—IV<sup>ta</sup>' (1763), 'Parte V<sup>ta</sup>—VI<sup>ta</sup>' (1765). Supplements to the original catalogue were then brought out as the demant warranted, 'Supplemento' I—XVI being printed during the years 1766—1787. Although the original title refers only to manuscripts which were for sale, later supplements also included printed editions. Unfortunately, all the manuscripts which Breitkopf & Härtel must have amassed during the eighteenth century were sold at various times, occasionally even by auction, in the early part of the nineteenth century; and the only Haydn symphony which appears to have remained in the archives is an old *MS.* copy of Symphony No. 64. Since the catalogue and supplements tell us that almost every Haydn symphony was at one time for sale in the Breitkopf office, the loss of their *MSS.* is a very great one. But the catalogue remains invaluable for chronology, even if, like EK, its worth is negative in that it is able to provide only the latest possible date. Similar to EK, it begins to be of value about 1765, for the early (1759—1765) symphonies cannot be dated by using the catalogue. And, following the pattern of EK, its value rises continually until the middle 'seventies and then begins to decline, so that at the last (1787) its value is as negligible as EK's at that period.

For dating the early symphonies, not to speak of textual matters, the Göttweig catalogue and the *MSS.* from which the catalogue was

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in the midst of the 'Paris' symphonies; this error can be directly traced to the entries by this same copyist in the latter part of EK (pp. 31 and 32). Elssler, using Kees as his primary source, duplicates this faithfully.

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compiled are of great worth. The monastery at Göttweig<sup>33</sup> seems to have taken particular care to have its monks — for almost all of the Haydn MSS. are signed by either 'P. Odo', 'P. Leandri' or some other cleric — date their copies. As is often the case with MSS. in the Austrian monasteries, more than half of the Haydn symphonies found in the catalogue are no longer extant, and we must be more than grateful that we at least have the systematic catalogue to account for what is now missing.

The Sigmaringen catalogue, begun in 1766, and the Lambach catalogue of 1768 are unfortunately too restricted in the number of compositions by Haydn to assist us in establishing chronology. But the other monasteries, especially Kremsmünster<sup>34</sup>, have left us a quantity of dated Haydn MSS. (What must have been a considerable number of dated title pages in the monastery at Melk were destroyed and new covers substituted.)

Isolated early prints, such as Venier's edition of Symphony No. 2, are also occasionally of value; but the Austrian monasteries usually provide us with the more correct evidence both for chronology and textual matters. The further away the actual manuscript or print is, geographically speaking, from Vienna or Haydn personally, the later the date usually is and the less reliable the musical text. This relationship of geographical position to the value and date of the text prevails until printing really usurps the written page, which, as far as Haydn is concerned, occurs during the 1780's.

Having used all the outward criteria to establish the chronological position of an uncertain work, we are forced to apply inner criteria; *i. e.*, to examine the given work in regard to its style, orchestration, use of period (eight-measure sections), formal construction, and the nature of the melody and harmony. Especially for the early symphonies, this admittedly dangerous method must be brought to bear if we are to extract any semblance of order from the mass of works which outward criteria would place in the period *c.* 1760—1765. The Haydn scholar who leans too heavily on this method will soon find himself confronted by the most perplexing evidence for and against any more exact date within the five or six year span which

<sup>33</sup> See also p. 42.

<sup>34</sup> Symphony No. 59, dated 1769 in the Göttweig catalogue, is also found in a Kremsmünster copy of that year. The earliest Haydn MSS. in both monasteries seem to have been written in 1762.

other criteria have allowed. Anyone drawing up a list of Haydn's musical devices for the year 1765, for which year we have four symphonies in autograph, will find a variety of conflicting stylistic traits which render it almost impossible to assign one of the undated symphonies to this particular year. The differences, to choose a few of the more obvious examples at random, between the divertimento-like technique employed in No. 31 with its variety of orchestral effects and the use of solo instruments throughout; the homogenous, far more symphonic No. 30 with its use of an old church-melody for the first movement and the formality and pomposity inherent in Haydn's use of C major; the motoric, nervous impetuosity of No. 29/IV and the peculiar Balkan harmonic effects of the trio in the same symphony; the use of a monothematic but polyrhythmic technique in No. 28/I: all this is calculated to confuse anyone wishing to use this as evidence to prove that Symphony No. 36 — see below — should be attached to the year 1765 rather than 1761 or 1767. Haydn's conscious and constant effort to vary the customary symphonic pattern is obviously (and purposely) detrimental to stylistic 'consistency'; in these early years, Haydn is very seldom 'consistent'. His basic musical language remains the same, of course, and the identical sequences and cadential formulae appear in one work after another. Occasionally, however, we are presented with a clear-cut case, such as No. 72, to which Mandyczewski assigned the unsatisfactory date 'before 1781'. The orchestral texture of the work (1 fl., 2 ob., 4 (!) cor., solo vln., solo cello, str.) as well as the outward form and melodic structure, and especially the virtuosity of the solo instruments (foremost: the horns) show an exact parallel to No. 31; it is perhaps no accident that in the Kees catalogue No. 72 is placed among works of 1763 or earlier. A comparison of this symphony with No. 31 shows the following parallels: (1) they are the only two symphonies which utilize the divertimento (suite) technique of a finale in theme-and-variation form with one or more instruments predominating in each variation, concluding with a short orchestral flourish (coda); (2) they are the only two works to use four horns in a *concertante* fashion; (3) they both require the continuous use of a harpsichord *continuo* — a fact which by itself is evidence enough to place No. 72 before 1770. Since it is rather unlikely that they were composed in the same year, in view of Haydn's special attempt to vary each work during this period, one is inclined to place No. 72 before No. 31. The

former is far more primitive, particularly in its use of the strings; and the typical lead-back to the recapitulation in No. 31/I as well as its general formal cohesion are not found in No. 72.

We shall select one more typical example to show the methods in which outward and inward criteria may be judiciously combined to date a symphony more accurately. Since Mandyczewski<sup>35</sup> was careful not to date a work too early, our problem is usually that of antedating a given symphony. Such a work is Symphony No. 36, to which the Haydn Society assigns the date 'ca. 1765—1768'. It is listed in the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1769. The following reasons may be cited why the date c. 1761—1765 seems more accurate:

(1) It is not found on pages one or two of EK. Since all the symphonies of the period 1765—1768 which can be checked against their autographs are, except for No. 30 (1765), found on the first pages of EK, one would be inclined to say that 1765 is the outward limit.

(2) The use of a solo violin and solo 'cello in a *concerto-grosso*-like structure points to a period earlier than 1765—1768. This technique is used in Nos. 6—8 (c. 1761), in No. 31 (1765) and in No. 72 (c. 1761—1765). Others (No. 13/II; 24/II, etc.) employ a similar technique which is, however, more related to the concerto than the *concerto grosso*.

(3) The second subject of No. 36/I is in the dominant minor, a feature characteristic of the very earliest symphonies (see Chapter VI). No symphony after about 1761 has a first movement employing this device.

(4) None of the movements, with the possible exception of the trio in the minuet, employs the eight- (four-) measure period. Even if we stretch a point and consider the finale as having a very rudimentary kind of 4+4 structure, it is obvious that in no way does the thematic construction of No. 36 compare with that of Nos. 35 (Dec. 1, 1767), 39 (c. 1767/1768), or 41 (EK p. 2, c. 1769/1770).

In 1765, Haydn is still torn between the 'spinning-out' technique of the baroque period (exemplified in No. 36) and the more modern 4+4 system; thus, the former applies to 28/I and partly to 31/I, the latter to 29/I, 30/I, 30/II, 30/III, 31/IV and almost all the minuets and trios. Other movements approach the form (31/II) but are

<sup>35</sup> Series I, Vol. 1 of the G. A.: 'Besonders wurde vermieden, ein Werk zu früh anzusetzen.'



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not yet quite regular. In any case, there is sufficient evidence that after 1765 Haydn inclined more and more to the use of the period. If we go back one year further, there is no such clear proof; almost all the movements of these symphonies (Nos. 21—24) adhere to the baroque 'spinning-out' process<sup>36</sup>, the individual movements being held together by a tense rhythmic drive which is strongly motoric in character. If we examine No. 36, we find exactly that pattern; compare the bass line in 36/I with its almost unbroken line of quavers with 21/II, 22/II, 23/I or 24/I. The evidence points rather to 1761-5 than to 1765-8.

The author often found it very difficult to narrow the five-year margin of some of the earliest symphonies into something more concrete. Nos. 3, 5, 11, 15, 16, 17 and the Sinfonia-Partita (HV 7) seemed particularly difficult to place exactly, and it must be understood that in separating these especially problematical symphonies from each other the author has usually done so to illustrate some aspect connected with the growth of Haydn's style. It may be eventually established that some of the works here listed as 'interim' (c. 1761) are actually just as early as Nos. 1, 4, or 19; nevertheless, it is hoped that the fundamental points made in connection with Haydn's earliest style will not be altered by more exact chronological information.

Each of the chapters discussing the individual symphonies is prefaced with a short note on the chronology of the works concerned. The author has abstained from revising Mandyczewski's list for the reasons set forth in the beginning of this and the previous chapters.

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<sup>36</sup> This is a rough, and admittedly somewhat unsatisfactory translation of the German *Fortspinnungstypus*, a word apparently used for the first time in Wilhelm Fischer's brilliant essay, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Wiener klassischen Stils* (in: *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* / III, 1915). *Fortspinnung* is used by Fischer to describe the typically baroque style in which a theme, or the motif thereof, is literally 'spun out', i. e. extended melodically, rhythmically, or by a combination of both methods. The spinning-out process can, of course, use a motif entirely unconnected with the principal thought; but in many cases the extension is based upon a derivative of the main theme. It is a pity that this important essay has never been translated into English, for it represents one of the most useful contributions to our knowledge of the Viennese classical style.

## CHAPTER IV

### TEXTUAL PROBLEMS: THE USE OF THE SOURCES

Almost any musical work of the eighteenth century presents certain special problems as regards textual matters. The methods of notation, and especially the completeness with which the average composer of that era transferred his thoughts to paper, leave much to be desired. As time passes, certain traditions become extinct, and what must have seemed obvious to any musician then — such as the realization of a figured bass part or the tempo of a normal allegro movement — is no longer obvious to us. As only two hundred years have elapsed since Haydn began composing, it is by no means as difficult for us to reconstruct his intentions as it is those of composers of the Renaissance, a period in music — if not in the other correlative arts — which is already so dim that we are often left without any clue how and with what means such music was interpreted. Instruments in common use during Monteverdi's lifetime have become not only extinct but in some cases are no longer able to be exactly defined; the tempi in most music of the early seventeenth century can only be suggested, whereas even in Handel's time an approximate idea of the tempi he used can be surmised by the length of time needed to perform his oratorios, of which the Hamburg *MSS.* sometimes give exact timings for each part in Handel's own handwriting. But it is not possible for us to take Haydn's autograph and engrave the score from it, nor can we play a Haydn autograph to-day without supplementary explanations; for not only were certain instruments commonly used but not noted in the score, but the interpretation of Haydn's phrasing and dynamic marks requires elucidation if a modern orchestra is to interpret his music with any degree of authenticity. For this reason, some space must be devoted to the use of the sources for the purposes of establishing (1) a correct, logical working text which may then be printed and (2) the traditions of performance valid in Haydn's time. It must be our task to interpret Haydn's intentions in terms of our modern musical notation which,

as will be seen, differs considerably from that in common use during the eighteenth century; and to transfer this into the realms of actual orchestral practice, without, if possible, sacrificing the basic text and sound of Haydn's scores.

As was the case in the previous chapters, the autographs provide the primary sources upon which any textual matters must be based; and should these not be available, we must fall back upon authentic copies, authentic prints, early manuscripts and, if all else is lacking — a situation which, however, seldom arises — upon contemporary prints.

The most immediate characteristic of Haydn's autographs is the obvious haste with which they were written down. In view of the sketches which are still preserved, it seems that Haydn made copious notes before he began the final score; and this accounts for the relatively small number of corrections and additions on the manuscripts themselves — a feature carried to an even further degree by Mozart, whose autographs might serve as a model in this respect. Compared to the manuscripts of baroque masters, Haydn's autographs are neat, firm, business-like and, above all other things, conceived and intended as practical scores for practical musicians. None of the ornate joy with which J. S. Bach<sup>1</sup> filled in numerous instruments all carrying the same melodic line, none of the obvious visual satisfaction with which he<sup>2</sup> curved his semiquavers up and down the page can be found in a Haydn autograph. The baroque side of Haydn's mentality, so strong in many other matters, does not enter the design of the manuscripts. It is enlightening to compare the autograph of Symphony No. 7 (EH), which displays in large degree most of the composer's later characteristics, with the highly decorated parts to the same symphony in the Esterházy archives; or with the copy of Symphony No. 65 there, the title page of which is filled with baroque extravagances. The copyists were far more attached to the preceding era than the composer.

For the first thirty years of Haydn's creative activity, or until about 1780, the format of the autographs is fairly constant; percussion on top, followed by brass, woodwind, strings and bassoon. Where-

<sup>1</sup> The opening chorus of the *Passion According to St. Matthew* will serve as a typical example. All the identical melodic lines in both choruses are fully written out so that the actual design of the page is satisfying to the eye.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the autographs of the partitas for solo violin by Bach with Haydn's duets for violin and viola (autograph in the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris).

ever possible, the oboes are written on separate staves, the flutes, bassoons, horns and trumpets almost always on one staff for each pair. The scheme is as follows: timpani / trumpets / horns / oboe I / oboe II / flutes / violin I / violin II / viola / bassoons / bass (*continuo*). About 1780<sup>3</sup> a staff for the violoncello is added between the viola and bass, to be filled in when necessary (otherwise the 'cello always followed the bass line), and the bassoons moved up into the woodwind, between the flute and violin I staff; it is significant that this change in the bassoons' position almost exactly coincides with their permanent emancipation from the *basso continuo*. As Haydn only had ten, or at the most, twelve staves on his paper, trumpets and timpani sometimes had to be placed on separate sheets<sup>4</sup> (Symphony No. 86; Elssler copies of Nos. 88 and 92; and possibly the autograph of No. 90). The tempo indications are usually at the bottom of the page only, under the bass staff. In the earlier years, the first page also served as the title, placed at the top of the manuscript; usually the title reads 'Synfonia / In Nomine Domini / Giuseppe Haydn'<sup>5</sup> followed by the date, of which the '1' is always omitted, so that only the last three digits remain, e.g. '763'; the line over the top of the number is also typical. At the end of the MS. there is usually 'Fine' or 'Finis' with 'Laus Deo' attached.

During the 'seventies, the title is changed to 'Sinfonia' and the signature to 'di me giuseppe Haydn' with a kind of abbreviation for 'Manu Propria' at the end, so written that all that is visible is usually 'pria' or 'ria' at the tail of a characteristic figure consisting of several parallel vertical lines transected by a diagonal line, leading to this 'ria'. From about 1785<sup>6</sup> onwards, Haydn usually left an entire

<sup>3</sup> The autograph of the Overture II, 7 (1777) uses the old system, that of the *Mariazellermesse* (1782) the new.

<sup>4</sup> The winds and timpani in the autograph of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* had to be written on separate paper; some of these separate sheets were lost, but the authentic copy in the Donau-Eschingen Library supplies the original text as it must have been composed.

<sup>5</sup> After about 1765 the word 'del' is sometimes found before the signature — 'del Giuseppe Haydn'.

<sup>6</sup> Probably earlier, but as no symphonic autographs of 1778/1784 survive in their entirety, we can only surmise. A parallel case can be observed in the masses: the *Missa St. Joannis de Deo*, an undated autograph which can be placed about 1775 (first appearance in Göttweig: 1778), contains no separate title page; whereas the *Missa Cellensis* 'Mariazellermesse', 1782), also preserved in autograph, has a title page of its own.

page blank to serve as the title. Thus, the autograph of No. 82 has an otherwise blank title page reading: 'Sinfonia in C, di me giuseppe Haydn 786', while the head of the actual first page of music only carries 'In Nomine Domini'. Some of the London symphonies contain more than one 'Laus Deo'; as with the *Missa in Tempore Belli* (1796), this double use of 'Laus Deo' probably indicates a special case: the part containing the earlier 'Laus Deo' might actually have been written after the rest of the work in question. There is reason to believe that the 'Credo' (ending with 'Laus Deo') of the *Missa in Tempore Belli* was composed after the other movements. The 'Laus Deo' at the end of the No. 97/I might therefore indicate that it was composed after the others instead of at the outset, as one would normally be led to believe. The same may apply to No. 102/II, which seems to be written by itself: the title page is blank except for the word *Adagio*, and the first page of music is entitled *In Nomine Domini*.

Except in two cases (autograph of No. 35 and the Esterházy parts of No. 70) there is no more exact dating than the year. And only the London symphonies bear the name of the place in which they were composed.

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Haydn's autographs from the earliest to the latest employ a kind of musical shorthand-technique which was familiar to the composer's personal group of copyists (the Elsslers, Radnitzky, etc.) and probably to intelligent musicians in more remote circles. Haydn, however, was aware that his shorthand might not always be readily understood, and when he sent the autograph of his cantata *Applausus* (1768) to a monastery, he included an accompanying letter which contains some invaluable instructions about eighteenth-century methods of performance, some details of which will be found below<sup>7</sup>. As we have observed above, Haydn's scores are intended first and foremost for the practical and practising musician. Every abbreviation which could possibly be employed, and some peculiar only to Haydn's swift pen, are found in these manuscripts. This shorthand technique was applied *inter alia* for the following purposes:

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<sup>7</sup> See p. 115 *et passim*.

(1) *Presence of Instruments.* In his 'Applausus' letter of 1768, Haydn tells us that a bassoon should play with the bass; he thought that in a soprano aria, comparable to a slow movement of a symphony, the bassoon 'could be left out' but he preferred it to remain. The autographs of the first fifty symphonies hardly ever specify a bassoon part; the first symphonies he wrote for the Esterházy court in 1761 (*Le Matin, Le Midi, Le Soir*) require a bassoon, after which the ensuing works, until No. 54 (1774), do not include bassoons except as noted below. The extent to which Haydn took for granted that this instrument would play with the bass continually is, however, easily seen by some of the following examples. In certain autographs, the bassoon is indicated only briefly, for a few measures, usually in the bass stave: No. 40 (1763) / III (trio); No. 42/IV; No. 45/IV; No. 47/II ('Fagotto sempre col Basso'); No. 55/IV; in works not preserved in autograph: No. 9/III (trio); Partita-Symphony in B flat HV 7/II (trio). It is, of course, obvious that the bassoon player did not wait through the entire symphony to play half-a-dozen measures of solo but was expected to 'improvise' a part 'col basso'. (See also Chapter V.)

In the symphonies up to about 1770, Haydn also expected a harpsichord to act as part of the *continuo*. There are frequent passages in the early symphonies, and especially in the slow movements, where there is only a top and a bottom line, the second violin doubling the first and the viola following the bass line at an octave's distance; the harpsichord was, of course, expected to fill in the missing harmonies. A typical example of this is No. 2/II. There exists a picture (Plate XVI) of Haydn conducting a performance of an opera in the Esterházy theatre which illustrates both these points. At the left, Haydn is conducting, seated at the cembalo; over his shoulder read a 'cello and a violone (bass) player, and a bassoonist is seated in the midst of this bass group. In the *Missa Sti. Nicolai*<sup>8</sup> Haydn even neglects to write out the viola part throughout, noting it only in two movements. Although the opening page of the autograph contains no mention of this instrument, it is to be assumed that it doubled the bass when not playing its own special part. A similar problem concerns the clarinets in the late masses<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> See Complete Edition, Ser. XXIII, Vol. 1.

<sup>9</sup> See Complete Edition, Ser. XXIII, Vol. 2, *Missa Sti. Bernardi* and *Missa in Tempore Belli*.

### *Notation of the Instruments*

(2) *Notation of the Instruments.* The basic voices of Haydn's orchestra were the first violin and the bass. A glimpse into the workshop is provided by the autograph of Symphony No. 50, in which different inks reveal that the first violin and the bass — with portions of the second violin and viola where these have important parts — were written first, the winds, timpani and middle string voices being entered afterwards. And in No. 56 there are several measures of figured bass, not for the harpsichord player but to remind Haydn of the harmony he would later insert. This use of figured bass also occurs as late as 1791 in the last number of *L'Anima del filosofo* ('Orfeo'), and a study of the masses indicates that the figured bass had precedence over the other instruments, so that when Haydn changed something in the violins or oboes the figured bass part is sometimes wrong. Examples of this can be found in the *Missa Cellensis* ('Mariazellermesse') and *Missa Sti. Bernardi von Offida* ('Heiligmesse'). Having completed the basic structure of his autograph, Haydn is careful to use abbreviations wherever possible: Violin II is frequently marked 'col Violino 1mo' or simply //; the bassoons, when noted separately, and the viola are marked either 'col Basso' or so directed by the insertion of a bass clef into the stave. In No. 40/I the oboes are occasionally told to play 'col Violino 1mo' and 'col Violino 2do' respectively; in later symphonies the flute is often labelled 'col Violino 1mo'; when both horns and trumpets are employed one often finds 'col Clarini', 'col Corni' or / /. As a result of this technique, it is often possible to find passages in a symphony where only a few parts are actually written out, the rest doubling some instrument.

One very difficult problem arises from this 'col' process; namely, the function of the viola. Usually this instrument, when doubling the bass line an octave higher, is able to fit into the orchestral structure reasonably well, but it now and then happens that the viola climbs up over the melodic line. Where this occurs in a quick movement, and only for a few notes, or in a unison passage, the effect is hardly noticeable, but by oversight or through an erroneous belief that the harpsichord could resolve any unpleasant part-writing Haydn sometimes creates a very unsatisfactory orchestral sound by having the viola playing over the actual melody in octaves with the bass. Nos. 21/III, 28/II, 35/II and 49/I all contain measures with such questionable part-writing. There is, however, a relatively simple

explanation of this problem, suggested by Quantz<sup>10</sup>, who considered it the duty of the viola player to put his part down an octave when necessary. And a very interesting example of this suggestion can be found in Haydn's own music. In the 'Benedictus' of the *Missa Celsensis* ('Mariazellermesse', 1782) Haydn writes the following passage:

Ex. 1.

Violin I  
Violin II  
Viola  
Basso  
Organo

Viola 8va  
p

As is generally known, this movement was taken from an aria of Haydn's earlier (1777) opera, *Il Mondo della Luna*. The authentic copy of this opera in the Nationalbibliothek<sup>11</sup> at Vienna, however, has the following:

Ex. 2. [fol 123]

Violin I  
Violin II  
Ernesto  
Vla.  
Basso

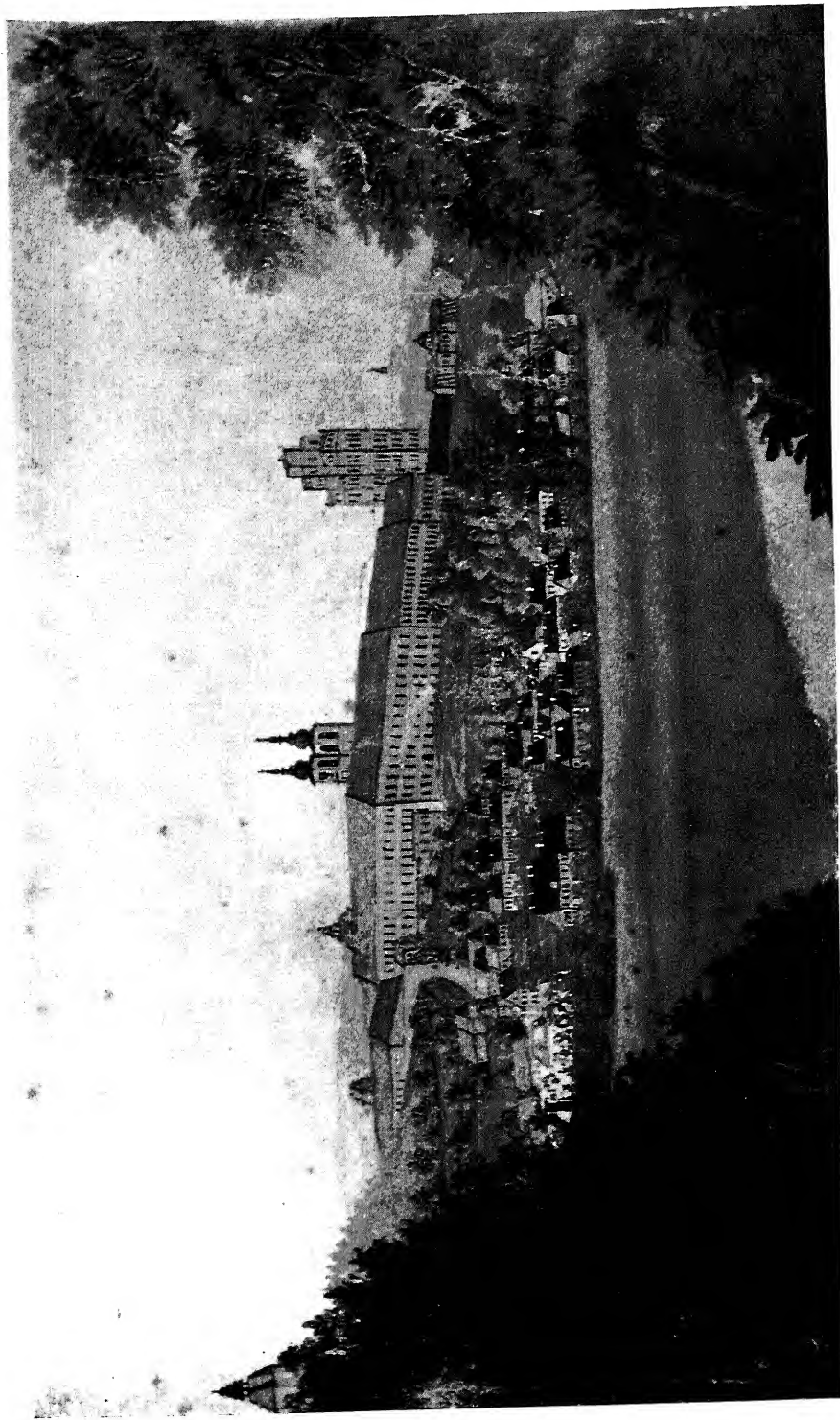
(rig-) o-re sem-pre pa-ce, sempre pa-ce, sempre longuir il pla-cer

<sup>10</sup> *Versuch einer Anweisung, die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, Berlin, 1752. Leopold Mozart also makes reference to this problem in the introduction to his *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*, Augsburg, 1756. See also Adam Carse, *The Orchestra in the XVIIIth Century*, London, 1940, p. 145. Marpur, in his *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition* (Second Edition, Berlin 1762), pp. 217/218 says:

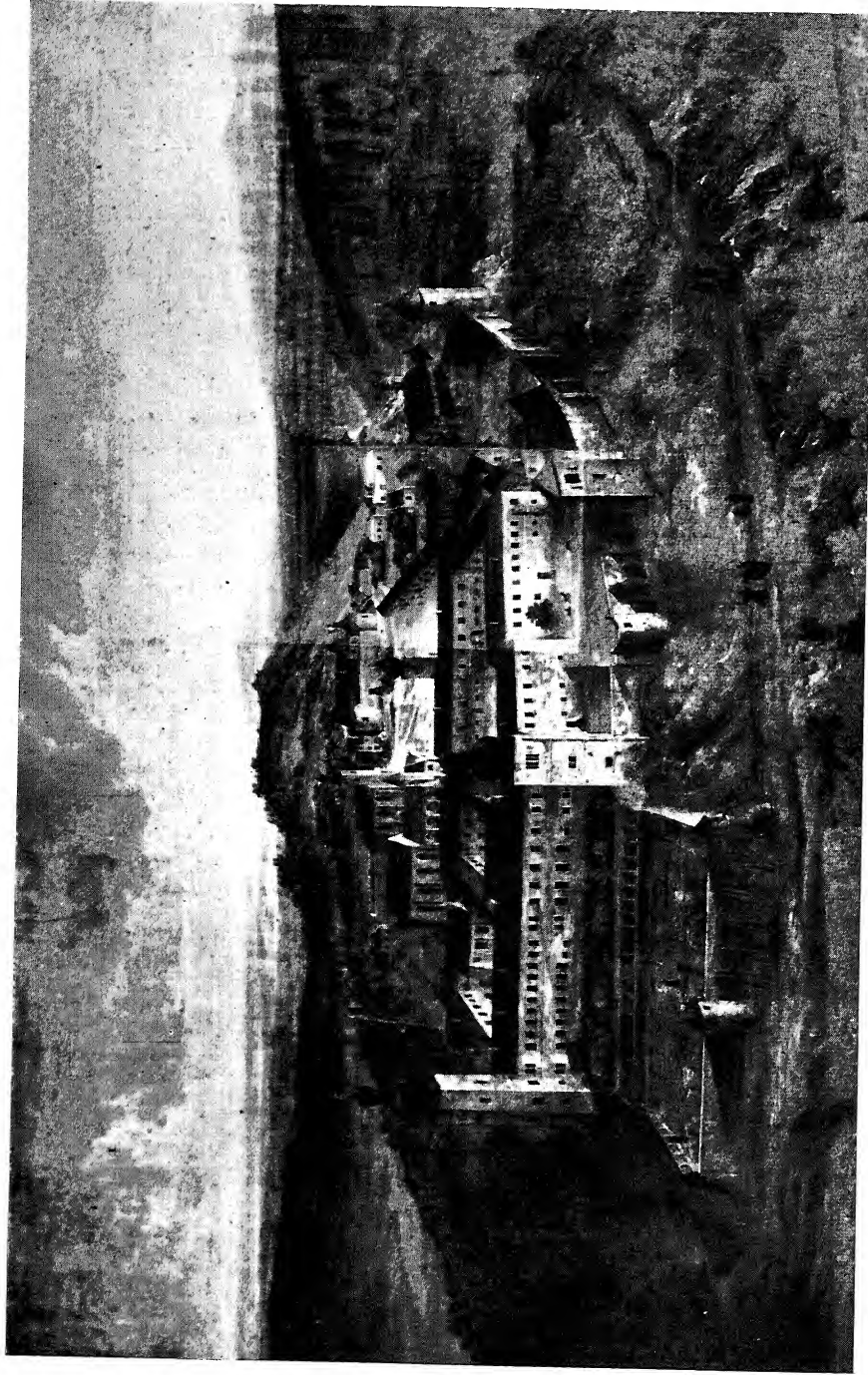
'In instrumental music there is the rule: that the viola should never cross over the second violin. This rule requires an explanation. In all *obbligato* [*obligaten*] movements the viola may cross over the second violin, just as in vocal writing the tenor may lie above the alto, when necessity requires it, or when one wants to avoid spoiling a good progression in the second violin or viola part. However, the viola may not cross over the second violin when the former doubles the violoncello [i. e. the bass line] at the octave, for the ear no longer hears these octaves as a reinforcement and promotion of the bass part but as very defective and unnatural [*böse*] parallel octaves.' [Italics are original.]

<sup>11</sup> Codex 17621.




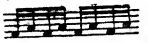



XIV The Monastery of Kremsmünster, Upper Austria. Watercolour by Adalbert Stifter, 1823 (Albertina Vienna).


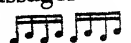









XV The monastery of Göttweig. Detail from a painting by Johann Samuel Hetzendorfer, 1733 (Kaisersaal, Göttweig).

On the viola part of the Klosterneuburg MS. of the Mass, this version was added in pencil (but during the eighteenth century, as far as one can tell). A similar correction was made on the Joseph Elssler copy of Symphony No. 21 (see Appendix I). There is sufficient reason, on the basis of this valuable evidence, to put the viola part down an octave should it interfere with the melodic line; such passages are occasionally pointed out in the notes to textual matters in Appendix I.

Another significant abbreviation concerns the figure . As an example Haydn, as well as other composers<sup>12</sup> and almost all copyists, might shorten  to . A characteristic pattern occurs in No. 35/I<sup>13</sup> where the autograph has:



But whereas Haydn, as is his custom with all such abbreviations, shows us the correct solution, the copyists were not always so punctilious; consequently, when we have to rely on secondary sources there are sometimes passages in which  would appear to have been originally conceived as .

Like all composers in the eighteenth century, Haydn abbreviated  as ,  as  and even  as  or . As these signs are still in common use to-day, they present no special difficulties for us.

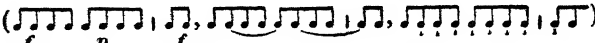

(3) *Dynamic Marks.* As in the notation of instruments, Haydn often abbreviates his dynamic markings. The horns, being written at the top of the page, often have a dynamic mark not given to the rest of the orchestra; this is possibly the explanation for the crescendo at measure 115 in No. 54/II<sup>14</sup> which appears only in the horns. On the

<sup>12</sup> See, in this connection, some of the musical illustrations in Daube, *Der Musikalische Dilettante*, Vienna, 1770, esp. the Galuppi Cembalo Sonata in G major (p. 5); also the Daube Cembalo Sonata, p. 109. See also Johann Gottl. Werner, *Lehrbuch für den ersten Unterricht im Klavierspielen*, Leipzig, 1816, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>13</sup> See *Gesamtausgabe*, Series I, Vol. 3, *Revisionsbericht* referring to p. 4, i. e. p. 6). See also Symphony No. 52 in Complete Edition, Ser. I, Vol. 5, esp. 1st movement, meas. 14 ff., where most of the sources employ this abbreviation. (This is not mentioned in the notes and is only of interest in solving this particular problem.) Further examples in the *Missa in Tempore Belli*, 'Kyrie', meas. 47 (violins), Symphony No. 88/IV, meas. 74/76 (see, however, Complete Edition, Ser. I, Vol. 10, p. 283).

<sup>14</sup> Complete Edition, Ser. I, Vol. 5, p. 168.

other hand, the horns might also have dynamic indications which apply specially to them; and the *pp*'s in No. 56/II are almost certainly of this type. At the bottom of the page, under the bass stave, we also find markings which are not duplicated above, such as the *ff*'s at meas. 199 and 208<sup>15</sup> in No. 51/I and meas. 238<sup>16</sup> in No. 53/I; these should probably be added to the other instruments. Since the first violin dominated the structural make-up, we find dynamic markings only in this part; and again there is often reason for considering this another of Haydn's shorthand techniques; a few of the many examples may suffice: meas. 111<sup>17</sup>, No. 51/IV (violin I *pp*, violin II *p*); meas. 14<sup>18</sup>, No. 52/I (violin I *ff*, rest *f*); *Missa Brevis Sti. Joannis de Deo*, 'Benedictus', meas. 41<sup>19</sup> (violin I *ff*, rest *f*); Symphony No. 97/I, meas. 1 (violin I *ff*, rest *f*); No. 97/I, beginning of *Vivace* (ditto).

There often arose in Haydn's mind a confusion between the old baroque method of overlapping dynamic and phrasing marks () and the 'modern' method, in which dynamic marks and phrasing do not overlap (). This was the result of Haydn's mentality, which was by instinct baroque, by conviction classical. There are frequent passages where instruments all playing the same notes have contradictory notation of this sort. It can be said in general that until the middle of his life Haydn relied upon the older, baroque method, after which he gradually adopted the newer, classical notation. But even in his very latest period (*Missa Sti. Bernardi*: the 'In Gloria Dei Patris' fugue of the 'Gloria', meas. 290/291 in violin I; also meas. 299) this dualistic notation is often presented simultaneously.

Towards the end of Haydn's life another problem arises; namely, the differentiation between *fz* and *f*. In his earlier years, Haydn tends to half-abbreviate these symbols (*for*, *fortiß*, *forz*:); when he abbreviates them in later years, the extreme haste with which he had to write, especially in London, made him incautious in effecting a clear division between *f*·, his lifelong abbreviation for *forte*, and *fz*, his

<sup>15</sup> Complete Edition, Ser. I, Vol. 5, p. 35.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, p. 102.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p. 49.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 51.

<sup>19</sup> Complete Edition, Ser. XXIII, Vol. 2, p. 14.

usual abbreviation for *forzato* in mature years. Particularly in the late vocal works (*L'Anima del filosofo* ['Orfeo']) this is often quite confused, and any attempt to decipher the autograph always ends in subjective reasoning.

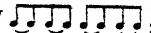
Dynamic marks are very sparse in the woodwinds; or rather, to be more exact, the flutes and bassoons are very seldom furnished with *f*'s and *p*'s, while the oboes tend to have all the necessary pianos and pianissimos but often lack the fortes. On the other hand, the horns, because of their greater dynamic range, are always very carefully marked. That the flutes and bassoons are not marked *f* and *p* is not carelessness on Haydn's part, since the dynamic range of both these instruments, especially when playing solos, was very limited. Haydn uses the old baroque method of 'Solo' and 'Tutti' to grade the dynamic levels of these woodwinds. The composer employs two flutes for the first time throughout a symphony in No. 54 (1774), in which an illuminating glimpse of this baroque practice may be observed: when Haydn wants one flute alone he marks the passage 'Solo'; 'Tutti' indicates that all the flutes shall play. It must be said in explanation that in large orchestras of the time, such as the Kees Concerts in Vienna, and the *Loge Olympique* or *Concert Spirituel* in Paris, two or more instruments were used on each part. 'Tutti', therefore, was not only used to mean 'à 2' but also to provide a kind of dynamic gradation. The same applies to the bassoons: in No. 96/I, the *Allegro* movement begins with a bassoon 'Solo', the second bassoon entering at the first general *forte* with its own part. At this point, the autograph has over the bassoon stave 'Tutti', which cannot mean 'à 2' and must therefore indicate 'all' the instruments available. Perhaps the best example of this tradition — as far as Haydn's participation in it is concerned — is the set of parts<sup>20</sup> to *The Creation* used for the first performances under the composer's direction and with complete instructions to the triple woodwind, brass and timpani parts; even the timpani are marked, on each of the three parts, 'Solo' and 'Tutti'. The word 'Tutti', then, may apply both to 'all' the instruments available as well as to the more obvious 'à 2'.

(4) *Phrasing and other Problems of Notation.*


(a) *Slurs.*




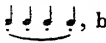
It is in the matter of phrasing that Haydn's shorthand technique

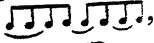
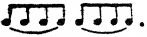
<sup>20</sup> In the Vienna Stadtbibliothek.

becomes most abstruse, so that not even his personal copyists always understood the composer's intentions. Throughout his life, Haydn was accustomed to put a new symphony directly into rehearsal, at which all problems relating to phrasing must have been solved according to the composer's verbal wishes; and one assumes that thirty years of experience must have made his musicians in the Esterházy band so familiar with Haydn's technique that it was scarcely necessary for him to include any phrasing at all in the orchestral parts. Primarily for these two reasons, Haydn's practice is (a) to suggest phrasing rather than to express it and (b) to employ simple methods of abbreviation which will be discussed below. It is worth recording that, in the 'Applausus' letter of 1768, Haydn instructed the copyists to fill in those phrasing and dynamic marks marked only on one part in the others as well. As with dynamics, Haydn usually worked out the phrasing of the first violin more carefully than that of the other strings; next in order is the bass, and finally the first oboe and horns. The second violin, viola, second oboe and other woodwinds are usually sparsely phrased. The most important abbreviations employed are in respect to staccati and phrasing marks. These are usually inserted only for the first measure<sup>21</sup> or two to *suggest* the desired effect. Examples of this practice are so numerous that specific references are hardly necessary. It will be noticed that many of Haydn's dynamic and especially phrasing marks are negative in intention, *i. e.* to *prevent* the player from playing otherwise. Staccati are often used in this manner, so that the player will not play legato. Instances of this are too numerous to require specific examples<sup>22</sup>. Still another kind of abbreviation is that used in the notation of bowing or phrasing marks<sup>23</sup>. Although Haydn intends the violins to play , which

<sup>21</sup> Leopold Mozart, in *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing* (*Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*) 1st edition, Augsburg, 1756, 3rd (revised) edition, Augsburg, 1787 (used in the translation by Editha Knocker, second edition, London, 1951, p. 45, Note) says: 'Many composers put such signs commonly against the first bar only, when many similar notes follow. One must then continue with them until a change is indicated.'


<sup>22</sup> Helmut Schultz (Gesamtausgabe, Series I, Vol. 4, p. XII) refers to a 'pregnant staccato' in meas. 28 of Symphony No. 49/II. The staccato is used by Haydn so that one will not allow the note to stand for its whole value: .

<sup>23</sup> Occasionally Haydn uses the old notation  to mean ; or  to mean , but this difficulty more often arises in the contemporary copies, written by men more closely associated with the baroque period than Haydn.



he usually indicates specifically at the beginning, after a few measures he resorts to very vague slurs, something like , or simply . A typical example of this occurs in the 'Benedictus'<sup>24</sup> of the *Missa Cellensis* ('Mariazellermesse'):





(b) *Ties.*

In keeping with the legato tradition, spoken of above, every wind player automatically tied notes across the bar line. There are wind parts in many contemporary MSS.<sup>25</sup> which are totally devoid of all ties; and, again, this omission is not to be regarded as serious since these were without doubt automatically inserted by the player. Haydn's autographs very often omit ties, particularly in a series of long held notes, as is frequently the case in the oboe and horn parts. When such a series ends with one note on the other side of a bar line () Haydn will often forget to write in the tie. When two wind parts are placed on one stave, as is true of horns and trumpets, Haydn never writes two ties but only one, usually the lower. Many of the *fz* in the wind parts, when these have identical notes for several measures, are probably intended to prevent ties (e. g. No. 84/I).

(c) *Stems, etc.*




As the actual notation of stems and carriages (Ger.: *Balken*) usually has a certain significance for the phrasing, Haydn's use of these must be briefly mentioned. Remembering that Haydn is never entirely logical, and that a passage may be once noted as  and in the same measure as , there is nevertheless a certain kind of lesson to be derived from his notation. The introduction of No. 50/I will serve as an enlightening example. The figure in question<sup>26</sup> (meas.

The sign  to mean , so often encountered in the Viennese copies of Gluck and Wagenseil, was not in common use in Haydn's circle; but Le Duc, in the editions of Haydn's symphonies in score, makes use of it.

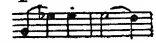


<sup>24</sup> See Complete Edition, Ser. XXIII, Vol. 2.

<sup>25</sup> A typical case is the Melk MS. (cat. IV, No. 53) of Symphony No. 56; see Complete Edition, Ser. I, Vol. 5, p. 358.




<sup>26</sup> Complete Edition, Ser. I, Vol. 5, pp. 1/2.

1/2 and 6/7, respectively) is  where the notation seems to have a definite meaning as far as phrasing or accent is concerned. Although the autograph once has a staccato on the second phrase (bass, meas. 2!) and sometimes writes  instead of , a definite pattern emerges despite the often chaotic logic involved. In any case, an editor should try to reproduce Haydn's own notation in this respect, as far as possible.

(d) *Accidentals.*

Haydn's use of accidentals ( $\sharp$   $\flat$ ) also deserves our attention. It was a typical baroque trait, and still part of Haydn's tradition, that an accidental held good over the bar line even if this negated the basic series of accidentals prescribed by the key signature. Therefore, a passage<sup>27</sup> such as  does not mean  but . There are, on the other hand, a good many accidentals in Haydn's manuscripts which appear to be entirely superfluous, merely asserting sharps or flats which the basic tonality, indicated at the beginning of the movement, already demands; upon further investigation, we find that these are preventive accidentals, employed in the same way as preventive dynamics or phrasing; and these accidentals always fulfil a need, not to our eye but to the ear of the orchestral player, for whom they were intended. As must be constantly stressed, Haydn's scores are not for the printer but for the player's desk, conceived not for visual satisfaction but out of aural necessity.

(e) *Double Stems.*

One particular characteristic of Haydn's string writing is likely to be wrongly interpreted unless one is forewarned, viz. the use of double stems. Except in rare instances, this does not mean 'divisi' but, on the contrary, the notes are to be played as double or triple stops. A typical violinistic chord, such as  is usually written  or .

(f) *Staccati.*

Like his predecessors, Haydn did not write staccato 'dots' but staccato 'lines'. (How these look on an autograph can be seen on the first page of No. 28/I, reproduced in this book.) The staccato


<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13 (meas. 27/28).



served not only to make the note short but also as a kind of accent, stronger than nothing at all but less marked than *fz* (which Haydn, incidentally, used instead of  $>$  or  $\wedge$ , signs which he seldom employed). In his later works, there is a certain difference between the staccato dot and the elongated, accented kind, but Haydn is so hopelessly illogical and unsystematic that any attempt to transcribe this into a modern notation always fails. An example of his use of this mark to indicate accents (or is it to prevent ties?) is found in No. 60/I, where the strings are written <sup>28</sup>:



(g) *Ornaments.*

It is difficult to imagine how a composer could abbreviate an ornament, since this is already in itself an abbreviation, but Haydn managed to do this. The ornament in question is variously written as  $\rightarrow$  or  $\sim$  and was used as an abbreviation for the figure . A characteristic use of it is in Symphony No. 57/III. (See below, p. 160 for further discussion of  $\rightarrow$ .)

(h) *Parallel Passages.*

Haydn, like his predecessors, Bach and Handel, as well as his contemporaries, Mozart, and successors, Beethoven and Schubert, almost certainly wrote out his recapitulations from memory; and for this reason there is often a considerable discrepancy between the identical section as found in the exposition and that of the ensuing recapitulation, especially in the matter of phrasing, but occasionally in dynamic marks or even as regards actual notes. The main task of the editor or interpreting musician is to decide which of these changes is deliberate, as is sometimes the case, especially where they are introduced in order to avoid a mere slavish repetition of the same section in the exposition, and, on the other hand, which alterations are to be regarded as oversights, produced by the composer's haste and reliance on his memory. Haydn, as we have had occasion to point out before, conceived music aurally, and many of the discrepancies are purely

<sup>28</sup> From the Elssler MS. in the Esterházy archives, Budapest.

*Textual Problems: The Use of the Sources*

visual, such as the interchanging of the violin and viola parts (middle voices) or minor variants in subsidiary parts. Other changes are more problematical, as a comparison of the identical passage in the exposition and recapitulation of No. 87/I — to choose an example at random — will show:

**Ex. 6a**

**1** Vivace

Fl.  
2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
(A)  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
2 Fag.  
Vcl. - Basso

**5**

Parallel Passages

Ex. 6b

131

Fl.

2 Ob.

2 Cor.  
(A)

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.  
2 Fag.

Vcl.-Basso

135

Notice the following important discrepancies: (1) the different horn parts, which should, of course, not be changed; (2) the lack of a tie in the horns at meas. 1/2, which should be rectified on the basis of the recapitulation; (3) the lack of a slur in violin I (and flute) in 133 and 135, which should also be added; (4) the missing *fz* in the wind parts at meas. 133, which can be supplemented on the basis of meas. 3; (5) the *fz* in all parts at meas. 5, which must apply to meas. 135 as well. That these matters were not rectified in the Complete Edition is perhaps questionable, since the average conductor cannot be ex-

pected to function as a musicological editor in addition to his other duties.

A few further examples will show some of the problems facing the student of Haydn:

**Ex. 7** (a) Symphony No. 30/I  
[Exposition] [Recapitulation]

Ob. I  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Vcl. - Basso

(b) Symphony No. 42/IV

Vln. I

(c) Symphony No. 49/I  
[Exposition]

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Vcl. - Basso

[Recapitulation]

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Vcl. - Basso

(d) Symphony No. 50/I  
[Exposition] [Recapitulation]

Vln. I

# Parallel Passages

(e) Symphony No. 54 / I

Fag. I  
2 Cor.  
(trans.)  
Timp.  
(G-D)  
Str.

*Sott.*  
*pp*  
*p*

In recapitulation timpani has rests

(f) Symphony No. 94 / I

2 Ob.  
2 Trpt.  
2 Corni  
(G)  
Fl. Sva  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Vcl.-Basso  
Timp.

*Fl. Sva*  
*6*  
*7*  
*7*

(Fag. col B.)

To supplement by comparison of parallel passages the phrasing, dynamic marks and ornaments as found in (a), (b) and (d) is a responsibility which can be assumed without too many qualms; whereas (c) already verges on the problem of deliberate variants, and it is not at all certain that Haydn did not intend two separate effects. Similar to the problem of the horns in No. 87/I (Ex. 6), it is very doubtful if the timpani in (e) should be transferred to the parallel passage in question, as this involves changing the basic orchestration and, again, we cannot be sure that a deliberate change is not intended. In (f) we are dealing with a relatively simple matter, *i. e.* a mistake in part writing: the original notation of horn II in meas. 23 is correct, that of meas. 160 creating an unpleasant dissonance which is certainly unintentional.

Usually Haydn's recapitulations are less fully phrased than the corresponding expositions, in accordance with the shorthand technique discussed in some detail above. In his later years, and especially during his London sojourns, when he was hard pressed for time, Haydn began

to put the words 'come sopra' at the beginning of his recapitulation, writing down only the first violin for orientation of the copyist; this occurs in No. 95/IV (at meas. 108: 'come avanti ma senza replica'), No. 96/II (meas. 51 'etc: come Sopra'), No. 97/I (meas. 168: winds have 'Come il Principio', strings 'come Sopra'), Overture II, 3 (1791 or 1794), *etc.*

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Our next task must be the examination of the authentic copies. Whereas up to this chapter it has been sufficient to place all such material in one category, standing, as it were, midway between the autographs and the secondary sources, for the purposes of establishing a critical text the authentic copies must be subdivided into four categories:

(1) Those parts or scores which were actually used by the composer in performance, a supposition which can usually be determined by the presence of corrections, additions and the like in his handwriting.

(2) Those sources prepared under direct supervision of the composer for transmission to a foreign destination. Very often there are also corrections, *etc.* made by the composer himself.

(3) Those sources prepared not, as far as we can determine, under the composer's personal supervision, but by one of the copyists whose connection with the composer can be established; or a source which we know from other evidence to possess some kind of link with the composer, such as the authentic prints of Forster, Artaria, and Breitkopf.

(4) Material in the Esterházy archives which apparently does not fall into one of the three categories above ('archive copies', see below).

Some of the parts in the Esterházy archives belong to the first group. It is, however, difficult to differentiate between those *MSS.* which were actually used by Haydn, those used by a later *Kapellmeister*, such as Hummel, and those which were never used at all and must be considered 'archive copies'. The following symphonies in the collection can, on the basis of copious corrections in Haydn's handwriting, be classed among those which were actually conducted by the composer: Nos. 62, 70, 76, 77, 79 and almost all the others after

that up to No. 103. Various remarks such as 'Prinster' on a horn part, 'Il illustrissimo Sig. Rosetti' and 'Il Signore Luigi' (*i. e.* Tomasini) on violin parts, also suggest that Nos. 59, 63 and 66 were played under Haydn's direction. On the other hand, Nos. 45 and one of the two sources of No. 52 (Source B in the Complete Edition, Ser. I, Vol. 5) suggest that the revising hand at work was Hummel or even a later director; while Nos. 41, one of the two sources of No. 60 (Source A in the Complete Edition, Ser. I, Vol. 6, with the date on many of the parts: 1779), 65, one of the sources of No. 69, 72, 78, and many of the early symphonies appear to be archive copies. A number of the others, such as No. 49, and possibly Nos. 65 and 72 as well, although the players corrected the most glaring errors, may not have belonged to the original Esterházy archives at all. When the Prince moved from Vienna to Eisenstadt or from Eisenstadt to Esterháza, it is doubtful if all the orchestral material was moved with him; more likely, duplicate copies were made and deposited in more than one of the three castles, although some of the symphonies must have been in only one place. This may explain the presence of certain MSS. in the archives which cannot ever have been performed; in these sources, there are measures omitted, others erroneously added at the time of copying, hundreds of wrong notes, and similar grave errors. Since two fires must have destroyed countless precious MSS., and since no scholar has yet investigated the large Esterházy castles at Galantha or even Esterháza itself, we are fortunate in having as many of these sources as we do. It is an error of judgement, however, as far as textual matters are concerned, to put all the MSS. there into one category, treating them as the primary sources after the autographs.

Into the second group, *i. e.*, that of sources prepared under the direct supervision of the composer for transmission to a foreign destination, must fall the MSS. in the British Museum of Nos. 76—87, those sent to the Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein (Nos. 78, 79, 81, 90—92, 93, 96—98) and possibly the few MSS. by Joseph Elssler in the Austrian monasteries, such as the three symphonies (Nos. 14, 21, 29) in St. Florian.

The MS. of No. 62 by Radnitzky in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde is undoubtedly one of those sources in the third category, *i. e.* prepared, not, as far as we can see, under Haydn's supervision but by one of the copyists whose relationship to the composer has been

established. Similarly, the British Museum MS. of No. 98, in the handwriting of the copyist of *L'Anima del filosofo* ('Orfeo') in the Esterházy archives, probably belongs to this general rubric.

It will immediately and rightly be questioned: what value do these authentic copies have when compared to the autograph? There is a parallel to this question in the handwritten parts to Bach's cantatas, motets and passions in the St. Thomas Church at Leipzig, to Handel's *Handexemplaren*, mostly in Hamburg, and to the first (authentic) Beethoven and Schubert editions: if we are fortunate enough to possess a set of manuscript parts actually used by the composer or a printed edition made from those parts or other material which have been revised by the composer, these sources are generally superior in value to the autograph, representing, so to speak, the final, critical word of the composer; and this is often true of Haydn who, as we have observed, relied to a large extent upon rehearsals to eliminate the problems of his shorthand notation. The case of his oratorio *The Creation* is typical. Although the autograph is lost, we are in possession of several Elssler scores, one in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, two in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, and one in the Stadtbibliothek, Vienna; a third source in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, although not by Elssler, is also probably authentic. Some of these contain what must have been the composer's original version; there are also Haydn's own copious sketches in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, which confirm the early version. In the score and parts used by Haydn, recently discovered by the author in the Stadtbibliothek, Vienna, there are innumerable corrections in the composer's own handwriting. He entered these in the principal parts, and his copyists transcribed them in the duplicate parts, so that we are therefore able to see exactly what Haydn added or changed during rehearsals or the first performances. These alterations not only concern phrasing, dynamic marks, 'Solo'-'Tutti' and the like, but also the basic orchestration in certain passages. Thus, the recitative 'Seid fruchtbar, Alle' (Be fruitful, all) was originally conceived as a *secco* with only cembalo and continuo accompaniment; the wonderful inspiration of the divided lower strings was an afterthought, literally pasted over the former text. At the commencement of Part III, Haydn originally used only the three flutes and bass, the *pizzicato* strings being added later in his own handwriting in the score and on the principal parts. The authentic first edition incorporates these changes,



laboriously entered into a huge full score by Elssler (Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna) with both German and English text, which served as the engraver's copy.

There are often various features contained in the authentic parts not found in the autograph. As observed before, a few symphonies appear to have been composed without trumpets and timpani, which Haydn either added later or which were copied on separate sheets of paper and are now missing from the autograph. The autograph of No. 86 contains these sheets at the back of the score, whereas No. 90 does not.

On the first page of this latter MS., Haydn began to write '2 Clarini', and upon seeing that there would not be enough staves altered this to '2 Corni in C alto'. The authentic set of parts at Harburg Castle do, however, contain trumpet and timpani parts, which a study of the autograph alone would not reveal. Probably the brass and timpani parts of Nos. 70, 75, 88 and 92 were added later, and it may be that these parts for No. 30 and No. 42 are also authentic, being an afterthought of the composer<sup>29</sup>. It is not likely that instruments were added by unscrupulous copyists; on the contrary, trumpets and drums were often taken away; we shall see how this transformation occurred later on.

There are other details which the parts may reveal to us. Sometimes this concerns tempo markings. The 'Gloria' in the autograph of the *Missa Brevis Sti. Joannis de Deo* is marked *Allegro*, but all the manuscript sources examined throughout Austria and Germany have *Allegro di molto*, which is certainly an improvement, made in rehearsal by the composer. Phrasing, too, is often added where the autograph is confusing or simply not phrased at all. In the *Missa Brevis* mentioned above, there is a series of passages in the 'Benedictus' (meas. 11, 28, etc.) in which all the sources except the autograph have an *f-p* effect; this is the same type of correction as the tempo change. In Symphony No. 96/II, the parts (including those by Elssler in Harburg Castle) call for an effective decrescendo at meas. 71 while the autograph is quite bare at this point. For a number of highly illuminating examples of this sort of change, readers should consult the portion of Appendix I containing the corrections to the first 'Salomon' symphonies.

<sup>29</sup> Clarinet parts for the late masses constitute a similar problem. See Complete Edition, Ser. XXIII, Vol. 2.

On the basis of the foregoing evidence, one would suppose that the presence of authentic parts automatically makes the autograph of the piece in question superfluous. This is, however, by no means true. Unfortunately, even the best of copyists never seemed to transmit all of the details found in Haydn's autograph, and we find that many of the less ordinary and therefore especially interesting features were omitted in the course of copying the first set of parts. Only the two Elsslers and Radnitzky were able to make almost perfect copies. When Haydn had to rely on other copyists, as during the period following Joseph Elssler's death or the first London sojourn, mistakes immediately began to creep in. Typical of these errors is the erroneous transcription of the ornament + by *tr.* Haydn, as we shall see, protested twice to his publishers Artaria, who had engraved his ornaments wrongly; but the average copyists presumed that + was identical with *tr.*; and so we find Haydn having to correct all of the *tr.* back to his original ornament on the Esterházy parts of Symphony No. 77, a work which was written during the period immediately following Joseph Elssler's death. The difference between the average copyist available to Haydn and the two Elsslers can be observed by comparing the two copies of Symphony No. 60 in the Esterházy Archives, one of which was written by an unknown copyist in 1779, the other by Johann Elssler, probably in 1803. This latter copy, although containing certain modifications of tempo (instead of the original *Allegro di molto* of the first movement Elssler writes *Presto, etc.*), is vastly superior to the former in every detail, including the careful use of + as against the earlier copy's continuous *tr.* The *MS.* of 1779 omits measures in the wind, brass and timpani parts and contains a considerable number of mistakes in the strings. The phrasing is careless and confusing where Elssler is precise and exact.

The autograph of No. 96 contains a number of important details, such as an independent violoncello part in the first movement, corrections of the part writing, whole sections of altered horn parts in the second movement and a quantity of ornaments in the slow movement and minuet, none of which ever reached the parts. And while the composer often added trumpets and timpani, it can happen that instruments found in the autograph disappear in the authentic parts. Thus, two flutes and two trumpets found in the autograph of No. 54 are omitted from the parts in the Esterházy archives, and from most of the contemporary *MSS.*, too. In this same work, however, the lovely

slow introduction to the opening movement is missing from the autograph and found only in the parts. No. 54 is therefore the perfect case in which neither autograph nor authentic parts alone can give us a complete picture of Haydn's intentions. And with this symphony there also arises the problem of secondary sources; for it will be seen that not even with these two authentic sources can we establish a complete text.

As we have observed, the authentic parts to No. 54 omit the flutes and trumpets; so the introduction, which Haydn obviously added later, contains no parts for these instruments. Combining the two sources we reach the following situation: in the introduction we have the scoring of 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns in G, timpani and strings; in the ensuing quick movement and in the rest of the symphony we have the autograph's additional flutes and trumpets. At this point the secondary manuscripts must be consulted. It must be our task to examine contemporary sources in order to discover if there are any which might have the introduction scored for flutes and trumpets in addition to the other instruments. The Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde contains a score from the Archduke Rudolf's Collection<sup>30</sup> which exactly meets these needs. To have relied on the autograph alone, or even upon both autograph and authentic parts, would have produced an incomplete picture of Haydn's intentions. Conversely, however, to have used only the Archduke's score would have presented us with a faulty musical text, devoid of countless details found in the autograph. But we may be sure that in many of those symphonies for which we lack authentic material, there are special dynamic effects, ornaments, phrasing and perhaps even additional instruments which only the autograph could restore to us.

A few words must be said concerning the general character of secondary sources for Haydn's symphonies. Apart from numerous mistakes in actual notes, some of the matters most readily altered in the course of the metamorphosis from autograph through original parts to secondary MSS. are: (1) The transformation of Haydn's

<sup>30</sup> See Complete Edition, Ser. I, Vol. 5, pp. 343/344. It is, of course, necessary to examine any such source to determine if it compares favourably with the authentic sources in other respects — in this case, the autograph. The worth of a secondary source, when used in conjunction with authentic material, must be properly established before it can be used to supplement the autograph. Only if it can be proved to be reliable as an entity can we utilize its details.



beloved ornament + into *tr.* (2) The omission of uncommon dynamic marks. Copyists who did not understand 'poco forte' were likely to change this to 'pf', as did the copyist of one of the two sources of No. 60 in the Esterházy archives. 'Perdendosi' is either omitted entirely or becomes 'pretentensi', 'pertenuto', or some other fanciful word. (3) Trumpets, especially when these have similar parts to horns, are likely to be dropped. The big C major symphonies, where Haydn uses both horns and trumpets, are often preserved in sources in which either horns or trumpets are lacking. A typical merger is now and then effected by 'Corno Primo vel Clarino', as in various old copies of Nos. 20, 37, 41, 48, 54, 56, etc. (4) The omission of the designation 'alto' for C horns, as in secondary copies of those symphonies (except No. 54) just mentioned as well as Nos. 50, 60, 63, 69, 90, etc. (5) Frequent omission of ties. Even the Joseph Elssler MSS.<sup>31</sup> in St. Florian suffer from this peculiar oversight. (6) Omission of staccati and phrasing.

Whereas all these matters concern oversights and omissions, it is also possible to encounter secondary sources in which numerous phrasing and dynamic marks are added which are not in the original and are foreign to Haydn's style. The majority of the pirated editions suffers from this sort of 'editing'. Occasionally, however, one finds this overloading of phrasing and dynamics in MSS. as well. Some of the sources in the Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection, such as Symphony No. 51, seem to show the revising hand of a practicing musician. (Was Rosetti, for many years *Kapellmeister* at the Oettingen Wallerstein Court, responsible for these additions?)

One of the most vexing problems confronting the student of Haydn concerns the first three volumes of Haydn's symphonies issued in the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe*. Since this is intimately related to the general problem of secondary sources, it might be well to examine some of the problems raised by these three vital volumes. Apart from relatively minor mistakes made when working from the autograph<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> These MSS. are in many ways characteristic for the changes and omissions they show compared to the autograph. Symphony No. 21, in the Joseph Elssler source, leaves out various details such as the *mezzo forte* of the viola in meas. 4 of the first movement, or the *tenute* (= *tenuto*) of the bass at meas. 29. On the other hand, the poor part-writing of the viola in the trio (third movement) is corrected. See comments to this work in Appendix I.

<sup>32</sup> Through an examination of many engravers' copies used by Breitkopf & Härtel, at present in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde at Vienna, I am convinced

or copy thereof, those symphonies using authentic material are relatively accurate; but when works without autograph were prepared, the editors were content to use one or two — very occasionally three — sources. Sometimes the source was a good copy, and sometimes it was the worst they could have chosen. By not checking their textual problems against the oldest manuscripts available in Central Europe, they were able to issue at least two<sup>33</sup> symphonies (Nos. 5 and 18) with erroneous order of movements — a third (No. 44) followed in volume 4, edited by Helmut Schultz. Several symphonies, moreover, were printed without certain instruments which contemporary evidence assures us are in some cases authentic, in others very likely: Nos. 2, 16, 17, 27, 33, 37. For No. 25 they used one source from Zittau, in which flutes happen to be used instead of oboes and the whole work transposed from C major to D major. Although they cite another copy of the work in Göttweig, it was employed merely for the purpose of transposing the work back to C major, a laudable procedure in itself; but the equally important substitution of oboes by flutes, although oboes are prescribed in all the early sources, was ignored. The textual errors of No. 25 are very numerous. By using only one source for No. 5, not only were the first two movements interchanged (against EK, HV, and almost all old MSS.) but the symphony, and especially the finale, was issued in an almost unbelievably corrupt version. Because only one manuscript of No. 2 was consulted, strange errors in the first movement crept in, whereby Mandyczewski misread  for , in addition to the fact that two undoubtedly authentic oboe parts never reached the printed page. In the same fashion, bassoon solos and important dynamic marks were omitted in No. 8 and a second viola solo left out of No. 15 — all because too few sources were consulted. Because of the number and importance of these errors a list of them was prepared and is included in Appendix I.

The fourth volume of the Breitkopf series, edited by Helmut Schultz, is far superior to the preceding three. He was fortunate enough to have authentic material for all except two symphonies; and, as might be expected, it is in these two works where the real problems appear. The fifth volume, issued by the Haydn Society, was originally

that Mandyczewski and Weingartner in general relied not on the original but upon Pohl's copy of the same. The faulty second violin part of Symphony No. 13/I (see meas. 54/57) certainly derives from the Pohl copy.

<sup>33</sup> Possibly also a third (No. 37), as well. See Appendix I.

edited for Breitkopf & Härtel by Helmut Schultz and revised by the author. To symphonies with special problems new sources were added, by which many of the difficulties occasioned by the use of too few sources in the volume as originally envisaged by Schultz could be solved. Since hardly any of the symphonies from Nos. 58 through 81 are printed in modern<sup>34</sup> score, it is probable that they will become known in conjunction with the Complete Edition, and it is to be hoped that all critical problems will be presented in sufficient detail not to have to warrant the large-scale corrections created by the earlier volumes. The necessary corrections for volumes nine and ten are included together with the others for earlier volumes and the first 'Salomon' symphonies in Appendix I.

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The first six 'Salomon' symphonies<sup>35</sup> by Haydn, regarded as an entity, present one of the most curious problems facing the Haydn scholar. Unlike many of the other questions surrounding the music of this composer — authenticity, chronology and so on — this particular problem is not only completely unknown to the musical world at large but appears not to have been noticed by any of the Haydn specialists. It seems to have been taken for granted that the most celebrated works by a famous composer would be handed down to posterity in a form approximately representing the composer's original intentions. This is, however, not at all the case; for the scores and parts of certain of the first six 'Salomon' symphonies and the *Sinfonia Concertante* in everyday use<sup>36</sup> are flagrant falsifications of Haydn's own text. The importance of these large-scale alterations, additions and omissions has compelled us to lay the facts before musicians in the hope that conductors may be persuaded to adopt Haydn's own, far more compelling language.

During the past quarter of a century, the musicological world has followed with interest the emergence of Bruckner's symphonies in

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<sup>34</sup> Currently available are only Nos. 64, 73, 77, 78 and 80.

<sup>35</sup> Nos. 93—98. This portion of the chapter originally appeared in *The Music Review*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (February, 1954).

<sup>36</sup> The orchestral parts by Breitkopf & Härtel and Peters, including reprints thereof, scores by Cranz, Philharmonia and the old Breitkopf scores in 8<sup>vo</sup>, as well as the older pocket scores by Eulenburg. The newer Eulenburg editions are partially corrected; see below.

the *Urfassung*<sup>37</sup>, as he wrote them and not as they were edited, printed and presented to the world through his well-intentioned disciples and followers. The Bruckner problem is, however, considerably complicated by the fact that not only did the composer often revise his own works but to a certain extent sanctioned the alterations, even those on the largest scale, which his pupils and others found it advisable to make. The case of Haydn is simpler, since we are not faced with two or more alternatives but with one. Our only choice must lie with autographs, authentic parts and first or early editions, not with modern scores and parts, most of which are based upon nineteenth century traditions and contain errors which were largely incorporated into Haydn's original versions long after the composer was dead. Happily, the six symphonies and the *Sinfonia Concertante* are bequeathed to us in numerous authentic manuscripts and printed editions. For each work there are at least two, and in some cases three authentic MSS. besides an early print by a firm which, as we shall see, had access to authentic sources.

The primary sources for these works are, of course, the composer's autographs, of which the following are preserved to-day<sup>38</sup>:

- No. 94 1st, 3rd, 4th movts., Berlin State Library (cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 48).  
2nd movt., Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.<sup>39</sup>.
- No. 95 British Museum, London (cat. Royal Phil. MS 137).
- No. 96 British Museum, London (cat. Royal Phil. MS 138).
- No. 97 Auction at Berlin in 1951; now in private possession.
- No. 98 (incomplete) Berlin State Library (cat. Mus. ms. autogr Jos. Haydn 47).
- Sinfonia Concertante* Berlin State Library (cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 44).

In addition to these holograph manuscripts, several copies of Haydn's autographs have been traced. It is possible to determine a direct copy of any autograph only by internal evidence and by the relationship of the copyist with the author. As said before, Haydn's copyists were accustomed to supplement his rather meagre dynamic marks and phrasing so that it is not always easy to decide when the autograph was actually used as a basis for the copy in question. Nevertheless,

<sup>37</sup> Anton Bruckner. *Sämliche Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe im Auftrage der Generaldirektion der Nationalbibliothek und der Internationalen Bruckner-Gesellschaft*. Published originally by Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, Leipzig, now by the Bruckner-Verlag, Wiesbaden, and in Vienna by the Austrian National Library.

<sup>38</sup> Pohl knew of an autograph of No. 93. See above, p. 27.

<sup>39</sup> Actually, the last page of the first movt. is also included in the Library of Congress' MS.

it is almost beyond doubt that the following scores are copies of Haydn's holograph manuscripts:

- No. 93 Score by Joseph Elssler, Jr (?), Esterházy archives, Budapest. The format is exactly that of a Haydn autograph and there is one detail which is particularly convincing: at the end of the MS., Elssler wrote 'Laus Deo', a typically Haydnesque feature which appears at the end of almost every one of his manuscripts (cat. Ms. Mus. I, Nr. 95).
- No. 94 Score by Joseph Elssler, Jr (?), Esterházy archives, Budapest. The format is that of the Berlin autograph. The score appears to have been made at the same time as that of No. 93, for the watermarks are identical. A comparison of this Elssler MS. with the autograph convinces one that both Nos. 93 and 94 are direct copies (cat. Ms. Mus. I, Nr. 96).
- No. 98 Score by an unknown copyist in the British Museum, London. His handwriting is also found in the copy of Haydn's opera *Orfeo* in the Esterházy archives, Budapest. Haydn made various holograph corrections in *Orfeo*. A British copyist apparently used by Haydn during his first London sojourn (on his second he took Elssler). Although this copyist, who seems to have been a practical musician, added many more ties, phrasing and dynamics than Elssler ever dared to, one significant detail illustrates the connection with the autograph. Haydn, in the finale, added a solo harpsichord part which is found in no set of parts, contemporary or modern, but which appears in the British Museum copy. It is also perhaps worth noting that the *Orfeo* copy in Budapest has considerably more phrasing, dynamics, etc. than the autograph. Marion Scott, in *Music & Letters* XIII (1932), p. 126 maintains the harpsichord part in the British Museum copy was added by Haydn himself. This is not the case (cat. Royal Philharmonic Society, MS 136).

Of almost equal value are the various authentic copies of these works. As it happens, all the authentic copies of the Salomon symphonies preserved to-day are, with the exception of the British Museum copy of No. 98, in the handwriting of Johann Elssler. If there are other authentic copies — and there may well be<sup>40</sup> — these have not been discovered so far.

The Esterházy archives contain the following sets of parts:

No. 95 orchestral material by Johann Elssler.

No. 96       "               "               "               "

No. 97       "               "               "               "

*Sinfonia Concertante* two sets of orchestral material, one by Johann Elssler<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> In a letter from London dated November 17, 1791, Haydn states that he has sent copies of Symphonies 95 and 96 to von Kees in Vienna. These copies have not been traced to date; it may be that they are in the handwriting of the copyist used for *Orfeo* and Symphony No. 98 (British Museum).

<sup>41</sup> I have not had an opportunity to examine all the Esterházy material. Photographs of everything except the parts to Nos. 95, 96 and the *Sinfonia Concertante* have been furnished; and descriptions of the remaining material indicate Elssler as the copyist except for the second set of parts of the *Sinfonia Concertante*.



Recently (1950), the author was able to discover additional parts by Elssler of Symphonies No. 93, 96, 97 and 98 in the Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein Collection, at present in Schloss Harburg, Bavaria. These copies seem to have been completely unknown to the musicological world. These MSS. are rendered the more valuable as a result of numerous corrections and additions that Haydn made, in his own handwriting, on the parts, especially in Nos. 93 and 96.

In establishing the original texts of these works it gradually became apparent that the orchestral parts were not directly based upon the autographs but upon another source which is no longer extant. It has been pointed out that Haydn preferred to send parts, rather than scores, into the world. To Forster in London (Symphonies 74, 76—87), to Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein (Symphonies 90—92), to the monastery of St. Florian in Upper Austria (Symphonies 12, 21, 29 and the *Missa Sti. Nicolai*), to the monastery of Kremsmünster in Upper Austria (Symphony 67) — there are many more instances — Haydn sent orchestral parts, not scores. The Haydn MSS. in the Austrian monasteries often have an obvious connection with the authentic parts in the Esterházy archives, seldom with the original score. So it is with the Salomon symphonies. Haydn's copyists made their parts from other parts, not from the autograph score. For this reason various discrepancies, which must have crept into the first set of parts drawn from the autograph, can be found between Haydn's MSS. and the Elssler copies. Unfortunately, the entire original performance material used in the Haydn-Salomon concerts appears to have been burned during the nineteenth century; the copies listed in the British Museum (cat. Add 31710, *etc.*) bearing the remark 'all of the above revised by the composer and performed at Salomon's Concerts, under Haydn's direction' are patently scores copied from parts which no longer exist. The 'revised and performed' refers to the works, not to these particular copies<sup>42</sup>. Elssler must have copied either from the original Salomon material or from copies Haydn took back to Vienna with him. A case in point is Symphony No. 93, for which there are, as we have seen, Elssler's probable copy of the autograph as well as his set of parts for Oettingen-Wallerstein. In the latter (and also in early and modern editions) there is a series of strange errors in the first trumpet part, which doubles the second trumpet instead of

<sup>42</sup> Complete Edition, Ser. I, Vol. 10 (Symphony No. 88).

moving with it in thirds and octaves, a mistake which does not, however, appear in Elssler's score<sup>43</sup>. In other words, when Elssler made a score, he used the autograph, but when he copied parts he referred to other parts. Usually the parts omit many charming details found in the autographs. What is generally left out are those little matters which Haydn undoubtedly rectified at rehearsals, such as Salomon's solo violin part in the Trio of No. 97, or the retuning of the drums in the opening movement of No. 94 (in the Artaria print of No. 94, however, this is retained). On the other hand, the parts often contain dynamics and phrasing not found in the autograph: the decrescendo appearing in the parts of No. 96/II but not in the autograph constitutes this sort of quasi-improvisatory oral direction which Haydn must have added while trying out the symphony for the first time.

The most important printed editions continue to be those by Artaria, Haydn's Viennese publisher. The close relationship between Haydn and Artaria was, or appears to have been, broken off more or less permanently after Haydn's sojourns in the British capital, but this fact becomes relatively unimportant in view of the detailed similarity between certain of Artaria's prints and the corresponding Elssler parts. It seems likely that the Viennese firm must have had access to authentic sources for almost all the first Salomon symphonies and the *Sinfonia Concertante* — a possible exception is No. 94. (Perhaps Haydn furnished the sources himself, or perhaps Elssler, or some other person close to the composer, effected an unauthorized business deal with the authentic material to which he obviously must have had permanent access.)

The authentic sources for the Salomon symphonies and *Sinfonia Concertante* may be listed as follows:

- |        |  |        |  |
|--------|--|--------|--|
| No. 93 | (1) Elssler copy of autograph (?).       | No. 96 | (1) Autograph.                           |
|        | (2) Elssler parts in Schloss Harburg.    |        | (2) Elssler parts in Esterházy archives. |
|        | (3) Artaria.                             |        | (3) Elssler parts in Schloss Harburg.    |
| No. 94 | (1) Autograph.                           |        | (4) Artaria.                             |
|        | (2) Elssler copy of autograph.           | No. 97 | (1) Autograph.                           |
|        | (3) [Artaria (authentic?)].              |        | (2) Elssler parts in Esterházy archives. |
| No. 95 | (1) Autograph.                           |        | (3) Elssler parts in Schloss Harburg.    |
|        | (2) Elssler parts in Esterházy archives. |        | (4) Artaria.                             |
|        | (3) Artaria.                             |        |  |

<sup>43</sup> See below, under list of errors for No. 93/I, measures 204/212.

*The Salomon Symphonies*

No. 98	(1) Autograph.	<i>Sinfonia Concertante</i>
	(2) Elssler parts in Schloss Harburg.	(1) Autograph.
	(3) Score in British Museum (copy of autograph?).	(2) two sets of parts in Esterházy archives.
	(4) Artaria.	(3) Artaria.

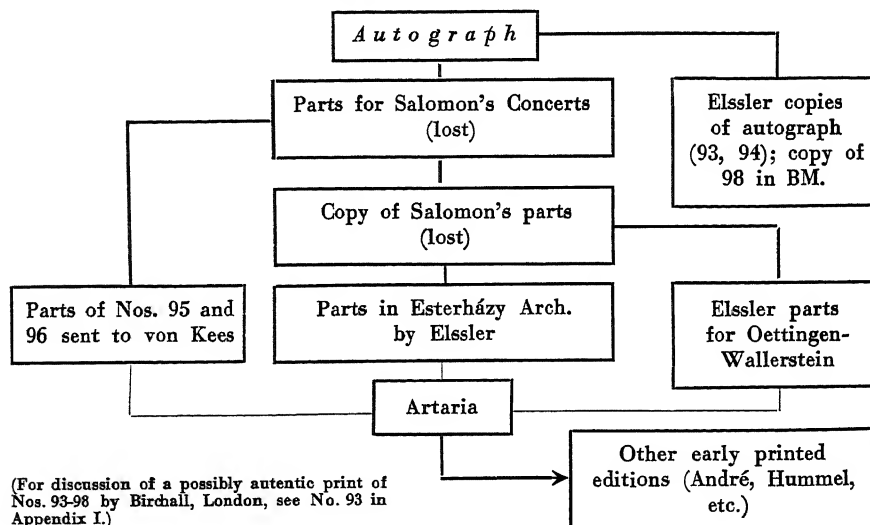
Having determined the texts of the above works exclusively by means of these authentic sources, it was then thought advisable to compare some secondary *MSS.* and prints with the authentic text in order to provide a check on the veracity of the results on the one hand, and to establish the worth of the secondary sources *per se* on the other. Some interesting results were obtained by comparing the Elssler *MSS.* in Schloss Harburg with the *MSS.* in the Prince Thurn und Taxis Library of Regensburg. Upon examining several *MSS.* of the Salomon symphonies there (Nos. 93, 96, 98), it was found that the copyist's handwriting and the type of paper used was identical with the duplicate string parts (first and second violin, 'cello-bass) of the Elssler copies in Schloss Harburg. (Haydn, or whoever was responsible for furnishing Oettingen-Wallerstein with these symphonies, only sent one of each part.) It is more than possible that the Regensburg *MSS.* are based upon those in Harburg. In any case, they represent an interesting sideline which it would be worth while to pursue elsewhere. Another curious fact is that Nos. 94 and 95 are missing from the Elssler series in Harburg. A manuscript of No. 94 is, in fact, in the Oettingen-Wallerstein library, but it is by an unknown copyist and appears to be based upon the André print. The fact that No. 95 is missing may perhaps be explained by the presence of the Artaria print there (with the plate No. 534); however, the Artaria edition of No. 96 (plate No. 535) is also in the collection. The Regensburg *MSS.* although having their share of small, unimportant copyists' errors, confirmed the basic musical texts<sup>44</sup> derived from the authentic sources.

To confirm matters still further, it was necessary to examine various contemporary printed parts of No. 96 and 98, those works most maltreated in modern editions; and again Haydn's originals

<sup>44</sup> I also examined several *MSS.* of the works in question in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna. These are mostly scores, formerly of the Archduke Rudolf collection; the watermarks indicate a date of c. 1800—1820. Although these *MSS.* also confirmed the originals as a whole, they are so poorly copied and so full of copyists' errors that for the purpose of a critical edition they may be considered useless. (See also comments to other scores of this collection. Complete Edition, Ser. I, Vol. 5, especially Symphonies Nos. 51 and 53.)

were confirmed. The early André print of No. 96, issued only a few years<sup>45</sup> after Haydn's first London sojourn, has the original trumpet and drum parts and the unaltered flute and bassoon parts as well, about which more will be said later; and the revised brass and drum parts of No. 98 were to be found in none of the older prints. With this overwhelming evidence, there seemed to be no doubt whatever that the fundamental versions found in the authentic sources were also the accepted ones so long as Haydn was active.

It was then necessary to establish, if possible, the relationship of the authentic sources. In most cases this could be deduced and in one case it could be more positively reconstructed. For Nos. 93—96 and 98, this relationship appears to be as follows:



<sup>45</sup> Plate No. 761. Since the publication of this part of the chapter in the *Music Review*, I have gone into the matter of the André prints of Nos. 93-98 more thoroughly. Through the André catalogues of 1795 and 1796, we can date his editions rather accurately. Nos. 95 and 96 (Op. 77) appear in the 1795 catalogue, Nos. 94 and 98 (Op. 80) in the 1796 catalogue, but beside Op. 80, Livre 1 (No. 94) is the date '1795', suggesting that it was printed rather late in the year — too late, at any rate, to appear in the catalogue of 1795. Nos. 93 and 97 (Op. 83) are also announced in the 1796 catalogue. Now, one's attention is immediately drawn to the fact that all these works appeared in the same years as the Artaria prints; and one might ask if, in fact, Artaria did not pirate his edition from André, rather than vice versa. The answer lies, I think, in No. 94. Artaria announced this work in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 13th June 1795, and if he pirated the work from André, it means that André's edition must have been issued at least two months before (allowing two or three weeks in the post and six weeks for Artaria to engrave and print). If André issued the

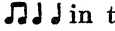

*The Salomon Symphonies*

The family tree of the sources for No. 97 can be even more exactly determined because of a correction which Haydn made on the Elssler parts in the Esterházy archives. The original tempo of the finale in the autograph, and in Elssler's parts in Oettingen-Wallerstein, is *Spiritoso*, which Haydn changed to *Presto assai*. Artaria and modern editions follow the new tempo. This shows that (1) Artaria must have printed the work from a source made after Haydn changed the tempo; (2) the Oettingen-Wallerstein *MS.* was copied before this change was made. It is therefore probable that the Elssler *MSS.* represent the earliest extant sources apart from the autograph.

For some inexplicable reason, two of the Salomon symphonies (Nos. 96 and 98) seem to have been especially selected for revision. Although the other four works contain their share of mistakes, omissions and additions, none of them was subjected to anything like the treatment accorded Nos. 96 and 98. It has been impossible to discover who made these alterations, but there is a good deal of internal evidence which points to the same hand at work in both symphonies. This person was a specialist in rewriting trumpet and drum parts<sup>46</sup>; and scarcely a bar of Haydn's brass and timpani writing escaped his notice. Anyone familiar with Haydn's trumpet parts will know that they nearly always double the horn parts — either an octave higher or, if the horns are in C *alto* or B flat *alto*, at the same pitch — except in those places where he wants to create a special effect or

work in April, he must have been preparing the work at the latest in February and March; and yet there is no mention of No. 94 in the 1795 catalogue. Its appearance in the 1796 catalogue, with the date '1795' placed after the announcement, suggests that André promptly pirated Artaria's edition and issued it in the late summer or (more likely) autumn of 1795. The two editions of Nos. 93-98 are similar in every respect, and there is no question that one firm pirated from the other; but the evidence points to Artaria as the original printer. The Imbault editions, however, seem to have been issued in 1796 as Op. 80 (announcement in the *Affiches*, 17th March), which means that at least Nos. 93, 97 and 98 preceded the Artaria editions by some months. It is not clear from which source Imbault printed, but it would seem that he had access to the same *MSS.* as used by Artaria (or André), for all three editions are almost identical.

<sup>46</sup> Symphony No. 48 in C major ('Maria Theresia') was similarly treated, the trumpet and timpani parts being thoroughly revised and elaborated. The original Haydn parts are preserved in the Esterházy archives, in many old *MSS.*, and in the B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe*, Series I, Vol. 4 (Helmut Schultz). The revised parts are used in the B. & H. parts and in Eulenburg's miniature score (No. 517, ed. Wilhelm Altmann). There is a possibility that the revision was undertaken by the same person who arranged Nos. 96 and 98; see under comments to Symphony No. 48 in Appendix I.

a separate rhythmic impetus. The strange fact about the 'new' trumpet and drum parts is that they often remove this typically Haydnesque rhythmic drive. In Symphony No. 98/I, for example, Haydn writes in bars 40 *ff.* the figure  in the timpani, which the editor changed to four crotchets; and Haydn's trumpets during the passage have semibreves, doubling the horn parts, whereas in the revised version the trumpets play equal crotchets as in the (revised) timpani part. Another example, to choose from random, is the extremely characteristic passage in the opening movement of No. 96 (meas. 161 *ff.*), where trumpets and horns echo each other in the figure ; the revised trumpet parts content themselves with a single note at the beginning of each measure, thus completely destroying Haydn's characteristic musical texture. The whole revision of these works, in fact, seems quite pointless. It is not that the editor wanted to increase the amount of notes allotted to the trumpets and drums; for in the minuet of No. 98, almost as many notes are taken away as are added. Because of the fact that the original trumpets and drums for No. 98 are not printed anywhere in available editions — except for the very imperfect Eulenburg score<sup>47</sup> — these parts are printed in their entirety in Appendix I.

One immediately asks the question: where did these revised versions appear for the first time? As far as one can discover, the basis of most modern editions was the series of scores made by Breitkopf & Härtel from 1806—1808, during which time Nos. 93, 94, 99, 101, 103 and 104 were brought out. In January, 1802, this firm had suggested an edition of the symphonies — on the lines of the mass series and the *Œuvres Complètes* — to be revised (edited) by the composer; but nothing came of this, and Breitkopf began to print the scores without Haydn's cooperation a few years later. It is perhaps significant that Nos. 96 and 98 are missing from this series; Nos. 93, 94 and the later works, as will be seen below, escaped anything like a large-scale revision. Parenthetically, it should be pointed out here that Le Duc cannot be blamed for the revision — even if he can be blamed (and was, bitterly, by Haydn) for a very poor

<sup>47</sup> Eulenburg has reprinted the pocket score of No. 98 (No. 485, ed. E. Praetorius) and attempted to restore the trumpets and drums of the original; this is unfortunately not carried out, so that Eulenburg's present score is a mixture of original and edited versions — thus, in meas. 5/6 of the minuet the timpani part is simply omitted, the spurious trumpet parts in the first movement (meas. 146/7, 158/9, 170/2, etc.) and finale (meas. 178 *ff.*) retained.

edition in the critical sense — because No. 98 in his edition has no trumpets and drums whatever. The first editions of Nos. 96 and 98 to use the revised flute, bassoon, trumpet and timpani parts appear to be those of Simrock; and when Breitkopf & Härtel, in the middle of the nineteenth century, brought out the scores of these works, it would seem that they used Simrock's editions as the primary sources. In this way, the revised versions were communicated to a far larger audience than would have been the case if only available in Simrock's prints, which were orchestral parts, and which had stiff competition from the more-or-less correct texts of Artaria, André, Imbault, Sieber, Gombart, Hummel and Birchall. It is a curious coincidence that Simrock's edition of No. 48 (see n. 46, *supra*) also contains the spurious trumpet and drums parts.

One can only repeat the hope, expressed at the beginning of this section, that conductors will further the aim of the Complete Edition of Haydn's works by making an effort to rectify the most important errors in these symphonies<sup>48</sup>. Some practical means had to be found, whereby conductors would not have to study every bar of the original sources in order to find out the main deviations from the customary scores and parts; and to facilitate this we have prepared a list of the most urgent corrections. (See Appendix I.) For obvious reasons, it would not be practical to list missing dynamic marks which are an oversight by Haydn or his copyists, to point out modernizations of the original dynamic marks (thus Haydn's *fz* is usually written *sf*) or to give all the cases in which phrasing is logically carried out beyond the point where Haydn ceased to mark it; similarly, ornaments which are correctly realized in the customary versions to-day (such as No. 93/I, meas. 72/73) need not be listed here. This is the domain of a critical edition.

Eulenburg's miniature scores are used as a basis of comparison. Despite their imperfections these represent by far the most satisfactory available versions of Haydn's Salomon symphonies.

<sup>48</sup> The *Sinfonia Concertante* was printed for the first time in modern edition by Breitkopf & Härtel during World War I. The editor, Hans Sitt, undertook a revision beside which even Nos. 96 and 98 appear to have survived very nicely. The entire orchestration was changed at will in Sitt's edition, harmonic lay-outs altered, rhythms transformed — even the timpani part is made to sound more Beethovenian (rolls instead of *♩*, etc.). There is no point in a detailed list of the errors here; the work must be printed anew. Even Eulenburg's much superior edition does not utilize the autograph and the authentic Esterházy parts, which must be the basis of any new edition.

## CHAPTER V

### HAYDN'S SYMPHONIES IN PERFORMANCE

This chapter is primarily designed for the practising musician. Using the few contemporary documents together with the many hints and suggestions embodied in Haydn's scores themselves, we have attempted to establish a basis on which to perform the symphonies in a fashion which is, in so far as this is possible today, authentic and at the same time practical. It is obvious, indeed in certain respects desirable, that one should make compromises, and no one will want to perform Haydn's music with natural trumpets and ancient woodwind instruments when our modern counterparts are in most cases so far superior in every way. On the other hand, with respect to the size of the orchestra, its constitution, the realization of correct *basso continuo* parts, performance of the ornaments and the like, it is necessary that whatever facts are available be laid before conductors in the hope that the trend towards authentic performances of eighteenth century music in general will also continue as far as Haydn is concerned.

For purposes of clarity it was thought wise to divide this chapter into a number of individual sections, each of which is treated separately.

#### 1. *Size of Haydn's Orchestra.*

(a) *Lukaveč (the earliest symphonies).* Pohl<sup>1</sup> tried assiduously to gather some material about Haydn's sojourn as Director of Count Morzin's band, but to no avail. To judge from contemporary orchestras in Austrian monasteries and noble houses, the orchestra at Lukaveč can have comprised, at the most, some six violins, one viola and one bass. With the latter undoubtedly played a bassoon or a violoncello, or both, although this must have been dictated by immediate circumstances; in this respect, it is significant that none of Haydn's earliest symphonies ever specifies passages for 'cello alone. The wind players at Lukaveč probably numbered two oboes, two horns

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<sup>1</sup> I, p. 193, especially footnote 26.



and two bassoons; and as there are practically no early Haydn symphonies which specify bassoons — except for the B flat Symphony HV 7, if it is actually from this period — we may assume that these players doubled the bass parts. That bassoons were in fact part of the Morzin band may be assumed from two divertimenti by Haydn, dated 1760, one (autograph formerly in possession of Count Harrach in Rohrau) for oboes, horns and bassoons (HV 15), and one (autograph in the Esterházy Archives) for English horns, French horns, bassoons and violins (HV 16).

(b) *Eisenstadt* } 1761/1762-1775. Pohl<sup>2</sup> lists the regular members  
    *Esterháza* }  
of the Esterházy band in 1762 as: five violins or violas, one 'cello, one violone, one flute, two oboes, two horns, two bassoons and one pensioned timpani player (Adamus Sturm, d. 1771). It is clear, however, from the scoring of Symphonies Nos. 6-8 that Haydn could have at his disposal at least six violins, a viola, two 'cellos and two basses. Undoubtedly the viola part was doubled. Besides these regular members, Haydn could draw upon the orchestra of the Esterházy church choir, which comprised two violins and another bass player; and he also had at his disposal trumpeters and kettledrummers from the Prince's military forces as well as the local 'Städtische Thurnermeister' in Eisenstadt. Further players may have been recruited from the Stadtpfarrkirche. During the course of these years the Esterházy orchestra was enlarged by four horn players<sup>3</sup>, of which one (Karl Franz) could also play the baryton (and therefore the 'cello or violone), and one (Joseph Diezl) the 'cello. Another violinist or viola player, and a tenor who could play lower stringed instruments, were also engaged<sup>4</sup>.

Using a few supplementary players from the singers, the church orchestra and local musicians of Eisenstadt, Haydn could summon up an orchestra of approximately eight or nine violins, two violas, one or two 'cellos, two basses, a pair of each of the usual woodwind instruments except clarinets, and four horns.

(c) *Esterháza, c. 1775*. A remarkable picture (Plate XVI) has been preserved, showing Haydn conducting what is believed to be a per-

<sup>2</sup> I, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> One of these, hired in 1763, may have provided the incentive for Symphony No. 13 (1763), in which Haydn uses four horns for the first time.

<sup>4</sup> Pohl, I, p. 261 ff.

formance of his opera, *L'Incontro improvviso*, first performed on the stage at Esterháza in 1775. The picture shows the musicians in the splendid uniform of the Esterházy *Capelle*: red coats with black embroidery. The 'cellist, P. Niemez, is in a black, Haydn in a grey coat. In the picture are thirteen violin or viola players (probably 6-5-2), two oboes and, surrounding Haydn at the cembalo, a 'cello, a bassoon and two bass players. The corner of one kettledrum is just visible. Probably the horns and trumpets, which the score requires, are out of sight beside the drum player.

During the years 1776—1778 two clarinet players were engaged.

(d) *Esterháza*, c. 1783. J. N. Forkel, in the *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland*, pp. 100f. cites the following number of musicians in the Esterházy band: eleven violins, one of which was Haydn himself, two violas, two 'cellos, two basses, and a pair of oboes, horns and bassoons. Trumpets and drums, as very often in orchestras of the second half of the eighteenth century, are not listed. Forkel erred, however, in not including a flute player, and Pohl<sup>5</sup> mentions one by name, Hirsch; furthermore, all Haydn's symphonies after 1780 include an *obbligato* flute part. Here is Forkel's notice:

The Princely Esterházy band at Esterháza. (As the Prince undertook this past winter a journey to Paris which will take a half — if not a whole — year, his band has been reduced to but a few members. This list, therefore, shows the band as it was before said reduction.)

Director and *Capellmeister*.

Joseph Hayden [*sic*]. Also plays first violin.

*Violinists.*

Luigi Tomasini. Pauer. Nicoletto Mestrino. Ungricht.

Hirsek. Fux. Menzl. Hofmann. Oliva. Potzelli.

*Violists.*

Specht. Burksteiner.

*Oboists.*

Schandick. Mayer.

*Hornists.*

Rupp. Mackoveiz.

*Contrabassists.*

Schringer. Dietzl.

*Violoncellists.*

Kraft. Pertoja.

*Bassoonists.*

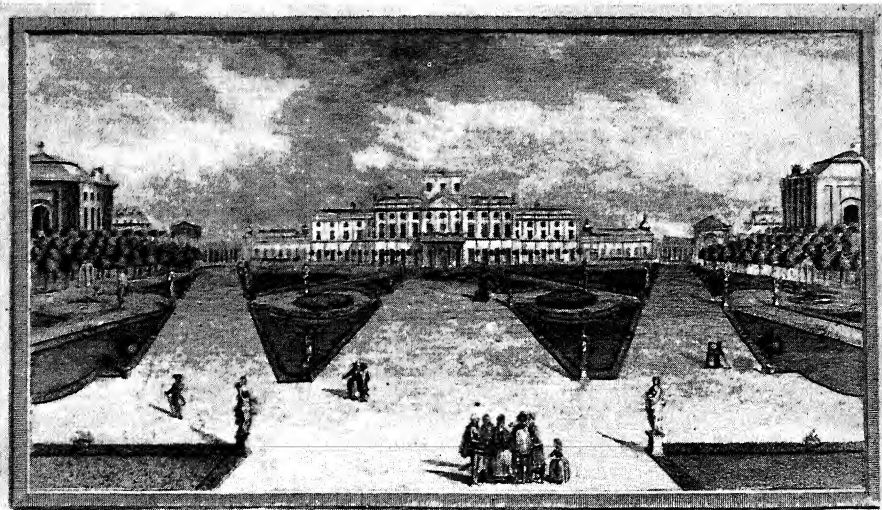
Peczivall. Stainer.

[There follows a list of the singers.]

<sup>5</sup> II, p. 15.



XVI An opera performance in Esterháza. On the basis of the stage settings and costumes, it is believed to be the last act of Haydn's *dramma giocoso*, "L'incontro improvviso" (1775). At the cembalo is Haydn. Reading from Haydn's score are a cello player and two bass players; a bassoon player is in their midst (back facing audience). The other musicians able to be seen are thirteen violin and viola players and two oboists. At the extreme left is the edge of a kettledrum. (Oil painting in possession of V. E. Pollak, Vienna).



PROSPECT NACH DEM GARTEN UND WALD GEGEN SÜDEN.

XVII The castle at Esterháza. Engraving from *Beschreibung des Hochfürstlichen Schlosses Esterhász im Königreiche Ungern.* [sic], 1784.



XVIII The castle at Esterháza. Engraving from *Beschreibung des Hochfürstlichen Schlosses Esterhász im Königreiche Ungern.* [sic], 1784.

### *Size of Haydn's Orchestra*

Another document, from the year 1785, supports Forkel's figure (a total of twenty-three players): the diary of General Miranda<sup>6</sup>, who passed through Esterháza. On 26th October 1785, he writes:

.... the famous Hayden, for whom I was carrying letters, accompanied me directly and showed me the whole of the Palace.... The theatre which performs the whole year round costs him [the Prince] 30,000 florins a year, and the actors' salaries are for life — in the evening went to the opera, saw the Prince, his niece, and his mistress, vulgar woman... the representation cold — the orchestra twenty-four instruments, Hayden played the harpsichord [*el clave*].

Two days later, the 28th, he notes:

The next day early Hayden came and we went together in a coach sent by the Prince to see the garden... talked a lot about music with Hayden, and he agreed with me about the merit of Boccherini...

The members of Haydn's orchestra, during the 'seventies and 'eighties, now included a very considerable number of virtuosi, and, as might be expected, the turnover was very great. Thus, at precisely the period investigated by Forkel, a violinist named Franz Mraw (Mraf) joined the band (1784), only to leave it two years later, while one Peter Fuchs (Fux), also a violinist, remained in Esterháza only during the years 1781 and 1782.

After 1780 Haydn, again drawing now and then on supplementary players, could command an orchestra of which the average number of string players must have been about twenty or twenty-three.

(e) *Paris, 1785—1786.* Haydn's 'Paris' Symphonies (Nos. 83—87) were nominally written for the huge orchestra of the 'Concerts de la Loge Olympique' in Paris, boasting some forty violins and ten double basses. However, the symphonies were certainly composed with the more modest resources at Haydn's disposal in mind, and there is no great difference in orchestral technique between the symphonies of 1783/1784 and those of 1785/1786. But Haydn must have had ample chance to hear his music performed with large orchestras, such as that sponsored by his friend and patron, von Kees. Until he went to London, however, he had little opportunity to write for really sizeable instrumental groups.

<sup>6</sup> Francisco de Miranda, *Viajes Diarios 1750-1785*, Caracas, 1929, Vol. 1, p. 435. I am indebted to my friend Prof. Otto Erich Deutsch for drawing my attention to this diary.

(f) *London 1791—1794*. Salomon's band was considerably larger than the regular Esterházy forces and included twelve to sixteen violins<sup>7</sup>, four violas, three 'cellos and four basses, in addition to a pair of flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets and timpani. Although Haydn used two clarinets in *L'Anima del filosofo* ('Orfeo'), composed in 1791, the first 'Salomon' symphonies include no clarinets. For the second London sojourn, Salomon must have provided an orchestra of about the same size, although we have not been furnished with such exact figures. This time, however, Haydn did use two clarinets.

(g) *London, 1795* (Opera Concerts). Salomon surprisingly announced in January, 1795, that he would no longer continue his concert series, and the last three Haydn symphonies were written for and performed by Viotti's 'Opera Concerts'. The orchestra was, according to contemporary reports, made up of the finest instrumentalists available, and was sixty strong. The strings were probably divided about 12-12-6-4-5 (total: thirty-nine), the woodwind parts were very likely doubled in the tutti: 4 flutes, 4 oboes, 4 clarinets, 4 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, (1) timpani (total: twenty-one). Possibly there were fewer violas and more violins, but the approximate size must have been close to the above estimate. The belief that Haydn used double wind whenever the forces were larger than usual is strengthened by examination of the authentic parts to *The Creation* where, with ten stands of first violins, Haydn used triple wind, triple brass and even triple kettledrums. The tradition established in these performances of the late oratorios carried on well into the nineteenth century in Vienna, and it was only towards the end of that century that performers ceased using the reinforced wind band<sup>8</sup>.

Summing up, modern concert performances of Haydn's symphonies should use, except in large halls, approximately the following numbers of string players:

Lukaveč (the symphonies discussed in Chapter VI): c. 4-4-2-1-1.

Eisenstadt-Esterháza (Chapters VII, VIII): c. 5-5-3-2-2.

Esterháza (Chapters IX-XI): c. 6 (7)-6-4-3-2.

<sup>7</sup> Not, as in Robert Haas, *Aufführungspraxis*, pp. 217/218, twelve first and sixteen second violins. See Pohl, *Mozart und Haydn in London, Zweite Abtheilung: Haydn in London*, Vienna, 1867 [hereinafter abbreviated by 'H. in L.'] p. 121.

<sup>8</sup> See *Denkschrift zur 25jährigen Jubelfeier der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde*, Vienna, 1840.

*Size of Haydn's Orchestra*

London (Chapter XIII): c. 8-8-5-4-3 (Symphonies 93-98).

London (Chapter XIII): c. 12-12-6-5-5 (Symphonies 102-104).

It will be observed that we have, as a rule, added slightly to the violas and subtracted from the basses; this is partly because of the increased strength of modern double basses, much sturdier and more resonant than their predecessors, and partly because eighteenth century orchestras were consistently weak in their viola sections. In this connection we may quote Quantz<sup>9</sup>, who suggests the following table for bands of increasing size:

<i>Violins</i>	<i>Violas</i>	<i>'Cellos</i>	<i>Continuo</i>	<i>Flutes</i>	<i>Oboes</i>	<i>Bassoons</i>
4	1	1	1 Bass, 1 Cemb.	—	—	—
6	1	1	1 Bass, 1 Cemb. 1 Bassoon	—	—	(see Continuo)
8	2	2	2 Basses, 1 Cemb.	2	2	2 (obligato or Cont.)
10	2	3	2 Basses, 1 Cemb.	2	2	2 (obligato or Cont.)
12	3	4	2 Basses, 2 Cemb. 1 Theorbe	4	4	3 (obligato or Cont.)

Robert Haas<sup>10</sup>, speaking of this list, says:

The viola forces in these suggestions are conceived as strikingly weak, a fact which is again and again borne out by examining the constitution of contemporary bands; decisive, in this respect, is the fact that in scores of the period the viola and bass were closely connected with each other. Haydn refers precisely to this problem when he wanted a good viola section.

The document to which Haas refers is of vital importance in reconstructing Haydn's orchestral and vocal practice. In 1768, the composer sent the large cantata *Applausus* to an Austrian monastery, and as he 'could not be present' at the performance, he 'thought it necessary to give one or two explanations' about how the work should be performed. This letter<sup>11</sup> includes ten points, among which is the following, pertaining to the viola problem:

<sup>9</sup> *Versuch einer Anweisung, die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, Berlin 1752, Chap. XVII, Sect. I, § 16.

<sup>10</sup> *Aufführungspraxis*, p. 217.

<sup>11</sup> Original at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.



### *Haydn's Symphonies in Performance*

6th: I beg you to use two viola players, as in many cases it is more essential to hear the middle than the upper part; and one can see in all my compositions [that] the same [*i. e.* the viola] seldom doubles the bass.

Of equal importance is the question of balance between the string and wind bodies. If more than thirty of the former are employed for mature works, or more than twenty for the earlier symphonies, the woodwind must be doubled in the tutti sections if Haydn's original orchestral balance is to be preserved. Any intelligent conductor familiar with the lay-out of the average Haydn score will be able to decide when the winds should be doubled, when not. In those works where the possibility of doubled wind would normally come into question, *i. e.* the symphonies from *c.* 1775-1780 onwards, Haydn usually takes care to mark 'Solo' and 'Tutti' over his woodwind parts. In this connection, conductors are encouraged to double the single flute parts in the works with heavier orchestration, such as those with trumpets and drums, even if the other wind parts are not doubled. Symphonies Nos. 70, 75, 82, 86, 88, 90 and 92 almost require this, even if the string body is not larger than, say, twenty-five players; otherwise the flute part will certainly be submerged in the *forte* passages.

The wisdom of doubling the muted brass parts in No. 102/II may be mentioned here. It is of vital importance that the trumpets be audible throughout the movement, and this can only occur if two instruments play each part. It must be recalled that this symphony was performed with a force of sixty players; and so much of the stunning orchestral effect is lost unless the snarling notes of the muted brass instruments underline the texture.

### *2. Instruments in Haydn's Orchestra.*

None of the instruments required in Haydn's symphonies is obsolete to-day, and we do not have to search for gambas, cornets or, as are found even in Mozart, soprano trombones<sup>12</sup>, posthorns in *A alto*<sup>13</sup> and the like. There are, however, certain aspects of Haydn's scoring which require amplification or clarification. These are discussed in order of importance.

<sup>12</sup> Mass in C minor, K. 427. It is not certain that this part is authentic: see my preface to the new edition by Ernst Eulenburg, Ltd., London, 1954.

<sup>13</sup> Serenade No. 9 in D major, K. 320; a symphony in A major by Michael Haydn (autograph: Monastery of Göttweig) also uses a 'Corno da Postiglione' in the trio of the minuet.



(a) *The Basso Continuo.*

(1) Bassoon. As we have had occasion to mention, the early symphonies of Haydn require a bassoon to play with the bass line, whether specifically called for by the score or not<sup>14</sup>. It was indicated that the player was expected to 'improvise' a part 'col basso': the question now arises how this 'col basso' should be interpreted.

In the first forty Haydn symphonies it will be noticed that the bass line is so constructed that it is never too swift for the bassoons; tremolos and rapid figurations are avoided. This thoroughly baroque method of laying out the bass prevails in Haydn's symphonies until the 'seventies, at which time the bassoon is usually written out. Judging from the first examples of these written-out parts, the bassoons did not play continually but were mainly used to reinforce the tutti passages. Symphony No. 52 gives us an interesting glimpse into contemporary 'Fagotto col basso' method<sup>15</sup>. In the 'Applausus' letter quoted in connection with the problem of violas, Haydn also has something to say about this aspect of eighteenth-century tradition:

10th: In the soprano aria [of the Cantata *Applausus*] the bassoon may possibly be omitted. Nevertheless, I should prefer it to remain, at least when the bass is in an obbligato fashion throughout; and I deem it better to have music played with 3 bass instruments, viz. violoncello, bassoon and violone, rather than 6 violoni and three 'cellos, because certain passages are in that way more clearly [*hart*] distinguished.

A very satisfactory compromise may be effected in quick movements if one bassoon plays only in the tuttis, a second bassoon doubling throughout. One further point requires clarification: there appears to have been a rule that should the bass line specify a tenor clef only the violoncello shall play, bassoons and double-basses remaining silent. In several symphonies among the first forty printed in the B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe*, this matter is misunderstood, the portion in the tenor clef being rewritten without comment in the bass clef<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> See above, p. 78. Scheibe, in *Der Critische Musicus* (Hamburg, 1737-40), tells us that, if a slow movement contains no wind parts, the bassoon should remain silent, but where wind instruments are employed, the basses must 'always be reinforced by bassoons' — advice which applies to Haydn as well.

<sup>15</sup> I have commented on this in some detail in the Complete Edition, Series I, Vol. 5, p. 303.

<sup>16</sup> Such a passage may be found in Symphony No. 6/I just before the end. The tenor clef is retained in the bassoon, where the copyist merely transcribed 'Fagotto col Basso' literally, while in the bass part the bass clef was senselessly introduced. See Appendix I.

Occasionally Haydn places the remark 'Violoncello' or 'Violoncello Solo' over the passage in the tenor clef; more often, and especially in vocal music, the composer assumed that the significance of the change of clef would be understood by performers.

(2) *Harpsichord*. The first 40 odd symphonies also require the presence of a harpsichord as part of the *basso continuo*. During the eighteenth century the conductor or composer held the orchestra together from the cembalo; and while this function has since been transferred to the conductor, the presence of the harpsichord in early Haydn symphonies is still necessary for two reasons: first, to fill in the frequently missing harmonies — particularly in slow movements — and secondly, to provide the structural and colouristic background of the orchestral ensemble. If one rewrites the viola, 'cello, bass and bassoon parts of eighteenth century music, as the late Constant Lambert did in his edition<sup>17</sup> of the Boyce Symphonies, or as Adam Carse has often suggested, the entire sound of the music will be radically altered. Happily, this barbarous practice, like that of using a piano instead of a harpsichord for the *continuo*, is almost entirely out of fashion. But it often happens that an early Haydn symphony receives a performance without any *continuo* instrument at all, which is a grave error.

The realization of the *basso continuo* part in Haydn's symphonies presents a number of difficult problems, for while the church music of Haydn and his contemporaries was always provided with a figured bass, the secular music was not. Since in the symphonies the execution of the harpsichord part is left entirely to the performer, it is often not clear when that instrument should play and when it should not, nor is it always obvious what kind of chords should be produced. In this respect, Haydn's harpsichord parts present far more aesthetic problems than do those of the earlier baroque era, in which the player was usually expected to provide an elaborate and continuous four- or five-part texture according to the rules laid down in numerous theory books of the period. With Haydn many of these rules presumably still apply — for example, that one should avoid doubling the melodic line with the right hand. But he certainly deviated from his predecessors with regard to the amplitude of the harmonic structure which the cembalist was expected to produce and, even more important, in respect to the exact rhythmic duplication of the bass line. It

<sup>17</sup> Oxford University Press, London.

*Basso Continuo*

is hard to believe that Haydn, in the finale of Symphony No. 29 — to choose an example at random — actually played crotchets throughout the entire movement whenever the bass line is so written; and this is the case almost throughout the movement. (Ex. 1) Nor can one imagine Haydn continually pounding out repeated crotchet chords

**Ex. 1**

11) [Presto] 15)

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Cembalo  
Vcl.-Cb.

in his right hand; a more unmusical idea is hard to conceive. In this connection we might draw attention to the harpsichord parts for many of the early symphonies published in parts by Breitkopf & Härtel, 'realized' by Max Seiffert and Günther Raphael. These parts are quite correct in the sense that they allot to the cembalo all the notes of the bass line in the left hand, the right hand generally following the same rhythm. The obvious exceptions to this occur, naturally, when the orchestra changes the harmonic structure within the space of a single rhythmic unit in the bass line ( $\begin{smallmatrix} 6 \\ 1 \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} 5 \\ 3 \end{smallmatrix}$ , etc.). Where one feels that these B. & H. parts err is from the aesthetic standpoint. Occasionally, the harpsichord is marked 'tacet', as during the entire slow movement of Symphony No. 13<sup>18</sup>. This is an idea which should, in our opinion, be applied to individual passages rather than whole movements, although there is a certain justification for it in No. 13/II. On the other hand, it is to be presumed that the B. & H. editors felt that they should include a 'schoolmaster' part, as conservative as possible, leaving the aesthetic problems to the performer. Long experience, however, has proved that one can leave nothing to orchestral performers or the average *continuo* player.

Haydn's harpsichord parts were certainly discreet. It is therefore doubtful if one should add suspensions, etc. not found in the actual

<sup>18</sup> G. Raphael.

score; in No. 31/II the B. & H. harpsichord part<sup>19</sup> at measure fifty-one has such a suspension on the third note of the bass line  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{♩} & \text{♩} & \text{♩} \\ \text{6} & \text{6} & \text{7} \\ \text{4} & \text{4} & \text{5} \\ & & \text{4} \end{smallmatrix}$  whereas Haydn's harmony calls for  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{♩} & \text{♩} \\ \text{6} & \text{6} \\ \text{4} & \text{4} \\ & \text{5} \end{smallmatrix}$ . A very difficult problem also concerns the oft-recurring four to three progression over a bass line which moves through the notes V-II-V (see Ex. 2). The question is whether Haydn wanted the harpsichord player to add a six to the four, or

**Ex. 2** Symphony No. 29 / I  
Allegro di molto (Allegro ma non troppo ?)

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Vcl.-Cb.

whether he thought in terms of a five-four chord (the cembalo playing in Ex. 2 at  $\downarrow$  an  $f\sharp$  instead of a  $g\sharp$  which the six-four chord would require). Of the two possibilities that in which the *continuo* player adds a six to the four seems the most doubtful.

In many Haydn symphonies it would seem best to reinforce the pulse of the basic time signature rather than the subdivided rhythms usually predominating in the bass line. Thus, in No. 6/I at meas. 21 *ff.*, it would appear better to play three crotchets per measure — perhaps even in the left hand, as well — rather than the six quavers suggested in the B. & H. part:<sup>20</sup>

**Ex. 3** [Allegro]

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Fag.  
Vcl.-Cb.

Since Haydn's harpsichord part was expected to perform the dual function of providing harmonic support as well as contributing to the colouristic structure of the whole, there are certain movements in which the realization of the *basso continuo* is particularly difficult. Such a movement is the delicately orchestrated *Adagio* of No. 22. Here,

<sup>19</sup> M. Seiffert.

<sup>20</sup> G. Raphael.

it would seem opportune to allow the harpsichordist a certain freedom which would in other movements — even opening slow adagios, such as No. 21/I — not be desirable. A possible solution for No. 22/I is as follows: in meas. 1-13 the harpsichord is silent, entering at meas. 14 and continuing to play through meas. 22. Meas. 23-49 are again performed without, meas. 50 to the end of the movement with harpsichord. In this realization, only one of many which could be suggested, the *continuo* is discreet and at the same time provides the necessary harmonic support; moreover, the various entrances of the cembalo lend a magical beauty to Haydn's tasteful and imaginative orchestration.

There is in fact an example of Haydn's own *continuo* practice, in Symphony No. 98, first performed in the Salomon concerts with the composer directing from the cembalo. In the finale Haydn added a few bars of his own harpsichord part, a series of rapid arpeggios in the right hand. (This extract is given in Appendix I.) From this isolated specimen one can judge that Haydn was by no means content to play endless successions of chords, especially in symphonies which no longer require any harmonic assistance from the *continuo*. Haydn's sole interest in the harpsichord at this late period must have been colouristic. The beginnings of two Haydn keyboard concerti, the Organ Concerto in C of 1756 and the early D major Cembalo Concerto (HV 1, c. 1760-65?), are of particular interest in that they throw some light on the composer's thorough-bass technique. Both works contain not only the solo part but also a written-out *continuo* of great simplicity; and though the form is a different one, the principles for a symphonic *continuo* part are the same.

(b) *The Horns*. The woodwind which modern orchestras employ are technically so far superior to those of the eighteenth century that we need lose no time in a discussion of the older woodwind traditions. Similarly, our modern string instruments, with a very few exceptions, discussed below, are close enough to those of the latter part of the eighteenth century not to cause serious problems. This is, however, not the case with the horns employed by Haydn.

The baroque trumpet parts, especially those of J. S. Bach, have been long recognized as one of the most difficult problems facing the present-day performer of that music. As is well known, trumpet players of Bach's period, employing instruments without valves, became

extremely proficient, so much so, in fact, that there are few players to-day who can cope with the most difficult baroque trumpet parts. In discussing this problem in the analytical notes on Haydn's Trumpet Concerto<sup>21</sup>, I said:

The trumpet (*Clarino*), like the horn, was a valveless instrument which consisted of coiled brass tubing about (in the case of the D-trumpet) eight feet in length. The harmonic series, when divided sufficiently, yielded an almost pure diatonic scale in the highest register (called in German the *Clarinregister*), which was utilized by baroque composers to the fullest extent. The art of trumpet playing had degenerated considerably by the end of the eighteenth century. Trumpets were no longer the royal instruments of the orchestra; in former times trumpeters were so... proud of their rank that they did not deign to sit with the lowly strings and winds, and occupied, with the kettledrums, a special place literally above the rest of the orchestra. During the second half of the eighteenth century all this changed, and not only did trumpeters lose their enviable position in the orchestra, but they actually lost their ability to play the highest (*i. e.* diatonic) notes of their instruments. Instead of dividing the trumpets into *Clarini* with shallow-cup mouthpieces for the high notes and *Principali* with deeper mouthpieces for the lower notes, only the latter were used. The type of composition with trumpets changed; in Bach's and Handel's compositions the trumpets are noble solos with extravagant melodies for the first trumpet, often supported by thirds in the second, while the third trumpet played rhythmic figures in the lower register. The function of the third trumpet, during the first half of the eighteenth century, was limited to the lower triad and the first five notes of the upper *Clarinregister*. It was this third trumpet which survived.

Whereas the art of high trumpet-playing suffered a decline in late eighteenth-century music, the horns, used by the earlier baroque masters similarly to the trumpets, *i. e.* in their highest registers, preserved the agile technique which they had so long cultivated. Haydn's music is full of horn parts which are even more difficult than those of J. S. Bach. The horn of the period, the *Corno da caccia*, was, like the trumpets, an instrument without valves; formerly a hunting instrument and not regarded as one of the basic members of the orchestral family, horns had by the middle of the eighteenth century become permanently accepted into the orchestra. The average horn writing encountered in the literature of Haydn's contemporaries suffered the same fate as did that of the trumpets, and was as a rule limited to the middle register. With Haydn, however, the old tradition is carried on. Even as late as Symphony No. 99/III, he thought nothing of writing a sounding *g*" for an E flat horn, and Symphonies Nos. 31 and 72, employing four horns, contain extremely difficult solos for all

<sup>21</sup> Haydn Society HSLP 1038, Boston, 1951.

## Horns

four instruments. Besides expecting the first horn to play in the highest registers, Haydn occasionally used a special technique for the second horn, in which, as in Symphonies Nos. 51 and 61, a number of so-called 'stopped' notes are introduced. These were produced by inserting the hand into the bell of the horn, whereby the tone was lowered as much as a whole note. Since the advent of valves, the difficulty of producing these 'stopped' tones in the lowest registers has largely been overcome. It is the problem of Haydn's highest notes which is difficult.

In Symphony No. 5/I the horns, in A, are expected to play sounding  $a''$ ; in Symphony No. 51/II and in the Horn Trio in E flat major of 1767, an E flat horn most play sounding  $a\flat''$ ; in Symphonies Nos. 31 and 72, horns in D are given  $f\sharp''$ . A particular difficulty is raised by the many C major symphonies scored for 'Corni in C alto', i. e. sounding as they are written. All these latter contain the note  $g''$ , sometimes (No. 56/I) extending over a number of measures.

The difficulty of executing such parts lies in the construction of present-day horns and their mouthpieces. The author has examined several horns formerly used in the Esterházy band and now in the Sándor Wolf Museum at Eisenstadt, as well as several excellently preserved horns (and other old brass instruments) in the monastery of Lambach<sup>22</sup>. In the latter collection, the mouthpieces are also preserved. Both places have horns in C *alto*, and Lambach has one in D *alto*. The instruments are made of very thin metal, in contradistinction to our modern instruments, and by using the much shallower and far less conical mouthpieces at Lambach the author was able to produce without difficulty the first five notes of the highest register (up to sounding  $a''$ ) on the D *alto* horn.

For performing the C *alto* parts of several Haydn symphonies for recordings by the Haydn Society, the author arranged to have two natural horns in C *alto* constructed. It must be explained that the nature of these high C-horn parts is such that valves are not necessary; Haydn's whole technique is fanfare-like, so that the valves could be dispensed with. This is seldom the case with his other horn parts; and it would be a great mistake to re-introduce valveless brass

<sup>22</sup> The collection contains one D-trumpet made in Nürnberg in 1642. Several alto trombones from Nürnberg are also preserved. A valuable collection of old brass instruments, containing some beautiful trombones, is at the monastery of Seitenstetten.

instruments, as has occasionally been suggested. Using ordinary modern mouthpieces, players from the Vienna Philharmonic and Vienna Symphony Orchestras were able to produce, after a few days' practice, all the necessary high notes with comparative ease. When performing these C *alto* horn parts it is a grave mistake to put them down an octave, as this entirely removes the biting, penetrating brilliance of Haydn's orchestral texture. If such parts as those to Symphony No. 48 cannot be performed by the horn players they may be assigned instead to two additional trumpets, but in no case transposed down to C *basso*.

One particular aspect of Haydn's writing for the horns deserves attention, viz. the problem of horns in B flat. We have seen that Haydn used two types of horns in C, *alto* and *basso*. It appears that he also used B flat horns, in *alto* and *basso*; but, unlike Mozart, who was very careful to mark his parts 'high' or 'low', not one single Haydn autograph specifies which type of B flat horn is to be used, nor do the contemporary parts usually go beyond Haydn's typical nomenclature of 'Corni in b Fa'. One *MS.*, that of Symphony No. 35 in the monastery of Stams, and a few later prints, such as Simrock, add *alto*; otherwise we are left without any inkling of Haydn's practice.

The fact that Haydn never bothered to write *alto* or *basso* over his B flat horn parts leads one to the inevitable conclusion that only one type of instrument was in common use; the question remains: which of the two was meant? An examination of the parts in question suggests that all the earlier symphonies, up to and including the 'Paris' symphonies, used *alto* horns, while as soon as trumpets and drums were used in B flat — which was never the case before the 'Salomon' symphonies — the horns dropped to *basso*. That it was as a rule *alto* horns which the eighteenth century understood by the term 'Corni in b Fa' is obvious from a glimpse at Beethoven's scores, which continually specify 'Corni in B *basso*'. And the few specific designations in Michael Haydn's compositions are almost all for 'B *basso*'<sup>23</sup>. Another convincing piece of evidence may be drawn from Haydn's symphonies in minor tonalities necessitating horns in two keys, the tonic and the relative major. The usual practice was to have the horns in relative major crooked a minor third *above* those in the tonic, not a sixth below. Thus, Symphony No. 44 (E minor) has one horn in E, one in G. It

<sup>23</sup> An example is the Symphony in B flat major, Perger No. 52, which exists, incidentally, in another version not known to Perger in the monastery of Lambach.



## Horns

is therefore to be assumed that in Symphony No. 39 (G minor), the horns are to be construed as G and B flat *alto*. Surprisingly, proof of this assumption comes from Mozart's Symphony No. 25 in G minor (K. 183), cited by Friedrich Bayer<sup>24</sup> in another connection (Ex. 4). In this example we have conclusive proof that a horn in B flat *alto* is meant.

**Ex. 4**

The musical notation for Ex. 4 consists of three staves. The top staff is labeled 'Melody' and contains a sequence of notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The middle staff is labeled 'Corni B<sup>b</sup> (alto)' and contains a sequence of notes: F4, G4, A4, B4, A4, G4, F4. The bottom staff is labeled 'Corni G' and contains a sequence of notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. Dashed lines connect the notes between the middle and bottom staves, showing that the Corni B<sup>b</sup> (alto) part is a half step lower than the Corni G part. The word 'etc.' is written to the right of the middle staff.

Haydn must have begun using B flat *basso* horns during the London sojourns, just as the big C major Symphony No. 97 apparently uses horns in C *basso* instead of the usual C *alto* found in his C major symphonies as late as 1788 (No. 90). It is impossible to perform Symphony No. 102 in B flat with *alto* horns; the technique shows quite clearly that *basso* is intended (*cf.* the end of the trio, where horn I enters on written *g*<sup>''</sup>). Whether No. 98 is to be performed with *alto* or *basso* horns is, however, not so clear; for the horn (and trumpet) writing admits either possibility. It will be safe to perform all the B flat symphonies before No. 98 with *alto*, Nos. 98 and 102 with *basso* horns. From this point onwards, and especially in the late masses, it is the latter which must be used. An interesting tradition regarding *The Creation* (1798) has survived, that the arias in B flat major are to be executed with *alto* horns, the big chorus employing trumpets and drums with *basso*. Examination of Haydn's own parts showed no trace of this differentiation; but as the above designations seem to have been added in pencil early in the nineteenth century, it may be assumed that the tradition is an authentic one, going back to a practice which, in Haydn's day, must have been considered so obvious that no one bothered to write it down. Still, it is to be hoped that more concrete facts relating to this problem will be discovered.

<sup>24</sup> *Über den Gebrauch der Instrumente in den Kirchen- und Instrumentalwerken von Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, in *Festschrift for the Beethoven Centenary* (1927), DTÖ., p. 53 (Example 20).

(c) *Kettledrums*. It has become the fashion to employ very large and highly resonant timpani in modern orchestras. For the execution of eighteenth-century music this is a great mistake: Haydn's brass and drum parts should be able to be played *forte* without drowning the other instruments, and as far as the latter are concerned this is only possible on the small kettledrums employed during the period, on which the drummer can play loudly without causing the unpleasant, deep reverberations caused by large timpani.

(d) *String Instruments*. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the typical curved bows of the baroque era began to be replaced by the straighter modern counterpart, and it is not necessary to use the old curved bow in performing Haydn's music<sup>25</sup>. Similarly, after about 1780, the original bass bar was replaced by one of greater length, the neck gradually prolonged and the bridge raised. However, one member of Haydn's string group has changed sufficiently to require some explanation; namely, the *violone*, or double-bass. In Haydn's time the lowest string was the 16-ft. 'C', whereas our four-stringed basses reach only 'E', a third above. Happily, modern orchestras now employ several five-stringed double-basses containing the additional 16-ft. 'C' string, which is required in almost every work by Haydn, including those of the London period.

### 3. Haydn's Tempo Directions.

Quantz<sup>26</sup>, using as his metronome the human pulse<sup>27</sup>, reduces tempi to four classes, 'which', he says, 'will be our foundations.'

(Chap. XVII, Sect. VII, § 49)

They are taken in Common time, with four beats an a bar, and are as follows: 1. *Allegro assai*. 2. *Allegretto*. 3. *Adagio cantabile*. 4. *Adagio assai*. In the first class I include the *Allegro molto*, the *Presto* &c. In the second: the *Allegro ma non tanto*, *non troppo*, *non presto*, *moderato*, &c. In the third: the *Cantabile*, *Arioso*, *Larghetto*, *Soave*, *Dolce*, *Poco Andante*, *Affettuoso*, *Pomposo*, *Maestoso*,

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the plates in Leopold Mozart's *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*, Augsburg, 1756, esp. Fig. II and III.

<sup>26</sup> *Versuch einer Anweisung, die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752) Translation from Arnold Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation of Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, London, 2nd edition, 1946, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>27</sup> Quantz takes considerable pains (Section VII, § 55) to establish the normal pulse, which, he says 'beats about eighty times a minute'.

## Tempo

*alla Siciliana*, *Adagio spiritoso*, &c.; lastly, in the fourth class: *Adagio pesante*, *Lento*, *Largo assai*, *Mesto*, *Grave*, &c. These appellations indicate differences proper to each kind; however, they concern as much the expression of feelings which predominate in each piece as the tempo itself (§ 50). The *Allegretto* goes half the speed of the *Allegretto assai*. The *Adagio cantabile* half the speed of the *Allegretto*. The *Adagio assai* half the speed of the *Adagio cantabile*. In the *Allegro assai* the runs are in semiquavers or triplets of semiquavers. But, as these runs should be played mostly at the same speed, be they semiquavers or demisemiquavers, it follows that notes of the same value are played in the one double the speed they are in the other. It is the same thing in the *Alla breve*, called by the Italians *Tempo maggiore*... (♩)... be the movement slow or quick, except that the notes are here played twice as quickly as in the full Common time of four in a bar. In consequence, in that sort of movement, the runs of the *Allegro* are written in quavers, but are played like the semiquavers of the Common time.

It is the same thing with regard to Triple time, for example,  $\frac{3}{4}$ ,  $\frac{3}{8}$  or  $\frac{12}{8}$ , &c. When in a  $\frac{3}{4}$  there are only quavers, in a  $\frac{3}{8}$  semiquavers, and in a  $\frac{6}{8}$  or  $\frac{12}{8}$  quavers, it is a proof that the quickest tempo is intended. But if there are semiquavers in a  $\frac{3}{4}$  or demisemiquavers in a  $\frac{3}{8}$  or triplets of semiquavers in  $\frac{6}{8}$  or  $\frac{12}{8}$ , then a moderate movement should be taken, and the speed half of that mentioned above. It is just the same thing with the *Adagio*, provided you pay attention to the degree of slowness I have mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, and to the kind of tempo, that is, whether full time or *Alla breve*.

(§ 51). To explain more clearly how it is possible by means of the pulse to find the right speed of each movement, one must note that it is necessary, before everything, to consider the word written at the beginning of the piece, and which indicates the tempo, as well as the quickest notes which form the runs. And, as it is hardly possible to execute, during one beat of the pulse, more than eight very quick notes, either with double-tonguing or with the bow, it follows that:

### In Common time:

In the *Allegro assai* each half-bar lasts one beat of the pulse.

In the *Allegretto* each crotchet one beat of the pulse.

In the *Adagio cantabile* each quaver the same.

In the *Adagio assai* each quaver two beats of the pulse.

### In *Alla breve* time:

In the *Allegro* each bar one beat of the pulse.

In the *Allegretto* each half-bar one beat of the pulse.

In the *Adagio cantabile* for each crotchet one beat.

In the *Adagio assai* for each crotchet two beats.

There is, especially in ordinary Common time, a kind of moderate *Allegro*, which is half-way between *Allegro assai* and *Allegretto*. It is often found in pieces for the Voice or such instruments as are unable to play very quick runs. It is indicated by the words *Poco Allegro*, *Vivace*, or, more commonly, *Allegro*. You should count in this sort of movement one beat of the pulse for every three quavers, the second beat falling upon the fourth quaver.

In  $\frac{2}{4}$  or  $\frac{6}{8}$  time, *Allegro*, each bar lasts one beat of the pulse. In  $\frac{12}{8}$  time when there are no semiquavers each bar takes two pulse beats.

In a  $\frac{3}{4}$  *Allegro*, when there are runs of semiquavers or triplets of quavers, it would not be possible to determine the speed accurately by the pulse, for one single bar. But, it is possible by combining two bars, for then one counts the beat of the

pulse upon the first and last crotchets of the first bar, and on the second crotchet of the second bar, and consequently three pulse-beats for six crotchets.

It is the same in  $\frac{9}{8}$  time.

In  $\frac{3}{4}$  or  $\frac{6}{8}$  time, *Allegro*, each bar lasts one beat of the pulse. In  $\frac{12}{8}$  time a bar, one must only count one pulse-beat in a bar. In a *Presto*, however, this would be too slow. To know the speed of these three crotchets or quavers in a *Presto*, one should take the speed of Common time when it is very fast and four quavers come in one pulse-beat, and play the three crotchets or quavers as fast as the quavers in the Common time aforesaid.

In an *Adagio cantabile* in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time, when the bass moves in quavers (as in many Sarabandes of Corelli, Bach, &c.) each quaver takes one pulse-beat. But, if the bass moves in crotchets, and that the tune be rather *Arioso* than sad, one counts for each crotchet one pulse-beat. However, one should also consider the style, and the word written at the beginning; for if there is *Adagio assai*, *Mesto* or *Lento*, then each crotchet should take two pulse-beats.

Dolmetsch's transcription of the above yields the following useful table:

1. *Allegro assai* or *Presto* in Common time with semiquavers. ♩ = 160
2. *Allegro moderato* or *Poco allegro*, or *Vivace* or plain *Allegro* ♩ = 120
3. *Allegretto* . . . . . ♩ = 80
4. *Adagio cantabile* . . . . . ♩ = 80
5. *Adagio assai* . . . . . ♩ = 40

That Haydn liked his opening movements to move rapidly may be gathered from a passage in the 'Applausus' letter:

Firstly, I beg you to observe exactly the tempi in all arias and recitatives, and since the whole text applauds [a play on words is intended here] I should prefer it if one or the other *Allegro* be taken [*Tractiret*] more briskly than usual, especially in the very first *Ritornello* . . .

The opening movements in Haydn's symphonies are, significantly, not often marked merely *Allegro*, but rather *Allegro molto*, *Allegro di molto*, *Allegro vivace*, *Allegro con spirito* or *Allegro assai*. This seems to indicate tempi midway between the *Allegro assai* of Quantz<sup>28</sup> (the approximate equivalent of Haydn's *Presto*) and his *Allegro moderato*. Haydn uses *Vivace* for many of his first movements instead

<sup>28</sup> Leopold Mozart, in his *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756) [*A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, English translation by Editha Knocker, 2nd Edition, London, 1951, p. 50] says:

'*Prestissimo* indicates the quickest tempo, and *Presto Assai* is almost the same . . . *Presto*, means quick, and *Allegro Assai* is but little different. *Molto Allegro* is slightly less than *Allegro Assai*, but is quicker than *Allegro*, which, however, indicates a cheerful, though not too hurried a tempo, especially when moderated by adjectives and adverbs, such as: *Allegro, ma non tanto*, or *non troppo*, or *moderato*.'

### Tempo

of *Allegro*, especially after 1780. For very quick movements Haydn writes *Presto assai* or *Prestissimo*. That he took considerable time over his adjectives may be seen in No. 29/I, where the autograph originally had *Allegro ma non troppo*, which he changed to *Allegro più tosto molto* and finally to *All[egro] di molto*; curiously, the parts by Joseph Elssler in St. Florian and all of the other contemporary MSS. have the first of these (*Allegro ma non troppo*). The alternation of quaver triplets with ordinary quavers leads one to believe that Haydn was searching for a tempo around the neighbourhood of  $\text{♩} = 130$  to  $\text{♩} = 140$ , for which there was really no adequate adjective.

The slow movements in Haydn's symphonies divide themselves conveniently into three basic classes, the *Adagio*, the *Andante* and the *Allegretto*. The latter is almost always taken too slowly, and the tempo of MM. 80 applies in  $\text{♩}$  to minuets and  $\text{♩}$  movements (e.g. Nos. 85/II, 100/II), and in  $\text{♩}$  to allegrettos in 2/4 time (e.g. No. 82/II). Between *Andante* and *Allegretto* a special tempo is sometimes employed by Haydn: *Andante più tosto allegretto*<sup>29</sup> (No. 40/II, 59/II, etc.). The andantes in Haydn's as well as Mozart's symphonies are frequently dragged out to adagios, thus entirely destroying the flowing movement inherent in the tempo. As *Andante* stands midway between *Adagio* and *Allegretto*, we may generally assume  $\text{♩} = c. 60$  for an *Andante* using crotchets as a basic pulse. Between the *Andante* and the *Adagio* stands the *Largo* so often used by Haydn in his introductions. A widespread misconception is that *Largo* is slower than *Adagio*, which is quite untrue. Thus, the introduction to No. 53, marked *Largo Maestoso* is to be taken more quickly than had Haydn written *Adagio* or *Adagio maestoso*. The tempo, *Largo assai* is presumably slightly — but only slightly — faster than *Adagio*. The slowest tempo ever used by Haydn is in No. 54/II, marked *Adagio assai*.

In view of the fact that Haydn's artistic life spans some five decades, so that all three of the major theoretical works of the eighteenth century (C. P. E. Bach, Quantz, Leopold Mozart) were nearly fifty years old by the time Haydn wrote his oratorio *The Seasons*, it might be well to substantiate the theories advanced concerning tempo in the 'fifties by Quantz by a later writer as well. An interesting

<sup>29</sup> Leopold Mozart, *op. cit.*, p. 51, says: — '*Andante*: walking. The very word tells us that the piece must be allowed to take its own natural course; especially if *Un poco allegretto* be added.'

commentary to this whole problem may be found in the curious little anonymous volume — intensely antagonistic towards Haydn, by the way — entitled *Portefeuille für Musikliebhaber*, published for the Easter Fair at Leipzig in 1792 with the subtitle: *Charakteristik von 20 Componisten; und Abhandlung über die Tonkunst*. The following composers are discussed: C. F. Abel, C. P. E. Bach, J. C. Bach, Boccherini, Cannabich, Cramer, Ditters (Dittersdorf), Eichner, Frenzel, Gretri (Grétry), Joseph Hayden (*sic*), Jordani, Kammel, Philidor, Pugnani, Stamitz, Schmittbauer, Schobert, Toeschy (Toeschi) and Vanhal (Wanhall). Concerning tempo, the little volume has on pages 54 ff. the following to say:

The tempo of an *Allegro* in  $\frac{3}{8}$  time is quicker than an *Allegro* in  $\frac{2}{4}$ ; the tempo of an *Adagio* in  $\frac{3}{4}$  time slower than one in  $\frac{2}{4}$ .

The finer variations of speed or slowness depend upon the instinct of the player and the detailed circumstances of the composition. But in general *Allegro* means an agile, rather quick and lively movement; *Allegretto*, a tempo half the speed in all three respects; *Allegro di molto*, or [*Allegro*] *assai*, a tempo half as fast again [as *Allegro*] in all three respects; *Presto assai* or *Prestissimo*, a tempo taken as fast and as lively as possible; *Andante*, a tempo which preserves a middle course between the slow and the quick; *Adagio*, half as slow [as the *Andante*]; *Largo*, extremely slowly; *Grave*, a slow, serious [tempo]; *Menuet* or rather *Polonoise* [*i. e.* *Polonaise*] a tempo of middling swiftness and yet serious; *Allegro maestoso*: swift, serious.

*Allegro* is suited to an emotion of vigorous sorrow, or joy, or indignation, or pride — or exaltation; *Allegro assai* or *Presto* for the emotion of anger — but also for cheerful satisfaction; *Andante* mirrors the feeling of patience, peace, and love. *Adagio* [footnote:] must be performed gently and yearningly. Every note must be clearly and thoughtfully produced. The melody is quite simple. It must not, because of the concentration required, last too long. [Main text:] [It] is to be chosen for the passion of sorrow, or mixed with love; *Largo* [footnote:] must be performed with *Bebung* [clavichord vibrato], and its longest notes well sustained. [Main text:] [It] is to be recommended for the strongest grade of melancholy.

Overlooking the charming but rather exaggerated descriptions of the various tempi described, there is much to be learned from the above passage. Following the first sentence to its logical conclusion we may deduce that  $\frac{3}{8}$  is the fastest quick tempo, whilst  $\frac{3}{4}$  is the slowest slow tempo, a theory only further substantiated by examining Haydn's music. Where the unknown author speaks of *Largo*, however, we are already on uncertain ground; in asserting that *Largo* is actually slower than *Adagio* the writer is approaching a romantic, nineteenth-century conception of the two tempi which does not agree with the earlier baroque interpretation. But it may be that Haydn, too, changed with the times, and that the tempi found in *The Seasons*, the last quartets, or the *Harmoniemesse* no longer meant what they

did in the earliest concerti, symphonies or vocal works. We know that Haydn's attitude changed so strongly within fifty years that he could rewrite the little *Missa Brevis* in F major (c. 1749/1750), adding to it in 1805 a large orchestral apparatus totally unsuited to a work conceived for the modest, pre-classical church orchestra of two violins and *continuo*. And when he was asked to perform Symphony No. 60 for the Empress in 1803, more than twenty-five years after the work had been first performed, he wrote to Elssler<sup>30</sup> and asked that the 'silly old thing' (*den alten Schmarn*) be sent to Vienna; and on receiving it he seems to have changed the tempo of the first movement from the original direction, *Allegro di molto*, to *Presto*, the *Menuet* to *Menuetto non troppo presto*. It may very well be that *Largo* in *The Seasons* means something quite different from, say, *Largo*, in the *Stabat Mater*, composed almost exactly thirty years before. The evidence, indeed, points to the fact that Haydn's taste in tempi as well as in other matters changed considerably over half a century.

A word must be said concerning Haydn's use of cut or barred time (C̣). For some reason, modern editions, beginning with Simrock and the old B. & H. scores, consistently omit the *alla breve* sign in Haydn's slow movements. This is a great mistake, since Haydn was very particular about the use of C̣. In quick movements C̣ means literally that one should beat two-in-a-bar instead of four, while in slow movements C̣ probably means that one should beat four-in-a-bar and not eight, i. e. that the centres of gravity should be in crotchets and not quavers; or perhaps that the musicians should even think in terms of only two 'heavy-points' per measure. Of the 'Salomon' symphonies beginning in 4/4 time, all except No. 104 start with C̣ in Haydn's manuscripts. How important this actually is may be observed in No. 99/I. If C instead of C̣ is played, the quavers accompanying the oboe solos at measures 11 *ff.* will be too slow and too heavy, so that the music will take on the character of two 4/4 bars within one measure:

<sup>30</sup> June 5, 1803. See also Pohl II, p. 77. A most interesting example of a mature composer thoroughly revising the work of his youth is that of Francesco Geminiani, whose later editions of his *Concerti Grossi*, Opera 1, 2 & 3, are entirely different from the first editions of Walsh. One may easily agree with Professor Robert Hernried (preface to Enlenburg miniature scores Nos. 361-366, issued in 1935) that Geminiani's original versions are purer, nobler and altogether more beautiful than the revisions. Cf. also A. Moser, *Geschichte des Violinspiels*, Berlin, 1923, pp. 407 *ff.*

**Ex. 5a.** [Adagio]

Ob. I, II  
(Haydn)  
Vln. I, II  
Vla.  
Vcl.  
[Cb. tacet]

**Ex. 5b.**

Ob. I, II  
Vln. I, II  
Vla.  
Vcl.

Haydn's minuets undergo a steady quickening of tempo. The earliest, such as *Le Matin* and *Le Midi*, are not much faster than *Andante*, since the 3/4 time is burdened by quavers and even semiquavers. The concept 'Tempo di Menuet' meant this rather stately tempo. As early as No. 8/III, however, Haydn speeds up the action by having crotchets instead of quavers as his prevalent note-values. In the 'seventies he begins to place the tempo *Allegretto* over his minuets; even in No. 28/III, composed as early as 1765, he felt impelled to write *Allegro molto* over the minuet in order that the basic quavers — as opposed to crotchets, which one took more quickly — should be performed with sufficient gusto. In the 'Salomon' symphonies, the minuet tempo often becomes *Allegro* (No. 93/III [in modern scores erroneously subtitled *Allegretto*]; Nos. 98, 102) and even *Allegro molto* in No. 94/III. Here the basic note-value is not, as in No. 28/III, the quaver but the crotchet, so that a really lively tempo must be used. Following the last symphonies, Haydn introduces the one-in-a-bar *Presto*, as in the Quartet Op. 76, No. 1, in G major. The minuet, being completely removed from the older dance form as early as No. 8/III, was finally taken over at its most rapid pace by Beethoven and rightly termed *Scherzo*. There is, however, no difference between the *Menuet* in Haydn's Op. 76, No. 1, or Op. 77, No. 2, and the early Beethovenian *Scherzo* except in nomenclature.


It is perhaps superfluous to remark that Haydn's tempi are inflexible, except where otherwise noted (*più moderato*, *più presto*, etc.), and Robert Sondheimer's theory that a new tempo should be intro-




duced every few bars is, of course, contrary to the classical tradition. The whole effect of Haydn's terse, compact style would be destroyed if the subsidiary themes were taken at a slower tempo than the rest of the movement.

#### *4. Repetitions.*

One of the baroque 'ad libitum' practices concerns the repetition of sections within a movement. Originally applied primarily to dance movements, this practice was, in the course of the first half of the eighteenth century, transferred to the first and second movements constructed in two-part sonata form. In only one symphony (No. 2) did Haydn do away with this 'ad libitum' repetition, and it is part of the psychological effect of Haydn's early symphonies that both sections be repeated, at least in the quick movements. Towards the middle of his life the second sections are no longer marked with repeat signs, this innovation coinciding with the increased length and power of the development. The effect of a really dramatic development section culminating tonally and psychologically in the recapitulation cannot be repeated with any success.

One particular aspect of this 'Da capo' practice concerns the minuet. At the conclusion of the minuet proper, the bass will very often proceed . Sometimes a fermata is placed over the first of these notes, which means, as far as can be determined, that the last two notes should be left out of the 'Da capo', perhaps also after the repetition before the trio. For some inexplicable reason almost all modern scores omit this fermata, as in Mozart's Symphony No. 35/III

(K. 385), where the autograph quite clearly specifies . It may be that *all* minuets, ending with this typical cadence are supposed to end, at least in the 'da capo', with the first note, and that the series of three was supposed to lead without pause from the second part of the minuet proper to its repetition, and to the trio. The lay-out of the minuet with two trios in Haydn's symphony No. 51 also seems to suggest this.

#### *5. Ornaments.*

The student of Haydn's music will soon discover that the proper execution of Haydn's embellishments is very nearly as complicated as the correct realization of ornaments in the baroque era. This is partly

due to present-day ignorance of the rules found in eighteenth-century textbooks and partly because of Haydn's peculiar and highly personal use of certain signs, these being as little understood in his own era as they are to-day.

The embellishment most frequently encountered in Haydn's music is the so-called *appoggiatura*, a small-sized note attached to another of normal size. There are two basic functions of this ornament, one as a long, or variable, *appoggiatura* ('long grace note') and one as a short, or invariable, *appoggiatura* ('short grace note'). As the former is easily the more important, and is in addition the one usually misunderstood today, we shall examine it first<sup>31</sup>.

The *appoggiatura* is essentially an harmonic retardation, a dissonance usually resolved stepwise, either upwards or, more commonly, downwards. Occasionally the *appoggiatura* was written out to avoid confusion in passages where its interpretation might be misunderstood; in general, however, the dissonance was expressed by means of a grace note. In vocal music of the period, and especially in recitatives, several other types of *appoggiatura* were in common use; the German language has a special word for this sort, *Vorhalt*; in English there is no such differentiation. In recitatives, the drop of a third, which the composer arranged in such a way that the note to be altered always coincided with a stressed syllable, presupposed the introduction of an *appoggiatura*<sup>32</sup>:

**Ex. 6** Haydn: *Scena di Berenice* (1795)

73) [Allegro]



<sup>31</sup> A detailed examination of all the problems discussed from this point onwards may be found in Heinrich Schenker's excellent treatise, *Ein Beitrag zur Ornamentik*, Vienna, 1908. A new edition is at present in preparation.

<sup>32</sup> Peter Franz Tosi's *Anleitung zur Singmusik* (*Opinioni de' Cantori antichi e moderni, o sieno Osservazioni sopra il canto figurato, di Pierfrancesco Tosi... Academico Filarmonico*), with explanations and additions by Johann Friedrich Agricola, Berlin, 1757, p. 154, says: — 'Before a note which precedes the drop of a third downwards... one is accustomed at times to introduce... an *appoggiatura* consisting of the note lying a second above.'

# Appoggiature

In cadential patterns, the drop of a fourth also presupposed alteration by means of a *Vorhalt*<sup>33</sup>:

**Ex. 7** Haydn: *Scena di Berenice*  
68) [Allegro]

Soprano

bar-ba-ri De-i

The only places in Haydn's instrumental works where this type of vocal appoggiatura might apply are those parodies of recitatives which the composer liked to introduce upon occasion, as in Symphony No. 7/II or the *Sinfonia Concertante*/III; and even in these isolated examples the parodies of vocal *Vorhalte* are usually written out. (See, for example, the drop of a fourth in the cadential figure of No. 7/II, meas. 19.) Concerning the drop of a third, which was automatically altered to make a smooth run, there are passages in No. 7/II where this is written out: and passages where it is not and must be altered according to the rule<sup>34</sup>: .

In order to assist the reader who may not be familiar with the theories advanced with respect to the interpretation of ornaments by the foremost eighteenth-century writers, we have, wherever possible, included the opinions of C. P. E. Bach, Quantz, and Leopold Mozart; these three writers are generally considered the foremost as well as the most characteristic musical theorists of their age. The following translation of C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch über die wahre Art, das Clavier zu spielen*, Berlin, 1753, was used: *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, translated and edited by William J. Mitchell, second edition, London, 1951. In order that this American translation should conform to the other two, the Italian form of the plural of appoggiatura has been retained and the American system of 'eighths'

<sup>33</sup> Tosi, p. 154, says: — 'The cadences in recitatives are commonly written out thus: . One sings, however, the penultimate note a fourth higher, thus repeating the note preceding: . Some composers prefer to write this as it is sung. Should such a cadenza end with only a stressed syllable, then one adds an appoggiatura to the last note, consisting of the fourth above.' [In the two examples quoted above, the bass line found in the original is omitted.]

<sup>34</sup> Sec. p. 144, § 5.

'quarters', etc. changed to 'quavers', 'crotchets'. The musical examples found in the originals have been reproduced here when clarity could not otherwise be obtained.

(a) *Long or Variable Appoggiature (Long Grace Notes).*

(1) *Common Time and Duple Length.*

C. P. E. Bach (*op. cit.*, pp. 87/90):

Appoggiature are sometimes written in large notation and given a specified length in a bar. At other times they appear in small notation, and the large notes before which they stand retain their length visually although in performance they always lose some of it to the ornament.

Because of their variability, such appoggiature have been notated of late in their real length. Prior to this all were written as quavers. At that time, appoggiature as diverse as ours were not yet in use. Today, we could not do without the notation of their real values, for the rules covering their length in performance are insufficient to cover all cases, since all types appear before every kind of note.

With regard to execution we learn... that appoggiature are louder than the following tone, including any additional embellishment, and that they are joined to in the absence as well as the presence of a slur...

The usual rule of duration for appoggiature is that they take from a following tone of duple length one-half of its value...

Quantz (*op. cit.*, pp. 124/125):

[Appoggiature] are written in small notes, so that they may not be mistaken for ordinary notes, and they take their value from the notes before which they are found. It does not matter much whether they be semiquavers, quavers or crotchets. However, it is usual to write them as quavers...

The tongue should gently mark the appoggiature, swell them if the time allows, and slur the following note a little more softly...

Appoggiature are found on a long note on the accented beat which follows a short one on an unaccented beat. One must hold the appoggiatura half the value of the principal note.

Leopold Mozart (*op. cit.*, pp. 166/168):

The appoggiature are little notes which stand between the ordinary notes but are not reckoned as part of the bar time... The appoggiature are sometimes dissonances; sometimes a repetition of the previous note; sometimes an embellishing of a simple melody and an enlivening of a sleepy phrase...

Here is now a rule without an exception: the appoggiature is never separated from its main note, but is taken at all times in the same stroke. That the following and not the preceding note belongs to the appoggiatura will be understood from the word *Vorschlag*.

.... If the appoggiatura stands before a crotchet, quaver, or semiquaver, it is played as a long appoggiatura and is worth half of the value of the note following it. The appoggiatura is therefore sustained the length of time equivalent to half the note and is slurred smoothly on to it. What the note loses is given to the appoggiatura. Here are examples:

## Appoggiatura

**Ex. 8**



It is played thus:

It is true that all the descending appoggiatura could be set down in large print [notes] and divided up within the bar. But if a violinist, who knows not that the appoggiatura is written out, or who is accustomed to befrill every note, happens on such, how will it fare with melody as well as harmony? I will wager that such a violinist will add yet another long appoggiatura and will play it thus:

**Ex. 9**



which can surely never sound natural but only exaggerated and confused. It is a great pity that beginners acquire this fault so readily.<sup>35</sup>

Haydn sometimes wrote his long appoggiatura in their correct value, as in Symphony No. 57/I (Ex. 10 a) or the 'Benedictus' of the *Missa Cellensis* ('Mariazellermesse': see Ex. 10 b); at other times he wrote what should have been crotchet grace notes as quavers, or what should have been quaver grace notes as crotchets (♩, ♪). Particularly for the figure ♪♩, invariably to be performed as ♩♩, he liked to write the appoggiatura as a small semiquaver, which notation he found so convenient that he also applied it to such figures as ♪♩♩ or ♪♩♩, as well as for short appoggiature, discussed below.

**Ex. 10a.**











**Ex. 10b.**





From the three theorists we learn (1) that these long appoggiature receive half the length of the note to which they are attached and (2) that the appoggiatura is to be slightly stressed as compared with

<sup>35</sup> C. P. E. Bach (*op. cit.*, p. 96) says exactly the opposite: 'However, appoggiature are often written in large notation as a means of indicating that neither they nor the following [notes] are to be decorated':

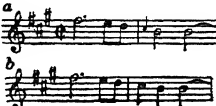


the main note. A general rule for Haydn is that *all grace notes not falling into one of the categories enumerated below are to be considered as long appoggiature, performed according to the two basic rules listed above*<sup>36</sup>. It goes without saying that all appoggiature are to be slurred to the note to which they belong, regardless of what comes before or afterwards; thus, the figure  is to be performed . At least the grace note and its 'master' are to be taken on the same bow; it may be that the whole figure be taken on one bow ( = ;  = ). The only exception to this rule is if the main note is staccato ( presumably )—something which generally may be laid to a copyist's inaccuracy, for this use of staccato is almost non-existent in Haydn.

A very interesting proof concerning the performance of these appoggiature in Haydn's music occurs in some of the pieces which he wrote for *Flötenuhr* (musical clock). Three of these clocks survive in Vienna; recently the author was able to study the oldest and most complete, dating from 1772<sup>37</sup>. A number of pieces for *Flötenuhr* in Haydn's holograph MSS. is extant, thus enabling us to study the exact and authentic interpretation, if not of tempi (which due to the mechanical decay of the instruments are no longer precise), at least of the ornaments and phrasing. One of the pieces for Haydn's clock dated 1792 is a very free arrangement of the trio of Symphony No. 85/III<sup>38</sup>. The execution of the appoggiature are significant. Haydn wrote in the symphony:  [C. E. I/9, p. 180], which is performed by the clock:  [Schmid, p. 7].

<sup>36</sup> That Haydn actually intended this ornament to be executed in the fashion described may be seen from two interesting examples: in the final movement of the Violin Concerto in C major he writes Ex. 11a in the exposition, but Ex. 11b in the recapitulation; in Symphony No. 87/IV, the exposition has the figure Ex. 12a, while the identical figure (Ex. 12b) is written in the recapitulation. There are numerous other examples throughout Haydn's music.

Ex. 11 

Ex. 12 

<sup>37</sup> In possession of the Teubner family. See *Joseph Haydn, Werke für das Laufwerk (Flötenuhr)*, edited by Ernst Fritz Schmid, Hannover, 1931 [Verlag Adolph Nagel, Sonderausgabe No. 1 von 'Nagels Musik-Archiv']. A complete recording of the clock of 1772 is in preparation.

<sup>38</sup> Schmid, *op. cit.*, No. 5.

## Appoggiature

### (2) Triple Time.

C. P. E. Bach (*op. cit.*, p. 90):

[An appoggiatura] takes two thirds from [a note] of triple length.

Quantz (*op. cit.*, pp. 125/126):

If the appoggiatura belongs to a dotted note, the latter is divided in three parts, of which the appoggiatura takes two and the principal note only one, that is, the value of the dot. Thus, the notes at Ex. [13 a] must be played as indicated at Ex. [13 b]. The rule, as well as the one given in the preceding [section], is general whatever may be the value of the notes, and whether the appoggiature come from above or below the principal notes.

Ex. 13a



Ex. 13b



Leopold Mozart's instructions about this particular aspect of the appoggiatura are so closely connected with the next general type that it was thought better to include his observations there rather than under this heading.

Concerning Haydn's use of the appoggiatura in triple time, it appears that the composer almost without exception followed C. P. E. Bach's suggestion to write out the ornaments 'as a means of indicating that neither they nor the following [notes] are to be decorated'. A glance at Haydn's use of three-four time will show that he continually wrote in actual notes all the appoggiatura in which the grace note would have taken two-thirds the value of the main note (*cf.* Symphony No. 8/III, meas. 4, Symphony No. 50/III, meas. 26 *ff.*, *etc.*). One of the possible exceptions occurs in Symphony No. 33/I, where Haydn writes:

Ex. 14



Perhaps because of the combination of a trill with an appoggiatura, Haydn reverted to the older method of notation. One is convinced,


however, that he meant the appoggiatura to receive two thirds and not one third of the value because of the bass line, which changes its rhythm on the third crotchet; for it is doubtful if Haydn intended the two lines (violin I and bass) to converge, as it were, on the tonic through separate rhythmic channels. Less easy to solve is the problem raised in connection with No. 6/III, meas. 8, 16 and 34. We shall take up this particular case in section (4), below.

### (3) Before Dotted Notes.

Leopold Mozart (*op. cit.* p. 168) is the only one of the three writers adequately to present this rather involved use of the appoggiatura:

... With dotted notes the appoggiatura is held the same length of time as the value of the note. In place of the dot, however, the written note is taken first, and in such fashion as if a dot stood after it. Then the bow is lifted and the last note played so late that, by means of a rapid change of stroke, the note following it is heard immediately after.

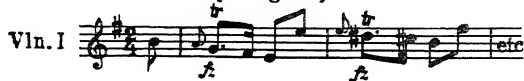
Thus it is written: (Ex. 15a) 

Thus it is played: (Ex. 15b) 

There is a passage in Symphony No. 4/I which illustrates the principle that 'with dotted notes the appoggiatura is held the same length as the value of the note'. In meas. 12 of No. 4/I is a figure of a crotchet (*c*♯'') attached by a slur to two quavers (*b*'-*b*''); in the next bar this figure is repeated, but written differently: an appoggiature (*d*'') attached to a dotted crotchet (*c*♯'') and followed by a quaver (*a*'). In the recapitulation, however, these two measures are identically written, as crotchets followed by quavers, *i. e.* as in meas. 12; there is no doubt that Haydn intended the appoggiatura to be lengthened to a crotchet and the main note shortened to a quaver. In studying Haydn's later works, however, one is no longer sure how far this principle is meant to be applied. Perhaps one of the last examples occurs in Symphony No. 60 (1775); and Ex. 16 (No. 60/II) should probably be interpreted strictly according to Leopold Mozart's suggestions. But there are many examples throughout Haydn's, as well as W. A. Mozart's


#### Ex. 16

Andante [Adagio?]





### Appoggiatura

mature music which make it difficult to believe that the appoggiatura always received the full value of the main note in a dotted figure, the main note and the dotted note losing half their value in the process<sup>39</sup>. The second figure quoted in Ex. 15, however, is usually to be so executed whenever it appears in Haydn's music; a very convincing example occurs as late as 1796, in the *Missa Sti. Bernardi von Offida*, 'Benedictus', meas. 32 (Ex. 17). If the second violin part in this passage is to be interpreted according to the normal rules expressed in every theory book of the eighteenth century, i. e. as two quavers, then the dotted figure must be executed ; this is also in accordance with the usual eighteenth-century practice of sharpening the dotted figures<sup>40</sup> (see below, Section 7 a).

**Ex. 17**

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.  
Fag.  
Cont.



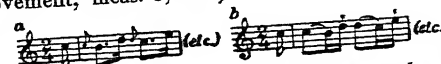
#### (4) Before Notes Followed by a Rest.




C. P. E. Bach (*op. cit.*, pp. 90/91):

The examples under Ex. [18] are frequent occurrences. Their notation is not the most correct, since in performance the rests are filled in. Dotted or longer notes should be written instead.

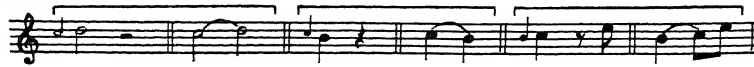
<sup>39</sup> One of the confusing things in studying these text books is their frequent inconsistency. For example, Leopold Mozart (*op. cit.*, p. 178), speaking of 'rising and falling intermediate grace notes', suggests that Ex. 21 a should be played as in Ex. 21 b. This contradicts Leopold Mozart's own theory expressed a few pages before, namely, that in such figures the dotted aspect must be preserved, although by accelerating all the notes except the appoggiatura. It is interesting to observe that figures such as Ex. 21 a are usually written out in Haydn's music (*cf.* Violin Concerto in C, first movement, meas. 3, *etc.*).

**Ex. 21**



<sup>40</sup> The tenors and basses in the chorus of Ex. 17 have the figure  which would be altered to  if the violins are executed .

Ex. 18



Quantz (*op. cit.*, p. 127):

When there is an appoggiatura to a note followed by a rest, you must give to the appoggiatura the whole time of the principal note, and to the latter the time of the rest, unless you absolutely must take a breath. The three kinds of appoggiature at Ex. [19 a] are played as at Ex. [19 b]:

Ex. 19a.



Ex. 19b.



Leopold Mozart (*op. cit.*, p. 170):

.... And sometimes a rest or even a pause occurs, when the note should surely still be heard. If now the composer has overlooked this, the violinist must be more clever and must sustain the appoggiatura as long as the value of the following note, and only at the pause bring in the written note. For example:

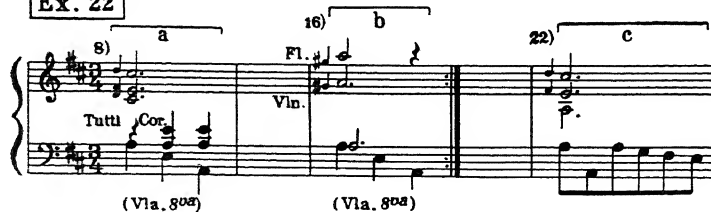
Ex. 20



Thus should it be written and also thus played

In section (2), concerning the use of the appoggiatura in triple time reference was made to Symphony No. 6/III, meas. 8, 16 and 34 (Exx. 22 a—c, resp.).

Ex. 22



It should be remarked that the measures in question are all cadential. If we follow the customary rule described in section (2), the appoggia-

### *Appoggiature*

ture must be lengthened into minims and the main notes into crotchets (*i. e.* ♩ ♩). But what of the flute in meas. 16? If this is to be literally interpreted, one would play two crotchets followed by a crotchet rest; against this particular rhythm it is, of course, impossible to play a minim followed by a crotchet as the notation of the violin suggests. Therefore, two possible courses lie open to us: either the other parts are altered to suite the flute (♩ ♩), or the flute is altered to suit the other parts, according to the rules set forth at the beginning of this section. If the former course is followed, there results a passing six-four chord which sounds very unsatisfactory; it is hard to conceive that Haydn ended dozens of pieces with this passing six-four chord, but such must have been the case unless passages written ♩ ♩ were altered to ♩ ♩ [*i. e.* ♩ ♩]. The answer lies in the examination of similar passages where Haydn actually writes out the notes. (It must be remembered that he never bothered to be consistent in his notation of grace notes; and we have seen in two examples<sup>41</sup> how identical passages appear sometimes written in whole notes, sometimes in appoggiature.) In Symphony No. 9/II we can see how such a typical cadential pattern was really executed:

Ex. 23

A further example where the cadence is written out occurs in Symphony No. 14/II.

There is a relatively large number of cases throughout the early and middle periods of Haydn where this rule must be brought to bear. The 'Seitenstetten Minuets' (c. 1760) are full of such passages; in fact, Haydn's minuets are, of all his movements, those most susceptible to this 'not the most correct' notation. Symphony No. 32/II, meas. 26 is another cadence which must be so altered, if the appoggiature are, in fact, authentic. A curious case in point is also found in Symphony

<sup>41</sup> See Exx. 11 and 12.

No. 34/I, at the conclusion of the first and second parts, where all the parts are marked  $\text{♩} \text{ } \text{♩}$  against the typical descending bass line I-V-I. At the end of the movements the horns have a crotchet tonic chord in octaves on the first beat of the measure. Despite the peculiar notation, it seems certain that the appoggiature should be lengthened according to our rule. Here, the six-four chord would sound particularly empty, almost offensive, because of the slow tempo employed. In the minuets and trios of Symphonies Nos. 37 and 38, many sources have appoggiature before the final note of each section. These are all missing in the B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe*, Series I, Volume three, but if the grace notes are genuine — and copyists, as Leopold Mozart remarks, liked to add such matters — our rule must again be brought to bear. On the other hand, a similar passage occurring in the minuet of Symphony No. 41 is correctly written in all the parts ( $\text{♩} \text{ } \text{♩}$ ). Thenceforth almost every questionable appoggiatura of this sort is written out (cf. Symphony No. 46/III, meas. 8, 14, etc.). Perhaps Haydn had bitter experiences which convinced him of the necessity of correctly notating in actual note values all such doubtful passages; in this, he was only following the trend, already mentioned in C. P. E. Bach ('because of their variability, such appoggiature have been notated of late in their real length'), whereby less and less appoggiature were written as grace notes.

(5) *Before Two Identical Notes.*

C. P. E. Bach (*op. cit.*, p. 90) does not touch this problem except very indirectly, through musical examples (Ex. 24).

Ex. 24



Several other, similar examples are printed.

Quantz (*op. cit.*, p. 126):

When in a six-four or six-eight, two notes are tied together, and the first has a dot after it, as happens in the *Gigues*, one must hold the appoggiature the whole value of the dotted note [see Ex. 25]... These kinds of measures must be considered as if they were in binary, and not ternary measures.

## Appoggiatura

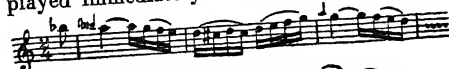
### Ex. 25



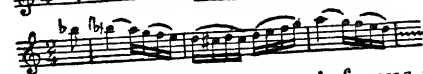
Leopold Mozart (*op. cit.*, p. 169):

...these all belong to the same subject of how to play dotted notes. For example, in six-four and six-eight time two notes are often tied together as one note, of which the foremost has a dot after it. In such cases the appoggiatura is held out the whole value represented by the note together with the dot. [Two musical examples similar to Bach and Quantz follow.] Just in the same manner is the appoggiatura in the following example sustained throughout the whole of the first crotchet and only at the second crotchet is the principal note taken; the remaining notes being then played immediately after it...

So it is written: Ex. 26 a

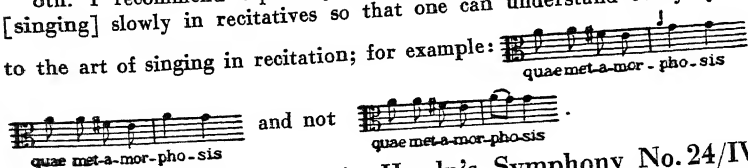


So it is played: Ex. 26 b



And Haydn himself, in the 'Applausus' letter, informs us of a similar kind of vocal appoggiatura:

8th. I recommend especially that the two boys employ a good pronunciation, [singing] slowly in recitatives so that one can understand every syllable, according to the art of singing in recitation; for example:



and not



Such a passage occurs in Haydn's Symphony No. 24/IV, meas. 6, 7, etc. Another may be found in Symphony No. 31/IV, where we find evidence that this method of dropping the first of two repeated notes preceded by an appoggiatura does not apply to Haydn's instrumental music. In the theme itself, the violins are given the following figure (measures 2, 6) which, according to the 'Applausus' letter, should be played; the flute, however, has in the identical passage in Variation 6, proving conclusively that Haydn conceived his vocal appoggiatura differently from those in his instrumental works. The figure in question should without doubt be played

Before proceeding to other kinds of appoggiatura, it must be pointed out that, according to all three theorists, any rules dealing with the

length of grace notes must be altered in order to avoid bad part-writing or harsh harmonic effects; if a long appoggiatura creates parallel fifths, then it must be given a shorter length. (See C. P. E. Bach's comments below.)

(b) *Short or Invariable Appoggiature (Short Grace Notes).*

C. P. E. Bach (*op. cit.*, pp. 91 ff.):

It is wholly natural that the unvariable short appoggiatura should appear most frequently before quick notes [Ex. 27 a]. It carries one, two, three, or more tails and is played so rapidly that the following note scarcely loses any of its length. It also appears before repeated [Ex. 27 b] as well as unpeated [Ex. 27 c] long notes. Further, it is found in caesurae before a rapid note [Ex. 27 d]; and in syncopated [Ex. 27 e], tied [Ex. 27 f], and slurred passages [Ex. 27 g]. In all such cases, the character of the notes remains unchanged. Example [27 h] with an ascending appoggiatura is better when the ornament is played as a quaver. For the rest, the short appoggiatura remains short even when the examples are played slowly.

Ex. 27



....For various reasons the resolving tone of a melody must often be quitted abruptly. When such a tone is an appoggiatura, it too must be played rapidly [Ex. 28 a]. In this example, the appoggiatura, which is present only to complete the run, must be very short so that the principal tone, c'', which is the cause of the free execution and is therefore always especially important, loses little or nothing of its value. Appoggiature before triplets must also be played quickly so that rhythm remains clear [Ex. 28 b] and distinguishable from that of Example [28 c] [here a short grace note, but *cf. infra*]. When the appoggiatura forms an octave with the bass it is played rapidly because of the emptiness of the interval. On the other hand, it is often prolonged when it forms a diminished octave. It remains short when it is substituted for a cadential trill [Ex. 28 d].

Ex. 28



When a melody ascends a second and then returns to either a large note [Ex. 29 a] or another appoggiatura [Ex. 29 b], the middle tone may be readily decorated with a short appoggiatura. In Ex. [29 c-h — a number of these examples was omitted as being basic variants of those included]... there are many such passages containing notes of various lengths in duple and triple rhythms... It is taken for granted that the phrasing is normally legato in such a context, since detached

## Appoggiature

notes must always be more simply performed and also because appoggiature are invariably joined to the following tone...

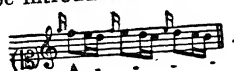


Quantz seems to consider only the 'passing appoggiature' as short; at any rate he does not list any of the obvious examples of short grace notes found in C.P.E. Bach. Leopold Mozart (*op. cit.*, pp. 171 ff.), on the other hand, devotes considerable space to the short variety:

Now there be also short appoggiature with which the stress falls not on the appoggiatura but on the principal note. The short appoggiatura is made as rapidly as possible and is not attacked strongly, but quite softly. The short appoggiatura is used: (1) when several minims follow each other, of which each is marked with a little appoggiatura note; (2) or if at times only one minim be present which, however, occurs in such a passage as is imitated immediately by a second voice in the fourth above, or in the fifth below; (3) or else if it be foreseen that the regular harmony, and therefore also the ear of the listener, would be offended by the use of a long appoggiatura; (4) and finally, if in an allegro or other playful tempo, notes descend in consecutive degrees or even in thirds, each being preceded by an appoggiatura; in which case the appoggiatura is played quickly in order not to rob the piece of its liveliness by the long-sustained appoggiatura...

The execution of Ex. 28 c, however, changed in the course of the second half of the eighteenth century; even Quantz considered this figure as belonging to the long appoggiatura; at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Johann Friedrich Schubert, writing in the *Neue Singe-Schule*<sup>42</sup>, says:

A long appoggiatura may be introduced... sixthly, before a note which is followed by two of shorter duration:




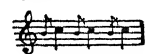


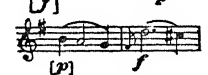



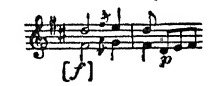



And C.P.E. Bach himself, in Ex. 28 c, may actually consider this figure a long appoggiatura.

Apart from this one major exception, C.P.E. Bach, as well as

<sup>42</sup> The full title reads: *Neue Singe-Schule oder gründliche und vollstaendige Anweisung zur Singkunst in drey Abtheilungen mit hinlänglichen Uebungsstücken von J. F. Schubert, Leipzig bey Breitkopf & Härtel*; the reference is found on p. 52. The book is not dated, but a catalogue of 'Musikalien für den Gesang im Verlag von Breitkopf und Härtel in Leipzig' printed at the end announces four Haydn masses. As *Messe No. IV* ('Schöpfungsmesse', composed in 1801) was published in June, 1804 and *Messe No. V* ('Missa St. Caecilia', composed about 1773) in June, 1807, we may date the book with certainty about 1805 (cf. Brand, *op. cit.*, p. 130.)

Leopold Mozart, provide us with many examples of short appoggiature which might have been taken direct from Haydn's music. Before quoting some of the more striking similarities (Ex. 30), it must be explained that Haydn never employed different signs for short and long appoggiature; the sign ♯ which is found in modern scores of Haydn's music is always a transcription of ♯, ♯, or ♯ (used as short appoggiature). For convenience, however, all the examples below are written with the sign ♯.


Ex. 30		Haydn Symphonies	Reference
No. 7/V		(G. A. I/1, p. 115) <sup>43</sup>	Ex. 27 a
No. 6/IV		(G. A. I/1, p. 80)	
No. 55/II		(C. E. I/5, p. 199)	Ex. 27 g (third of three)
No. 7/I		(G. A. I/1, p. 96)	Ex. 27 b and Leopold Mozart (1)
No. 54/III		(C. E. I/5, p. 170) <sup>44</sup>	
No. 50/I		(C. E. I/5, p. 6)	Ex. 28 a
No. 54/IV		(C. E. I/5, p. 183)	
No. 34/IV		(G. A. I/3, p. 101)	Ex. 28 b; Ex. 29 d
No. 96/II		(Meas. 25, Eulenburg No. 481, p. 25)	
No. 90/III		(C. E. I/10, p. 135)	Ex. 28 d
No. 93/I		(Meas. 212, Eulenburg No. 468, p. 16 [grace note written out!])	
No. 54/I		(C. E. I/5, p. 151)	Ex. 29 a; Ex. 29 b; note also Bach's rule that short appoggiature appear in 'slurred pas- sages' (Ex. 27 g).

<sup>43</sup> G. A. I/1, p. 115 = *Gesamtausgabe*, Series I, Vol. 1, p. 115 [C. E. = Complete Edition].

<sup>44</sup> Haydn's quartets contain many such examples, cf. Op. 33, No. 3/I. See also Symphony No. 57/I, meas. 1 (C. E. I/5, p. 250).

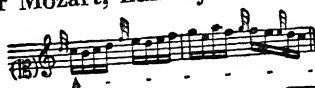


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*Missa Cellensis* ('Mariazellermesse'),  
'Benedictus', meas. 74 ff. (C. E. XXIII/2, p. 75)  Ex. 29 c; compare  
also Ex. 27 d.


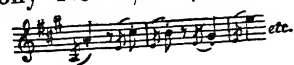
Schubert<sup>45</sup> adds two important uses of the short appoggiatura not directly given either by Bach or Mozart, namely:

... before figures of four notes:



... when the appoggiature are further away than one step:



Haydn's use of the former, *i. e.* appoggiatura 'before figures of four notes', is very frequent, especially in later years. A typical example is the following (Symphony No. 82/II, C. E. I/9, p. 21): . Symphony No. 45/II (G. A. I/4, p. 99) furnishes an instance of the latter:  etc.

### (c) *Passing Appoggiature.*

C. P. E. Bach (*op. cit.*, p. 92, pp. 97 ff.):

When these appoggiature fill in the interval of a third, they are... played quickly. However, in an Adagio their expression is more tender when [Ex. 31 a] they are played as the first quaver of a triplet rather than as semiquavers. The accurate division of triplets can be learned from Ex. [31 b].

[An incorrect use of the appoggiatura] is [its] separation... from [the] following tone either because the ornament is prematurely quitted or because it has usurped a portion of the preceding note's value [Ex. 31 c]. This latter dislocation is the origin of the repulsive unaccented appoggiatura, so extraordinarily popular, which is reserved, unfortunately, for the most legato passages, such as those of Ex. [31 d]. If appoggiature should or must be used in such cases, the asterisked executions are more tolerable. Hence, the remedy for unaccented appoggiature is to shift them ahead to the next accent...



Quantz (*op. cit.*, pp. 149 ff.):

The passing appoggiature are found when several notes of the same value descend by skips of thirds [see Ex. 32 a]. They must be played as seen at Ex. [32 b]. One must hold the dots, and accent the first of the two slurred notes, that is to say, the second, fourth, sixth, &c. This kind of figure must not be confused with those where

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

the dot comes *after* the second slurred note, and which express almost the same melody [see Ex. 32 c]. In these figures, the second, fourth, and the following short notes strike on the accented beat, like *discords* against the bass; and so they are played boldly and quickly. On the contrary, the passing appoggiatura in question demand a flattering expression. If, then, the appoggiatura in Ex. [32 a] were made long and accented, and its value taken out of the following note, the meaning would be completely altered and become like that of Ex. [31 d]. This would be quite in opposition to the French style of playing, from which these appoggiatura are derived...

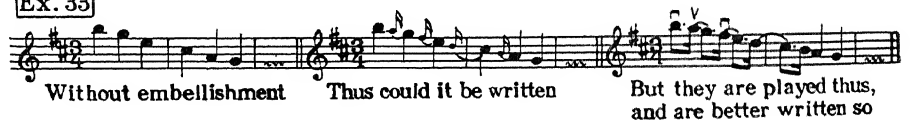
Ex. 32



Leopold Mozart has already touched upon this particular species when he says in the passage concerning short appoggiatura that these may be used 'if in an allegro or other playful tempo, notes descend in consecutive degrees or even in thirds, each being preceded by an appoggiatura.' Somewhat later in the chapter he devotes more space to this problem (*op. cit.*, pp. 177 ff.):

Now we come to the passing appoggiatura... in which the stress falls on the principal note, and which are rarely or never [differentiated] by the composer. [Mozart means that the two signs, for appoggiatura on the beat and before the beat, were synonymous.] These [passing appoggiatura] do not belong to the time of the principal note to which they descend but must be played in the time of the preceding note. It is true one could indicate the style by means of a little note, but it would look very unusual and strange. He who wishes to express it in print, sets it down in proper notes. It is customary to use these passing appoggiatura in a series of notes lying a third apart. For example:

Ex. 33



The semiquaver is taken quite smoothly and quietly, the stress always falling on the quaver.

The passing appoggiatura can also be used with notes which ascend or descend by conjunct degrees...

It will be seen that Quantz and Leopold Mozart differ in their conceptions of this ornament from C. P. E. Bach; the two former regard the passing appoggiatura as anticipatory, while Bach adheres to his general rule that all grace notes must be played on the beat. This

# Appoggiature

important difference of opinion seems to have been generally acknowledged at that time. For example, Tosi<sup>46</sup>, speaking of this problem, says:

Should two downward skips of a third follow each other, the grace notes standing between are generally regarded as invariable [*i. e.* short]. Should, however, a third appoggiatura follow, it is variable [*i. e.* long].

## Ex. 34



Certain celebrated performers claim to regard the first two [appoggiature] as belonging to the time of their respective preceding notes, in the French tradition... Thus, they perform this example as follows:

## Ex. 35



Thereby they wish to differentiate between (a) the expression of these appoggiature, (b) another figure in which the notes are properly written out<sup>47</sup>, and (c) these same notes, arranged so that the first notes are shorter than the second; this is the excellent custom which is known as the 'Lombardian taste': Nevertheless, they admit that in this last-named figure, the first note must be played more strongly and sharply than if it were an appoggiatura. Other celebrated performers, however, regard the appoggiatura at present under discussion as falling under the general rules regarding appoggiature, *i. e.* in the time of the following note. Still, they wish to have these appoggiature, especially in slow notes and in Adagio, not entirely short but as a third part of the following notes, or as much as the first note of a triplet in which one distributes the main note in one's thoughts. They would therefore perform the example above as follows: .

Perhaps Tosi (or Agricola) was thinking in terms of Quantz and C. P. E. Bach, both of whose books preceded his by a few years. The question is, which of these two theories did Haydn follow?

C. P. E. Bach doubtless goes too far when he asserts that there exists no grace note which is anticipatory. For Bach there only existed , never . As far as Haydn is concerned we are certainly safe in regarding as anticipatory only those appoggiature which would distort a rhythm or a harmonic pattern. Thus, typical anticipatory appoggiature in Haydn's music are:

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff.

<sup>47</sup> He means the figure: .

(1) before triplets; C. P. E. Bach's executions despite his assertions to the contrary, do in fact distort the triplet rhythm, especially in fast passages (Ex. 28 b). This does not mean, however, that the appoggiatura in Haydn's Symphony No. 8/I, meas. 7 — before the first note in a three-eight bar and not before a triplet — is to be regarded as unconditionally short (on the contrary).

(2) Before groups of four (or more) notes ( $\text{♪} \text{♪♪♪$ ); this problem is only indirectly discussed by C. P. E. Bach and appears to be a stylistic trait of the latter rather than the middle part of the eighteenth century.

(3) Before passages which would be distorted either rhythmically, harmonically, or both; cf. Symphony No. 53/IV (Version A), meas. 39 (C. E. I/5, p. 117) or Symphony No. 54/I, meas. 151 (C. E. I/5, p. 159). However, whenever the line allows, the appoggiatura should without question be performed on the beat; in other words it should take its time from the following, not the preceding note. We know from many authentic documents how highly Haydn thought of C. P. E. Bach; it is therefore the latter's theories, rather than those of a Quantz or a Leopold Mozart, which probably influenced Haydn. Consequently, passing appoggiature such as those in Symphony No. 7/III, meas. 13 (G. A. I/1, p. 105), or in Symphony No. 85/IV, meas. 199/200 (C. E. I/9, p. 191) — to choose two of many available examples — are best executed on the beat, but quickly.

The contradictions regarding appoggiature found in eighteenth-century theory books, or in the music of Haydn, Mozart or any of the composers living in the second half of the eighteenth century, make it impossible to lay down rules which will always apply to every individual example. The most one can do is to devote long and serious thought to each case. In general, however, it may be said that we tend to perform far too many long appoggiature in Haydn's (and Mozart's) music as short.

(d) *Trills*.

Haydn's sign for the trill is usually *t*: or *tr*:, occasionally (in slow movements and over long notes)  $\text{tr} \sim$ . The two main problems connected with the interpretation of the trill in Haydn's music are (1) on which note the trill should begin and (2) whether the trill should conclude with a suffix [German: *Nachschlag*]. Again, eighteenth

century writers provide us with a wealth of information. Speaking of the trill, Quantz<sup>48</sup> says:

Every shake<sup>49</sup> begins with an appoggiatura... The end of every shake consists of two little notes near the note of the shake [which] are joined to it in the same speed (Ex. 36 a)... Sometimes these two little notes are written (Ex. 36 b); but when there is only a single note (Ex. 36 c), both the appoggiatura and the termination are implied. Without them the shake would be neither perfect nor brilliant.

Ex. 36



C. P. E. Bach is exhaustive on the subject of trills. A few extracts are herewith included<sup>50</sup>:

[The trill] always begins on the tone above the principal note [;] it is [therefore] superfluous to add a small note [Ex. 37 a] unless this note stands for an appoggiatura.

At times two short notes from below are appended. These are called the suffix [Nachschlag], and they serve to make a more rapid trill [Ex. 37 b]. The suffix is often written out [Ex. 37 c].

Trills on long notes are played with a suffix regardless of a subsequent stepwise descent or ascent. The suffix may also be added to a trill followed by a leap... Dotted notes followed by a short ascent also allow for suffixed trills [Ex. 37 d]. However, instead of the usual extremely rapid motion into the following note [Ex. 37 e], when the dotted notes are trilled a very short separation must be made between the last tone of the suffix and the following note [Ex. 37 f]. This separation need only be long enough to show that the suffix and the following note are two separate elements... The suffix running directly into the following note in Ex. [37 g] is, of course, incorrect. The composer who wishes such an execution must call for it expressly.

The unsuffixed trill is best used in descending successions [Ex. 37 h] and principally over short notes [Ex. 37 i]. The suffix is omitted from successive trills [Ex. 37 j]

Ex. 37



<sup>48</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 180.

<sup>49</sup> 'Shake' is synonymous with 'trill'.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 100 ff.

and from trills followed by one or more notes which are capable of replacing it. Further, the suffix is not employed over triplets [Ex. 37 k].

The average ear can always tell whether the suffix should be used. I have discussed it here only for the benefit of beginners and because this is its proper place.

We may sum up these quotations, at the same time answering the two main problems in respect to the execution of trills in Haydn's music, as follows:

(1) The trill should begin on the note one step above that over which the trill stands. Exceptions to this general rule mainly concern (a) the combination of trills and appoggiature, discussed below<sup>51</sup>, and (b) cases when the note preceding the trilled note lies one step above (see Ex. 39).

(2) The trill should always conclude with a suffix [*Nachschlag*] except as enumerated in the penultimate paragraph of the extract from C. P. E. Bach. In general a suffix is not employed (a) when there is no time for it and (b) when some kind of substitute for the suffix appears after the trilled note or notes.

(3) The trill should be executed in an even, rhythmic manner, so that if the execution were written out it would agree metrically with the value of the note over which the trill stands.

Some examples of trills in Haydn's symphonies requiring suffixes are:

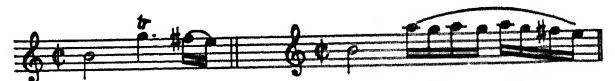
Ex. 38

*Symphony*

*Suggested execution*



*Ibid*



No. 22/I (G. A. I/2, p. 122)



It will be seen that the speed of the trill is denoted by the value of the suffix, when this is present.

Some examples of trills in the symphonies requiring no suffixes are:

<sup>51</sup> See p. 155.

# Trills

## Ex. 39

Symphony

No. 7/I (G. A. I/1, p. 89)

*Suggested execution*



No. 96/II (meas. 26)

[Eulenburg No. 481, p. 25]



Piece for Musical Clock<sup>52</sup>



Some examples of trills in the symphonies which may be performed with or without suffixes — as the tempo or other circumstances may dictate — are:

## Ex. 40

No. 10/III (G. A. I/1, p. 167)



No. 42/III (G. A. I/4, p. 39)



In the passage from No. 42, the first trill (a) is better without, the second (b) better with, the suffix.

Although none of the theory books referred to above specifically states the fact, it is generally accepted that should a trilled note be preceded by the note lying one step above, the trill does not begin

<sup>52</sup> Schmid No. 11, executed by the clock without suffix.

on the note above (as is generally the case) but on the note itself<sup>53</sup>. Thus, in Ex. 39 all the trills would each begin *on* their respective notes, not with the note above. The basis for this rule may be found in the section concerning the combination of trills with appoggiature.

Occasionally Haydn uses the so called 'half' or 'short' trill, expressed by the sign ( ~ ). Speaking of this ornament, C. P. E. Bach says<sup>54</sup>:

The half or short trill, which is distinguished from the others by its acuteness and brevity, is notated for the keyboard in the manner of Ex. [41]... The short trill joins the preceding note to the decorated one and therefore never appears over detached notes. It represents in miniature an enclosed, unsuffixed trill, introduced by either an appoggiature or a principal note... In order to be truly effective the upper tone must be snapped on its final appearance... with such exceeding speed that the individual tones will be heard only with difficulty... The half or short trill appears only in a descending second regardless of whether the interval is formed by an appoggiatura or by large notes...

Ex. 41





As this is primarily a keyboard ornament, it is only rarely encountered in Haydn's symphonies. Its use in No. 6/III (G. A. I/1, p. 76) was based on the very mediocre source in Zittau; the other, far more reliable sources have in its place *tr*, as does Zittau in the parallel passage. It will nevertheless be noted that Zittau has used the ornament exactly as prescribed by C. P. E. Bach, namely, as a 'miniature... enclosed, unsuffixed trill, introduced by... an appoggiatura [in this case written out]... in a descending second...' Its execution is made clear by Ex. 41a.

(e) *Trills with Appoggiature.*

From numerous examples in all the text books cited above it is clear that when a trill is preceded by an appoggiatura, the latter must be executed according to the normal rules governing appoggiature. Thus, ♯ becomes ♯, ♯ = ♯, and so on. In Ex. 41a, we also have a case in which the trill must begin *on*, not *above*, the note. Haydn rarely writes the combination of trill with appoggiatura, prefer-

<sup>53</sup> However, a trill in one of the pieces for musical clock (Schmid's edition No. 11), a free adaptation of the Minuet from the Quartet op. 54, No. 2, notated in

Haydn's autograph (Bst) , is executed by the clock .

<sup>54</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 110 f.



# Trills

ring the ornament +; this problem is discussed below. Usually he writes the appoggiatura as a grace note. On some occasions he does not. In these latter, the execution is, nevertheless, identical with a figure utilizing a grace note. Thus, Symphony No. 11/I, meas. 4 (G. A. I/1, p. 171) might be performed as follows:

[Adagio]

Ex. 42

Ex. 43

a. ... it is often notated b.

The question of an appoggiatura before a trilled note also raises an additional and rather complex question; namely, when is the appoggiatura to be regarded as a true, *i. e.* long appoggiatura, and when is it intended to show with which note the trill should begin? When the appoggiatura is on the upper note, we may be almost certain in regarding it as a true appoggiatura, for as C. P. E. Bach has said, 'since [the trill] always begins on the tone above the principal note, it is superfluous to add a small note unless this note stands for an appoggiatura.' The difficulty arises with a trill preceded by an appoggiatura on the lower note. Haydn no longer used the older notation ~ or ~ to indicate a trill executed as in Ex. 43 a (taken from C. P. E. Bach, *op. cit.*, p. 107), but uses the synonymous notation of Ex. 43 b. However, examination of many such passages in Haydn's symphonies reveals that such a grace note may indicate (1) an appoggiatura from beneath (*i. e.* ♯ = ♯) or (2) that the trill should, in fact, be executed in the manner of the older notation ~. The editors of the old *Gesamtausgabe* have not helped matters by changing the value of Haydn's appoggiatura from ♯ to ♯. For example, meas. 15 of Symphony No. 7/III (G. A. I/1, p. 105) reads as in Ex. 44 a, whereas the exact parallel passage, one measure before the end of the movement (G. A. I/1, p. 109), reads as in Ex. 44 b. The latter is, of course, incorrect, and should be applied to the earlier quotation. Another instance where the appoggiatura below the trilled note must be executed

as in (1) above appears in Symphony No. 87/II, meas. 42 (Ex. 44 c; C. E. I/9, p. 268). In the parallel passage at meas. 97 (Ex. 44 d, C. E. I/9, p. 275) Haydn writes out the appoggiatura. The execution of such an appoggiatura as ~ is therefore to be approached with considerable caution. One very clear example is Ex. 44 e, from Symphony No. 96/II, meas. 83 (Eulenburg No. 481, p. 35). In each case the accompanying parts must be carefully studied<sup>55</sup>.

Ex. 44

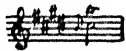



Probably meas. 134 in Symphony No. 54/II (C. E. I/5, p. 169) is also a trill from beneath; on the other hand, the closing cadences to both parts of Symphony No. 34/I (meas. 36, 39, etc. G. A. I/3, p. 90) appear to employ true appoggiature, although written in some sources as minims preceded by a small quaver. (In others the appoggiatura is written as a crotchet.)

(f) Turns.

Until very recently no one seems to have understood Haydn's use of the turn (German: *Doppelschlag*), written ~, as compared with what the composer called a 'half-mordent', which he wrote variously as \* or +. Of all the writers who have examined this vexing problem in any detail, the only two who approached the solution are Karl Päsler<sup>56</sup> and Heinrich Schenker<sup>57</sup>. Since recent research has proved that ~ and + are two entirely different ornaments, we shall examine each separately.

In Schenker's<sup>58</sup> brilliant analysis of the turn as used by Haydn — primarily in the sonatas and quartets — we find a number of examples which prove to be not ~ but +. This could not have been known to Schenker, since only the authentic sources preserved +; all

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, in Symphony No. 44/III (*Adagio*), meas. 37; the harmony makes it imperative to perform the first violin part  as a trill from underneath, i. e.  (It should be remarked that the G. A.—I/IV,

p. 79 — erroneously has the grace note *d''*.)

<sup>56</sup> Introduction to the B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe*, Series XIV, Vol. 1 (Piano Sonatas).

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.*


<sup>58</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff.

modern prints of the sonatas and quartets, without exception, erroneously transcribed  $\sim$  as  $\sim$  or *tr*. That Schenker was intuitively aware of this error is proved by a short paragraph which we shall quote below, in connection with the ornament  $\sim$ . Bearing in mind the fact that at least half of the turns found in editions of Haydn's music are in fact erroneous transcriptions of  $\sim$ , it will be observed that in the symphonies Haydn used the turn only in connection with dotted figures.

In a letter<sup>59</sup> to his publisher Artaria, dated July 20, 1781, Haydn says:

Before everything else, however, I pray you to set forth the musical signs... as I have written them; for example, you will find the following:  $\sim$ ,  $\infty$ , *tr*,  $\sim$ ...

Artaria's engravers did not follow Haydn's careful directions, and in another letter to the firm, dated December 10, 1785, the composer bitterly recounts the trouble he had in correcting the proofs. This letter is only partially reprinted in Artaria-Botstiber<sup>60</sup>, but we have been fortunate enough to secure a copy<sup>61</sup> of the original, and are able to include herewith part of the important, missing portion:

At page 18 four notes are missing, and on the last stave the engraver was too lazy wholly to write out the bass; such liberties [*Schlender*] and such signs [probably the engraver wrote 'col Basso' or //] are acceptable in the viola part of symphonies, but not in piano works. Moreover, the natural signs  $\natural$  are so small, and occasionally so near to the note, that one can scarcely see them, as may be observed on the uppermost stave at the edge of page 18. There are many notes out of place, and many others omitted; on page 6 and 8 are the following ornaments:  $\sim$ , which are mostly placed wrongly; the majority must not stand exactly over the note, but over the neighbouring dot, in the following manner, page 6, in the 4th bar: . Throughout, the dot should be placed further away from the note so that the sign  $\sim$  may be set exactly over the dot. Precisely on this page, on the second stave, should be made instead of the sign *tr*: the following  $\sim$ : for the former, set as the engraver has done, means a trill, whereas mine means a half-mordent; if the engraver is not familiar with such signs he should inform himself thereof through the masters, and not follow his own stupid notions.

We have observed that Haydn often indicates the execution of a passage only at the outset, after which he resorts to abbreviations.

<sup>59</sup> Artaria-Botstiber, p. 16, corrected at the beginning under 'Zusätze und Druckfehler'.

<sup>60</sup> P. 34.


<sup>61</sup> The copy, prepared by Mandyczewski, is in the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* at Vienna, and bears the following remark: 'Original owned by Frau Ida Conrat, Vienna.' The letter was later purchased by Westley Manning (London), and sold at Sotheby's on 12th October 1954 (item No. 204).

As a result of this method, we are sometimes able to see how an ornament is to be performed by examining its first appearance in a given passage, where Haydn writes the ornament in small notes.

In Symphony No. 87/II, meas. 7 (C. E. I/9, p. 264) Haydn employs the very turn he describes in the letter of 1785 (see Ex. 45 a). A few measures later (from meas. 15) he begins to abbreviate the figure as shown in Ex. 45 b.

Ex. 45



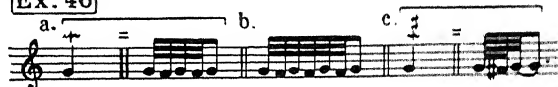
The figure  was apparently not regarded by Haydn as a true turn and was therefore abbreviated not by ~ but by +.

(g) *Mordents* (The so-called 'Haydn ornament').

The execution of the mordent in the baroque era is explained by C. P. E. Bach<sup>62</sup>, who says:

The symbol of the long mordent is shown in Ex. 46 a. Its execution may be lengthened (Ex. 46 b) if necessary, but the symbol remains the same. The short mordent and its execution are illustrated in Ex. 46 c.

Ex. 46



The sign for the so-called 'long mordent' was never used by Haydn at all. The sign for the 'short mordent' is variously written by Haydn as + or +. One might imagine that there is a difference between the two signs, but closer investigation reveals that this is not the case. The second of the two signs is simply an abbreviation of the first, a sort of abbreviation of an abbreviation, and if one studies such a movement as the 'Benedictus' from the *Missa Cellensis* ('Mariazeller-messe') in which many of these mordents occur, one sees that the two signs are used interchangeably. In Francesco Geminiani's *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (London, 1751: facsimile edition, ed. by David

<sup>62</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

D. Boyden, O.U.P., London, 1953), the sign is printed as it is usually written in Haydn's manuscripts, *i. e.* as a turn with a line through it. Geminiani calls it 'A Turn'd Shake': 'being made quick and long', he writes, 'is fit to express Gaiety; but if you make it short, and continue the Length of the Note plain and soft, it may then express some of the more tender Passions'. He does not give any detailed explanations as to its execution, but the musical examples at the back of the book show how it was employed (*cf.* p. 42, bars 2, 4 and 6; and p. 46, bars 3, 10, *etc.*, where it is used with an *appoggiatura*).

The execution of the mordent in Haydn's music does not follow that suggested by C. P. E. Bach; it appears that an entirely different tradition in this respect prevailed in Bavaria and Austria. The chapter on the mordent in Leopold Mozart throws much more light on Haydn's use of this ornament than do any of the North German theorists, such as Quantz, Marpurg or C. P. E. Bach. Speaking of the mordent, Mozart says<sup>63</sup>:

The mordent is made in three different ways. Firstly, it comes from the principal note itself. Secondly, from the two next higher and lower notes. Thirdly, it is made with all three notes when the principal note falls between two neighbouring notes. I know full well that, as a rule only the first kind, or so-called French *pincé*, has the real right of citizenship as mordent, but as... my second and third kinds are also 'biters', and have therefore the characteristics of a mordent, why should they not also be allowed to run with and among the mordents? Here are all three:

Ex. 47






Haydn uses the sign of the mordent in two basic contexts, of which the first and most frequently encountered is that described by Leopold Mozart as the 'third kind' (Ex. 47, No. 3). Until very recently, this particular method of executing the sign + in Haydn's music was quite unknown and a variety of erroneous substitutes was suggested. But examination of the composer's own music again shows us the correct execution and the abbreviation thereof. There are dozens of such examples throughout Haydn's symphonies, quartets, masses, sonatas, trios, and even the little pieces for musical clock-

<sup>63</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 206 *ff.*

work<sup>64</sup>. Here are two typical passages illustrating this method of abbreviation of the sign +. Ex. 48 a is from Symphony No. 57/III (C. E. I/5, p. 267), Ex. 48 b from Symphony No. 96/III (Eulenburg No. 481, p. 39). This problem is touched by the French writer,

Ex. 48




E. Deldevez<sup>65</sup>, apropos of Symphony No. 85/II, where Haydn wrote in meas. 81 *ff*. (C. E. I/9, p. 174/175) in the flute part ,  twice, followed by ,  . Deldevez cites a number of editions in which four different readings of the simple passage appear, one with *tr* instead of +, one with ~ and one with ~ between the notes; only the Le Duc score has the correct reading, albeit written out in full. And Schenker, purely through his brilliant intuition, suspects that modern editions often had a trill or ~ in place of  . Speaking of this, he says<sup>66</sup>:

It remains to be said that Haydn... in forgetful moments could write a trill instead of a ~, and allow himself to slip into a manner of writing... which shows, when one compares parallel passages, that a trill was erroneously exchanged for a '~ over the note' [as explained by C. P. E. Bach].

The fault was not, however, Haydn's but his poor copyists' and printers'. Although he fought against this inexactitude throughout his life, he never really managed to make his ornament generally understood and accepted.

The second principal use of this ornament was in conjunction with an appoggiatura, as in Ex. 49 a (Symphony No. 49/I, G. A. I/4, p. 191). Here Haydn may have thought of the so-called 'prallende Doppelschlag' (trilled turn) as found in C. P. E. Bach, which the latter executes as follows<sup>67</sup>:


<sup>64</sup> One such piece (Schmid's edition No. 1) is notated in Haydn's autograph with the abbreviation  but always executed by the clock [of 1792] as in (a).



<sup>65</sup> *Curiosités Musicales*, Paris, 1873, pp. 6 f.

<sup>66</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 121.



Another alternative interpretation of Haydn's + is , using a pattern of notes identical with Ex. 49 b but in the rhythm indicated<sup>68</sup>. In a very quick tempo, as in Haydn's Symphony No. 42/IV, the ornament can only be executed as a triplet, the quintuplet being too awkward for the violins at this rapid pace. It is important to remember that when used in this sense the ornament must begin *on*, not a step above, the note over which it appears, as in C. P. E. Bach's execution of the 'prallende Doppelschlag'.

In closing this section, it should be remarked that all mordents, whether written out or expressed through the abbreviation +, must be executed on the beat. This applies also to ornaments which, because of their distinctive character, were written by Haydn as little notes, such as  or . The principle is found throughout C. P. E. Bach. Naturally, these acciaccature must be 'snapped' in order that the value of the principal note be reduced as little as possible. A famous, later example of such a 'sliding appoggiatura' occurs in Beethoven's Symphony No. 7/II.

## 6. Dynamic Marks.

In the 'Applausus' letter, Haydn writes:

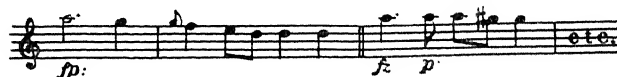
4th. The fortes and pianos are correctly indicated throughout, and these should be given their exact worth; for there is a very great difference between piano and pianissimo, forte and fortiss[imo], between crescendo and forzando, and the like. It should be noted, too, that when a forte or piano is not written out in all the parts of the score, this lack should be rectified by the copyist when writing out the parts.

Most of the problems relating to Haydn's dynamic marks have been mentioned in connection with textual matter in the previous chapter. One special effect, the *fp*, is, however, discussed in a valuable marginal note on a score of *Armida* in the Sándor Wolf-Museum at Eisenstadt; the copy is partly by Johann Elssler (?), the annotation by Haydn; the passage in question was reproduced for the first time by Karl Geiringer

<sup>68</sup> Compare the trill used together with the appoggiatura (see above, Ex. 42).

in his biography, *Joseph Haydn* (Potsdam, 1932), on the plate facing page 114. Haydn says:

The author prays that, in the following and various similar passages [*infra*], his ultimate object and true expression be reached, namely, that in all parts the first stroke of the forte should be of the shortest duration, in such manner that the forte immediately gives the impression of disappearing.



## 7. Alteration of Rhythm.

### (a) Dotted Notes.

C. P. E. Bach (*op. cit.*, pp. 157/158):

Short notes which follow dotted ones are always shorter in execution than their notated length... Ex. [50 a] illustrates their execution... Dots after long notes or after short ones in slow tempos, and isolated dots, are all held. However, in rapid tempos prolonged successions of dots are performed as rests, the apparent opposite demand of the notation notwithstanding. A more accurate notation would remove such a discrepancy... Dots after short notes followed by groups of shorter ones are held fully [Ex. 50 b].

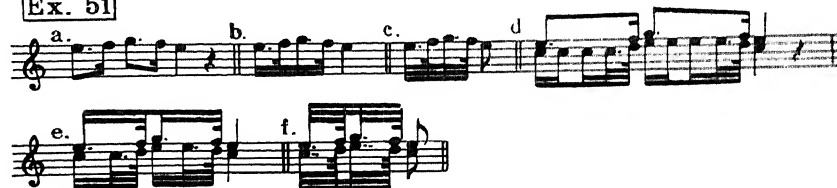
#### Ex. 50



Quantz (*op. cit.*, p. 54):

Quavers, semiquavers, and demisemiquavers with dots do not follow the general rule on account of the vivacity which they must express... The note which follows the dot in examples [51 a] and [51 b] must be played as quick as the one at Ex. [51 c], let the movement be slow or quick... To get a more distinct idea

#### Ex. 51





### Alteration of Rhythm

of this, play slowly the notes of the lower part at Ex. [51 d] and Ex. [51 e], each example according to its proportion of time; that is, the one at Ex. [51 b] double the speed of that at Ex. [51 a], and the one at Ex. [51 c] double the speed of that at Ex. [51 d] with the dots... Then... play the notes of the upper part, and make the dotted notes last until the dotted notes of the lower part are finished...

#### Leopold Mozart (*op. cit.*, pp. 41/42):

There are certain passages in slow pieces where the dot must be held rather longer than [is usually the case] if the performance is not to sound to sleepy. For example if, in Ex. [52 a], the dot were held its usual length it would sound very languid and sleepy. In such cases dotted notes must be held somewhat longer, but the time taken up by the extended value must be, so to speak, stolen from the note standing after the dot... I have made clear my opinion of the right manner of performance by setting down two dots followed by a shortened note [Ex. 52 b]...



Although Haydn did, in fact, use the double-dotted system advocated by Leopold Mozart, so that there are relatively few passages written  $\text{♩.}$  but intended to be executed  $\text{♩.}$ , a surprising example of the necessity for rhythmical alteration in Haydn's music may be found in the relatively late-period Symphony No. 86. In the slow movement (*Capriccio, Largo*), bars 15/16 (C. E. I/9, p. 213) are written as in Ex. 53 a. On the basis of the comments made by Bach, Mozart and Quantz one would be inclined to alter the first notes of the flute, second oboe, second violin and viola in both measures and the bass in bar 16 from  $\text{♩.}$  to  $\text{♩.}$ , and also the final notes of the first violin in both bars to  $\text{♩.}$ . Otherwise, in meas. 16, a confused rhythmic pattern emerges during the third quarter of the measure between first and second violins. The same alteration would, as a matter of course, be applied to meas. 20<sup>69</sup>. But while it would in any case be stylistically correct to apply the rules of these theorists to the passages in question, a confirmation of an even more authentic nature comes to us in the parallel passage (meas. 64/65) of the movement, where Haydn writes as shown in Ex. 53 b. A more convincing argument for the necessity of rhythmical alteration could scarcely be found.

<sup>69</sup> The first notes of the second violin and viola in the succeeding bar should also be shortened to demisemiquavers.

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Ex. 53a.

Ob. I  
Fl. p  
Vln. I (p)  
Vln. II  
Vla. (p)  
Fag. (p)  
Vel. - Cb. (p)

Ex. 53b.

Fl. p  
Vln. I (p)  
Vln. II (p)  
Vla. (p)  
Vel. - Cb. (p)

Still another late piece, the *Overture for an English Opera* (II, 3 — probably composed in 1794) contains two passages the notation of which requires, if not alteration, at least clarification. In meas. 4 of the first violin part (Ex. 54 a) Haydn employed a grace note instead of dotting the *g*" twice and writing the grace note as a demisemi-quaver, as in the succeeding bar. And in the least measure (7) of the introduction (Ex. 54 b), the horns, trumpets and drums are not written correctly; again, the second notes should be demisemi-quavers. Some interesting results may also be provided by comparing the entrance of the solo violin in Haydn's Violin Concerto in C major/I (Ex. 54 c) with Ex. 52 a (Leopold Mozart) and the last section of Ex. 50 a (C. P. E. Bach). Ex. 54 d is a suggestion for the execution of Ex. 54 c.

Ex. 54 a.

4) [Largo]  
Vln. I  
5)

# Alteration of Rhythm

Ex. 54b.

Cor. (C)  
Trp. (C)

Timp. (C-G)

Tutti

Ex. 54c

Vln. princ.

Ex. 54d

## (b) Triplets and Triple Time.

Concerning the much discussed question of dotted notes within triple time or against triplets<sup>70</sup>, C. P. E. Bach and Quantz disagree.

Quantz (*op. cit.*, p. 55) says:

Ex. [55 a]: The small note which follows the dot should only be played after the, third note of the triplet, and not with it, or else it would bring confusion with six-eight or twelve-eight time [as in] Ex. [55 b].

Ex. 55

a. b.


On the other hand, Bach (*op. cit.*, p. 160) says:

With the advent of an increased use of triplets in common or  $\frac{4}{4}$  time, as well as  $\frac{2}{4}$  and  $\frac{3}{4}$ , many pieces have appeared which might be more conveniently written in  $\frac{12}{8}$ ,  $\frac{6}{8}$  or  $\frac{9}{8}$ . The performance of other lengths against these notes is shown in Ex. [56]...

Ex. 56

<sup>70</sup> See also Dolmetsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.

### *Haydn's Symphonies in Performance*

It is hard to decide whether Haydn followed the principles of Quantz or those of Bach. Such a passage as that of Ex. 57 (from the last movement of Symphony No. 41) is, Quantz notwithstanding, one of those 'pieces... which might be more conveniently written in...  $\frac{3}{8}$ ', and as such the dotted note in the second violin (marked with an arrow) should probably be lengthened into the triplet rhythm of the first violin. It never seems to have occurred to Haydn to write such rhythms in the modern manner of , *etc.* Fortunately, passages of this sort are quite rare in Haydn's mature music.

**Ex. 57** *Presto*  $\text{♩} = 120$

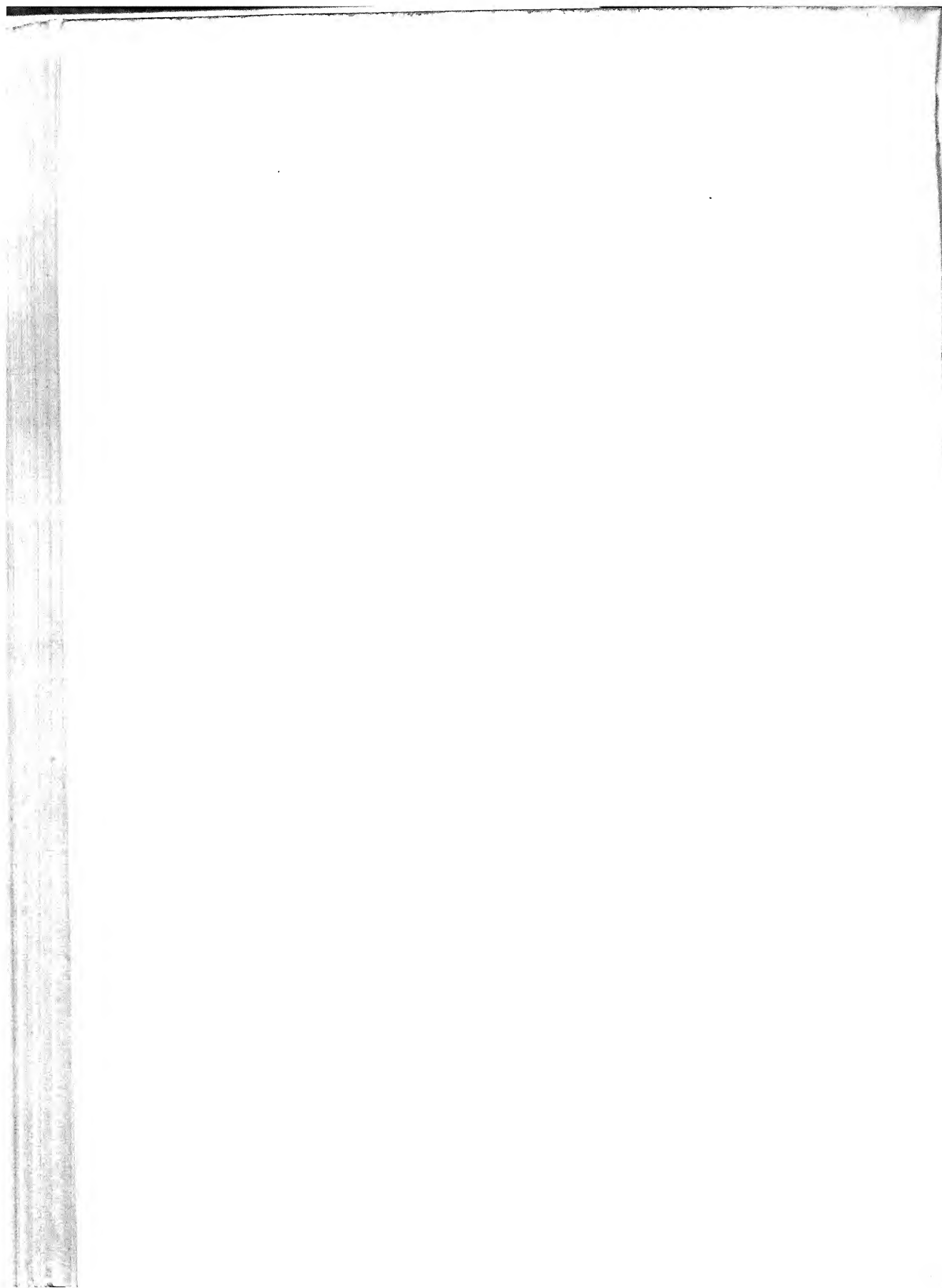
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Vcl.-Cb.

*p* *p* etc.



## PART TWO





The division of a composer's work into various creative periods has long been considered one of the most necessary and, at the same time, one of the most difficult tasks facing the musicologists, requiring exceptional knowledge on the one hand and objectivity, sensitivity and insight on the other. This problem is, in Haydn's case, particularly difficult in view of the enormous number of compositions produced over a period of some fifty years, unless one is prepared to accept Mr. Aldous Huxley's verdict<sup>1</sup>:

Haydn lived to a ripe old age and his right hand never forgot its cunning; but it also failed to learn a new cunning. Peter Pan-like, he continued, as an old man, to write the sort of thing he had written twenty, thirty and forty years before.

For anyone who wishes to pursue the matter further than the 'Toy' Symphony, the division of Haydn's creative activity into a number of sensible periods presents certain major obstacles. The customary three periods originally applied to the music of Beethoven and subsequently forced upon all other composers will simply not fit Haydn's music; nor is Geiringer's choice of five<sup>2</sup> satisfactory. It is with a certain reluctance that we have chosen the particular divisions enumerated below; although these will not apply to all of Haydn's music, it was believed that any set of periods valid for the symphonies must, as a whole remain valid for most of the other compositions as well.

Hardly any other *genre* of Haydn's many-sided musical activity lends itself to division into various periods as successfully as do the symphonies, and for a very good reason: there is practically no other group of Haydn's works which is so profusely and continuously represented from the beginning of his creative life to the end. Even if we must acknowledge that there is a whole musical period, that beginning with Haydn's final return to Vienna in 1795 and continuing until about 1805 when his powers gave out, in which no symphonies were produced, this gap is not so serious as the long intervals occurring between compositions of other *genre*. Actually, there are only very few types of compositions which Haydn continuously produced through-

<sup>1</sup> *Themes & Variations*, London, 1950, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Joseph Haydn*, Potsdam, 1932, p. 40. 'Haydn's activity... allows itself to be separated into five periods. The youthful period approximately spans 1750—1760, the time of preparation 1761—1770, the middle period 1771—1780, maturity 1781—1790, and the years of fullest mastery 1791—1803.'

out his career; and for this reason we may for the moment ignore the divertimenti, concerti, string trios<sup>3</sup>, baryton works and the smaller forms of church music, all of which figure largely during the earlier years, until about 1770, but appear only very sporadically afterwards. There remain the following categories: string quartets, masses, piano (clavier) sonatas and operas. But to form an opinion of Haydn's stylistic growth purely from the quartets is difficult because of the frequent gaps between sets of works; thus, during the decisive years c. 1761-1768 and 1773-1780 there are no works in this form. The generally high standard of the masses might lead one to base a study of Haydn's style on these imposing works; but here, too, there are gaps of decades during which no mass was written. After the middle group of these works, consisting of the *Missa Sti. Nicolai* (1772), the *Missa St. Caecilia* (c. 1772-1774) and the *Missa Brevis Sti. Joannis de Deo* (c. 1775), no masses were produced until the solitary and grandiose *Missa Cellensis* ('Mariazellermesse', 1782); and between that and the *Missa in Tempore Belli* are fourteen long, important years, spanning both London journeys. During Haydn's life at Esterháza, operas occupied the major portion of his energies; after 1784 he ceased operatic composition altogether except for *L'Anima del filosofo* ('Orfeo', 1791). Neither the operas nor the clavier sonatas contain the wide range of emotional expression found in the symphonies. If there is one period, during the years 1774-1784, in which the operatic music is often superior to the symphonic works, there are many more years when Haydn's music for the stage does not really reflect the artistic development simultaneously taking place in almost all other fields of his creative activity. It is perhaps the sonatas which most closely approach the symphonies in number and regularity of composition; but one would hardly choose this smaller form instead of the larger.

For Haydn's symphonies the following periods have been chosen<sup>4</sup>:

- (1) from the beginning to c. 1761/1762; (2) 1761-1765; (3) 1766-1770;
- (4) 1771-1774; (5) 1774-1784; (6) 1785-1788; (7) the Salomon sym-

<sup>3</sup> The clavier trios, on the other hand, were almost all written after 1780.

<sup>4</sup> After having arrived at this choice I noted with pleasure that Larsen, in his new and wholly admirable article on Haydn for the Swedish Dictionary of Music, also employs this general scheme, viz., eight periods consisting of (1) beginning to 1760; (2) c. 1760-1765; (3) c. 1766-1772; (4) c. 1773-1777 (1778); (5) 1779-1783/1784; (6) c. 1784-1790; (7) the London journeys (1791/1795); (8) 1795 until c. 1803.



phonies (1791-1795). The reasons for this particular division are set forth in considerable detail during the course of each chapter. It would have been possible to subdivide the first, fifth and seventh sections; and while this is to a certain extent followed in the periods concerned, it was considered inadvisable to make a further numerical division as this would have produced not seven but ten periods. Moreover, the symphonies within these three categories have a relationship to each other sufficiently close not to disturb the general picture.

## CHAPTER VI

# THE EARLIEST ORCHESTRAL WORKS

### *Chronology:*

The symphonies discussed in this chapter fall very conveniently into three distinct sections:

(1) The earliest and most primitive works, all of which were probably composed before Haydn's engagement as Assistant *Capellmeister* at the Court of Prince Esterházy in May, 1761. From the available evidence, most of these symphonies seem to have been written between 1759 and May, 1761 during Haydn's sojourn in Lukaveč, the residence of Count Morzin, for whom Haydn is said to have composed his first symphony. However, it is by no means impossible that some of them were written before this date. Composers have a habit of being very vague about their early works; in Haydn's case this was a combination of a notably poor memory — especially in later years — together with a rather condescending attitude towards his first efforts of composition. One need only recall that the authentic String Quartet in E flat Major, called No. 'O' because of its absence in the accepted list of Haydn's quartets, was omitted from the list of quartets in HV, and that a symphony (Opus 1, No. 5) and two divertimenti (Opus 2, Nos. 3 and 5) were placed among the quartets, solely on the basis of Pleyel's arrangement. Very likely Haydn had in 1805 no idea whether the works in question were quartets, symphonies or divertimenti, or when they were composed. In correcting a list of his symphonies for Breitkopf and Härtel — this list seems to be lost now — Haydn divided them into ten groups, from 1757 to 1797; and he placed a number of symphonies in the period c. 1757, two years before the 'First Symphony' was supposed to have been composed.<sup>1</sup> The symphonies included in the first of the three categories discussed in this chapter may, therefore, be dated c. 1757—1761.

(2) A number of transitional works of which the exact dates cannot be established. These are more advanced than the very earliest type, but less polished than those symphonies after 1761 of which the exact chronological position can be ascertained.

It is probable that all the symphonies contained in the first group belong there because of their rudimentary treatment of form, melodic structure and orchestration; they must form the starting point of any discussion or evaluation of Haydn's orchestral works. It is also almost certain that they are *chronologically* the earliest specimens of their *genre*. The second category is not, however, limited to such exact chronological boundaries, and it is likely that some of the works placed in this group belong, not to the Lukaveč years (or earlier), but to the earliest orchestral works of the Eisenstadt era. One such piece, Symphony No. 9, is almost certainly to be assigned to the year 1762. In defence of this seemingly illogical grouping it must be explained that the main purpose of this first chapter is to trace the evolution of Haydn's style from the earliest years, when he was bound to tradition, to the beginning of the Eisenstadt period, when he immediately began to develop those characteristics which were decisive for his rôle in the development of the symphonic form. During the first two years as Assistant *Capellmeister* at

<sup>1</sup> See Pohl, I, p. 290<sup>74</sup>.

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the Esterházy court it might be assumed that he wrote some symphonies less advanced than the three programmatic pieces of 1761 (*Le Matin, Le Midi, Le Soir*). But to analyse such a work as Symphony No. 9 in the light of these three creations would be to confuse the clear pattern of Haydn's artistic growth. By placing some of these transitional works a few years earlier it is hoped that any such confusion will be avoided.

(3) An additional group of special 'C major symphonies', constituting the first in a long series of such works. Those included in this chapter are probably the earliest specimens of their kind, but it is quite possible that one or the other was actually written shortly after 1761. This fact does not, it is hoped, alter the validity of the assertions made in connection with this somewhat puzzling type of symphony.

In the first group (c. 1757—1761) are placed Nos. 1, 2, 4, 10, 16, 17, 19, 27 and the Symphony in B flat major (later added to the quartets as Opus 1, No. 5).

In the second group (c. 1760—1762?) are Nos. 3, 5, 9, 11, and the *Partita* or Symphony in B flat (HV 7).

In the third group (c. 1757—1762?) are Nos. 20, 32 and 37.

The earliest dated references to these symphonies, none of which — except possibly No. 9 — exists in autograph, are found in the catalogue of Appendix I. It must be remembered that any such date represents the *latest* possible chronological position.

Between the years 1749 (or 1750<sup>2</sup>), when Haydn is supposed to have written his first Mass (*Missa Brevis* in F) and the year 1759, when he is reported to have composed the first symphony, lies a decade of the composer's life and work of which we know very little. In 1751 or 1752 he wrote music for *Der Krumme Teufel*, a farce by Felix Kurz-Bernadon, which is lost. A second version, written a few years later, has also disappeared. Griesinger<sup>3</sup> reports that Haydn remembered having written a quintet in 1753, about which more will be said later. The work was probably composed for one of the many street serenades in which Haydn and his friend Dittersdorf participated. During these years he was often invited to Weinzierl, the Lower Austrian country estate of a young Viennese aristocrat, von Fürnberg. It seems likely that at first the composer wrote and played string trios (two violins and 'cello), and that later his earliest string quartets were written for this patron. It was Fürnberg who recommended Haydn for the post of Musical Director and Chamber Composer to Count Morzin (Ferdinand Maximilian Franz, Graf von Morzin). Haydn was engaged for this post in 1759, and it was in Morzin's palace in Lukaveč (near Pilsen, now Czecho-Slovakia) that Haydn is supposed to have composed his first symphony.

<sup>2</sup> See comments in Complete Edition, Series XXIII, Vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

These are the most important facts bequeathed to us concerning the young Haydn's *Wanderzeit*, as Pohl describes it<sup>4</sup>. Even more difficult to reconstruct is the list of compositions which fall into this pre-Esterházy period. We may assume that the first string quartets, clavier sonatas<sup>5</sup> and various other sorts of chamber music belong to these years. But for our purpose an even more important category must be considered: the divertimenti for small orchestra. There is surprisingly little information about these works: what can be found in Haydn biographies is often vague or misleading, and in any case incomplete. There has so far been, in fact, no intensive study of them, although they are no less important as studies for the first symphonies. It is no wonder that the First Symphony is already a relatively smooth composition if one assumes that almost a dozen string quartets of Opera 1 and 2 as well as at least three dozen divertimenti for orchestra preceded it. Since the real development of Haydn's symphonic style lies in these works, it is necessary to examine them in some detail before the symphony itself can be discussed.

For our purposes, the pre-Eisenstadt divertimenti can be separated into various groups: (1) a number of works for strings, or strings and wind instruments, written in Vienna and Lukaveč during the years c. 1750-1760; (2) a small group consisting of pieces for wind band, partly for performance in the open air (*Feld Parthien*), most of which were probably written in Lukavec in 1759/1760; (3) a set of six *Scherzandi* for small orchestra, written about 1760.

It was noted above that Haydn remembered having written a quintet in 1753 for one of the evening serenades in which he frequently took part. Haydn's only original quintet is a piece for strings in G major, listed in HV under the divertimenti as No. 2, *a cinque*. A copy, supposedly bearing the date 1754, was formerly in the Hofbibliothek at Berlin<sup>6</sup>. There is every reason to believe that this G major work is in fact one of the earliest Haydn compositions altogether, certainly the earliest divertimento preserved today. Old MSS. are found in Kremsmünster (*Symfonia*, dated 1763), St. Florian, Melk (1773), Göttweig (catalogue), and in various other Austrian

<sup>4</sup> I, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> See Päsler's comments to Series XIV, Vol. 1, of the B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe*.

<sup>6</sup> See Leopold Schmidt, *Joseph Haydn*, Berlin, 1898, p. 38: 'Wenigstens trägt eine Abschrift auf der Berliner Hofbibliothek das Datum 1754'; see also August Reissmann, *Joseph Haydn*, Berlin, 1880, pp. 40 ff. and Pohl, I, p. 318.

monasteries. The Kremsmünster MS. has a different order of movements, beginning with the one placed second in the other sources, while the catalogue at Sigmaringen reverses the order of the first and third movements. Since the other sources begin with the movement listed in EK and HV, it is probable that the Kremsmünster and Sigmaringen versions are not authentic. A late print by Simrock carries the doubtful title 'Stampata dopo il manoscritto originale' and also informs us that the work was composed 'per il Elettore Palatino', an even more questionable assertion; the Simrock edition also omits one of the movements. The divertimento itself, in six movements (1. *Scherzo* [*Presto*]; 2. *Moderato*; 3. *Menuet & Trio*; 4. *Adagio*; 5. *Menuet & Trio*; 6. *Presto*), is most curious. It wavers between various styles and gives the impression of a very young and inexperienced composer, searching — groping — for a personal style which he is unable to find. The scoring, for two violins, two violas and bass line, was chosen to allow the violins and violas to be contrasted with each other in *concertante* fashion. In the slow movement (*Adagio*), one notes a strong Italian influence in the serenade-like thematic material (Ex. 1 a), a device which Haydn was to use later with good effect in the slow movements of the Violin Concerto in C major, the Quartet Opus 3, No. 5, and Symphony No. 27. A strong baroque feeling is engendered by the unison *forte* and succeeding *piano* contrasts in alternating rhythms, as in the trio of one of the minuets (Ex. 1 b), and we feel that the baroque *ritornello* is not far away. The minuets are firmly rooted in Viennese tradition, hardly showing any personal style, and characteristic cadential triplet figures, to which Haydn clung tenaciously for the next thirty years, are placed side by side with a strange chromaticism, rather foreign to the composer's style of this early period (Ex. 1 c). And yet despite this multitude of conflicting influence, the brisk little tune of the finale (Ex. 1 d) affords us a glimpse into the future, for the first quartets are often built upon just such closely knit four and eight-bar sections.

Within the frame of this insignificant divertimento are housed a number of stylistic traits which will reappear during the course of the next decades. One of these concerns the construction of melody. Haydn's treatment of the thematic material generally follows the pre-classical mould: the themes are usually built upon the baroque *Fortspinnungstypus*, 'spun-out' motives not yet fitted into phrases of equal length; or it may be that the first phrase is constructed in

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**Ex. 1** Divertimento à Cinque

a. Adagio

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla. I  
Vla. II  
Basso

pizz.  
col' arco  
pizz.  
pizz.  
pizz.

(e''?)  
etc.

b. Trio

Str.  
Tutti unis  
Vln. I-II  
Vla. I-II

p  
p  
etc.

c. Menuet

Vln. I-II  
Vla. I-II  
Basso

NB  
p  
p  
etc.

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a symmetrical four-bar pattern, whereupon the music proceeds to spin this out asymmetrically. But we have observed that even in this very early work the finale was composed of symmetrical phrases. A further step in the direction of Haydn's later melodic forms is the opening theme of the first movement (Ex. 1 e), based upon the 'old Slavonic drinking song, "Nikaj na svetu", variants of which may still be heard in Croatia, and in the Carinthian Zillerthal.'<sup>7</sup> Not satisfied with the spun-out baroque method of melodic construction, Haydn turned to the folk-music of nearby Slavonic districts for inspiration; and how vital his step was in the development of his later style is obvious to anyone familiar with the quartets and the last symphonies, all of which are rich in these Balkan melodies. This whole subject will be treated at greater length in connection with the next periods<sup>8</sup>.

It is known that Haydn composed, for the most part, at the harpsichord, and while it is almost impossible to guess this from his later works, in the G major Divertimento there are certain passages which may be directly traced to the keyboard, such as the awkward and un-violinistic triplets in the minor episode of the first movement (Ex. 2 a). Even after he had written some dozen quartets one finds curious lapses into this keyboard technique, as in the *Adagio* of the Divertimento HV 16 for 2 English horns, 2 French horns, 2 violins and 2 bassoons (1760), where the violins perform a short cadenza which could have been transplanted from a contemporary harpsichord concerto (Ex. 2 b). Although some of this pianistic writing can be directly

<sup>7</sup> W. H. Hadow, *A Croatian Composer, Notes toward the Study of Joseph Haydn*, London, 1897, p. 41. The Zillerthal is in Tyrol, not in Carinthia.

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter VII.

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attributed to Haydn's habit of writing at the keyboard, much of what appears, by comparison with the composer's symphonies of even a few years later, to be rather crude must be attributed to the general trend of the time. Even the use of the second violin in *arpeggio* triplets is typical of Salzburg or Viennese divertimento styles and can be found in countless contemporary scores. The whole era might be described as a primitive link between the Italian *concerto grosso* with its finely-wrought baroque figurations and the late eighteenth-century symphonic style; the much-admired orchestral technique of the early Mannheim composers was far in advance of that of their Austrian colleagues.

**Ex. 2** a. Divertimento à Cinque : Scherzo - Presto

Violin I  
Violin II  
Viola I  
Viola II  
Basso

(p)  
(P)  
(p)  
(P)  
(p)

etc.

b. Divertimento à Otto: Adagio

Violin I  
Violin II

dolce

etc.

At approximately the same time, Haydn wrote another divertimento, in C major (HV 11), entered in EK on the top of page four by



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Joseph Elssler, with the remark *a Sei* underneath in Haydn's hand. It is scored for one flute, one oboe, two violins, violoncello *concertante* and bass. Early MSS. are to be found *inter alia* in St. Florian, Kremsmünster, Regensburg and Dresden. The work has the general title of 'The Birthday', with the *Andante* subtitled 'Man and Wife'. Although only an approximate date of composition can be suggested, its general stylistic features indicate that it was probably composed later than the foregoing piece in G major. It is orchestrated in typical divertimento fashion, *concertante*, and the whole piece, despite the generally primitive thematic material and rudimentary development, has a certain freshness and individuality. Tunes reminiscent of the Viennese street-serenade are treated according to the principles of the *concerto grosso*, with its contrasting elements of *solo* (*concertante*) and *tutti* (*ripieno*). This incongruous combination is typical of the Austrian divertimento of the period, and Haydn accepts the principle without hesitation. The opening bars of the work will serve as an adequate illustration (Ex. 3). As yet there are no real symphonic elements in the style,

**Ex. 3**      Allegro

Fl. Vln. II  
Vln. I  
Vcl.  
Basso  
Ob.  
Basso  
Fl.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vcl.  
Basso  
etc.

nor is the atmosphere intended to arouse much serious attention on the part of the listener. Nevertheless, a proof of the fact that the basic material does not lie far from that of Haydn's early symphonies comes from the finale, cast in the form of a theme and variations, a form which the composer came to love almost more than any other. In the divertimento, the bass line remains the same in each variation, forming a primitive kind of *ostinato*, over which the theme is given alternately to each instrument, viz. var. 1, 'cello; var. 2,

flute; var. 3, violin II; var. 4, oboe; var. 5, violin I; var. 6, alternating flute, oboe and violin I; var. 7, violin I. The final (eighth) variation is the theme given out in its original version by the whole orchestra. This particular use of the variation form as a finale is found in an almost identical fashion in the concluding movements of Symphonies Nos. 31 and 72. But an even more interesting and surprising revelation is the fact that Haydn used the theme of the finale of this divertimento as the basis for the slow movement in Symphony No. 14 (Ex. 4 a and 4 b). The melody seems to have been very popular, for it appears in Hiller's *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Andeutungen die Musik betreffend*, 32nd 'Stück', Leipzig, 1767, p. 248, as a two-part *Andante* 'del Sgr Hayden', in a slightly altered form<sup>9</sup>. The divertimento also exists in an arrangement for flute quartet (Hummel, Op. 5, No. 6) and as a Sonata for Clavier with Violin (in the B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe*, Series XIV, No. 15, as Sonata for Clavier alone). Neither of these rather doubtful arrangements contains all the movements found in the original divertimento.

**Ex. 4** Divertimento à Sei, Finale: Var. VIII  
[Andante]

The musical score for 'Ex. 4' is a two-system arrangement for a six-part ensemble (Flute, Violin I, Violin II, Oboe, Violoncello, and Bass). The tempo is marked 'Andante'. The first system shows the initial entry of the theme, with the Flute part marked (1) and the Violin II part marked (5). The second system continues the theme, with the Flute part marked (10) and the Violin II part marked (15). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

<sup>9</sup> Pohl, I, p. 322<sup>82</sup>.

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b. Sinfonia No. 14 / II  
Andante

Andante

Andante

(1) Vln. I-II

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vcl.

Vcl. *p*

Vla.  
Basso

*staccato*

(5) Vln. II

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vcl.

Vla.  
Basso

(10)

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vcl.

Vla.  
Basso

(15)

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vcl.

Vla.  
Basso

etc.

A further matter of interest in this divertimento is the thematic construction used in the outer movements (see Exx. 3 and 4a). Haydn has used, not the 'spun out' baroque thematic texture developing from one melodic or rhythmic concept but, in the first case, an eight-measure group consisting of two phrases subdivided into two equal (two-measure) segments, presenting the schematic relationship:  $(2 \times 2) + (2 \times 2)$ ; whilst in the second (Ex. 4a) he has employed an even more highly developed symmetrical pattern consisting of a sixteen-measure group with two eight-measure phrases which, however, although each  $(2 \times 2) + (2 \times 2)$  entities in themselves, suggest a ternary feeling due to the relationship of the individual melodic segments:

$$\text{(meas.) } \underbrace{\frac{(2 \times 2)}{1 \dots 4} + \frac{(2 \times 2)}{5 \dots 8}}_A : \underbrace{\frac{(2 \times 2)}{9 \dots 12}}_B : \underbrace{\frac{(2 \times 2)}{13 \dots 16}}_{\frac{a^1}{A(1)}}$$

In Symphony No. 14/II, Haydn has rearranged the melodic particles, taking elements found in 'A<sup>(1)</sup>' of the divertimento and using them for the second four measures of his melody, whilst, for the third four measures, the first two bars of 'B' in the divertimento melody are combined in a pattern similar to the first eight measures, so that, in both meas. 1-8 as well as 9-12 the second phrase is a variant of the first:

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$$\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 & (4 \times 4) & + & (2 \times 2) & + & (4) & \\
 (2 \times 2) + (2 \times 2) + & & & (2 \times 2) & + & (4) & \\
 \text{(meas.) } 1 \dots 4 & 5 \dots 8 & 9 \dots 10 & 11 \dots 12 & 13 \dots 16 & & \\
 \underbrace{\hspace{1.5cm}} & \underbrace{\hspace{1.5cm}} & \underbrace{\hspace{1.5cm}} & \underbrace{\hspace{1.5cm}} & \underbrace{\hspace{1.5cm}} & & \\
 a & a^1 & b & b^1 & c & & 
 \end{array}$$

Haydn continues to extend 'c' until the double bar, deliberately refraining from using 'a' or 'a<sup>1</sup>' for measures 13-16, as one would expect, and thus the three-part concept of the divertimento is destroyed. The earlier version is more symmetrical, the later perhaps more coherently organized. Until 1770 Haydn's music shows a constant vacillation between melodies of (1) the spun-out, baroque type, such as Ex. 1 a, (2) combinations of a symmetrical beginning leading into asymmetrical extensions, such as Ex. 5 a; and (3) completely regular four-, eight-, and sixteen-measure phrases and sentences as in Exx. 4 a und 4 b. This uncertainty with regard to melodic construction is as much characteristic of the early divertimenti as of the symphonies written during the 'sixties.

**Ex. 5**

a. Divertimento à Nove / I: Allegro molto

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b. Divertimento à Nove/Finale: Presto

2 Fl. (Ob.)  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla. I  
Vla. II  
Basso

2 Fl. (Ob.)  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla. I  
Vla. II  
Basso

2 Fl. (Ob.)  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla. I  
Vla. II  
Basso

2 Fl. (Ob.)  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla. I  
Vla. II  
Basso

etc.

Il col Basso

The musical score is written for a nine-part orchestra. The first system shows the initial measures with various dynamics like *f* and *sf*. The second system continues the piece. The third system includes a trill marked 'a2' and a section where the Bassoon plays 'Il col Basso'. The fourth system concludes with 'etc.'.

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c. Divertimento à Nove/III: Adagio (Fl. Cor. tacent)

The musical score is for a piece titled 'c. Divertimento à Nove/III: Adagio (Fl. Cor. tacent)'. It is written for five instruments: Violin I, Violin II, Viola I, Viola II, and Bass. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The first system shows the beginning of the piece with various dynamics like (p), pizz., and (sic). The second system continues the piece with a trill (tr) in the first violin part. The score ends with 'etc'.

In the succeeding divertimenti of the period, one can trace the gradual assimilation of *concertante* and symphonic elements, an assimilation which was only completed in the symphonic trilogy of 1761 (Nos. 6-8). For example, the Divertimento in G major (HV 9; EK, p. 3, in Joseph Elssler's handwriting with Haydn's comment underneath: *a nove Stromenti*), for 2 flutes (or oboes?), 2 horns, 2 violins, 2 violas and bass, shows a far more advanced orchestral texture in its outer movements (Exx. 5a and 5b), while the previous type of concerted writing prevails in the slow movement (Ex. 5c). In the finale (Ex. 5b), even the swift figurations of the first violin, which taken by themselves constitute a typical concerted texture, have a strongly symphonic character that becomes still more pronounced after the tenth bar, where the semiquavers gradually fade into the general orchestral texture. The divertimento has now approached the symphonic form from the standpoint of orchestration, if not entirely in spirit or basic organization. (The Divertimento HV 9 still adheres to the customary five-movement form with two minuets flanking an *Adagio*, these three being placed between two swift outer movements.)

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**Ex. 6** a. Divertimento à Sei / I: Allegro moderato

2 Corni(E<sup>b</sup>)  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Basso

b. Divertimento à Sei / II (Menuet & Trio): Trio

2 Cor.(E<sup>b</sup>)  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Basso

Further exercises in instrumental technique were provided by several divertimenti for the popular combination of a pair of horns and strings. Two were later printed as quartets, Opus 2, Nos. 3 (E flat) and 5 (D major), while several others survive only in *MS*. The horns are entrusted with the dual function of performing difficult solos as well as sustaining the harmony, and in this double rôle they mirror, as it were, the whole orchestral problem with which Haydn and the

pre-classical composers had to struggle: to retain something of the linear interest of the older instrumental style, whilst writing for an orchestra in which the wind instruments were usually expected merely to support the general texture, and were seldom allotted individual melodic lines. In these divertimenti for strings and horns, the two contrasting elements are simply placed side by side, without any particular attempt to integrate them into a whole. In quick movements, the horns are generally limited to sustaining notes of the harmonic scale or to simple unison passages with the strings (Ex. 6 a), whilst in the trios of the minuets they sometimes have solo parts, the strings accompanying (Ex. 6 b).

*Divertimenti for Wind Band*

Midway in Haydn's attempts to find his own style in the divertimento form comes a series of works for wind band. It seems fairly clear, from the meagre evidence which has survived, that most of the authentic music for unsupported woodwind instruments was written for Count Morzin who, as Pohl<sup>10</sup> tells us, had a special affection for *Tafelmusik* performed by six wind instruments. The combination was by no means original, and there are numerous works for wind sextet by Haydn's immediate predecessors and contemporaries, such as Wagenseil. The latter seems to have allowed a certain freedom in the choice of instruments for the highest melodic voices, and one set of works<sup>11</sup>, each of which is entitled *Parthia*, is scored for two bassoons, two horns and two instruments written in the G clef; presumably these could be executed by flutes, oboes or clarinets, for Wagenseil is careful not to write below 'middle C' or above c'''. Nor did Haydn limit himself to the usual combination of oboes, horns and bassoons: EK lists a number of such pieces, sometimes subtitled *Feld Parthie*, with clarinets or English horns instead of the oboes. Two of the wind sextets listed in EK and HV (in the latter, Nos. 7 and 15) have been preserved in the original scoring, but most of these early pieces are lost. At least one, however, a Divertimento in F major not listed in

<sup>10</sup> I, p. 193.

<sup>11</sup> *MS.* parts, which, to judge from the (Italian) watermarks, may be dated between 1755 and 1765, were offered for sale at the Dorotheum in Vienna during March, 1953. This institution kindly allowed me to examine the whole Wagenseil collection, which included a large number of contemporary *MSS.* and at least two scores, probably holograph manuscripts. See p. 199.



in EK or HV, has survived in a fragment of Haydn's autograph<sup>12</sup> in addition to an arrangement for string quartet, dated 1765, in the monastery of Melk, whilst another, a Divertimento in D major<sup>13</sup>, also absent in Haydn's catalogues, is listed in the Göttweig catalogue of 1765 in an arrangement for two violins, two horns and two 'celli; it, too, is in the monastery of Melk, arranged for string quartet and dated 1765.

From these four works it is possible to study Haydn's treatment of the form. They are much closer to his earliest string quartets than to the divertimenti discussed above. Whereas the latter are often quite broad, even rambling, both the quartets and these wind divertimenti are short and compact. The variation form, for instance, so beloved in the mixed divertimenti, is very seldom employed in the wind sextets. Typical, on the other hand, of the compressed language of the *Feld Partien* is the *Scherzo* from the D major Divertimento<sup>14</sup>, the reconstruction of which, from the string-quartet arrangement (see above), is not difficult:

**Ex. 7** [The voices not found in Melk are in smaller print.]

Scherzo

(2 Ob.)

(2 Cor.D.)

(Fag.)

[Melk: Vla. col Basso 8va]

\* Melk [Vla.] 8va

<sup>12</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 8. The work is erroneously listed in Larsen, DKE, under F-1 of the quartets in the supplementary catalogue, on the basis of the Melk arrangement.

<sup>13</sup> Listed under the divertimenti in Larsen, DKE, supplement, as D-6.

<sup>14</sup> There are six movements: 1. Allegro; 2. Scherzo; 3. Menuet & Trio; 4. Adagio; 5. Minuet & Trio; 6. Allegro.

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The brevity that this type of scoring seems to have imposed on Haydn's formal methods is beneficial, for the thematic material of all these early divertimenti is far too slender for the luxurious treatment accorded to it in many of the works previously discussed. Consequently, the small forms practised in these wind sextets impart to Haydn's style a strength and pithiness which the earlier works usually lack. The experience derived from these wind-band pieces is also of importance as regards problems of woodwind technique and orchestral colour. As a result of the Lukaveč experiments, Haydn seems to have almost permanently rejected the clarinet, which figures in a number of these early works; but he formed a great attachment to the *cor anglais*.

In one of these little pieces, the Divertimento in F major, not in EK but partly surviving in the original *MS.* (see above), Haydn attempted to find another kind of melodic inspiration to supplant what must have been for him the unsatisfactory pre-classical asymmetry. And like his use of a Slavonic melody in the earliest G major Divertimento, the new source to which he turned in the wind sextet proved to be of vital importance in the early decisive years in Eisenstadt. In the minuet of this F major piece Haydn utilizes the old Gregorian chant, *Incipit Lamentatio Jerimiae*, designed for the services in Holy Week. As the melody, in Haydn's adaptation, might not have been immediately recognizable, the composer wrote the words *Incipit lamen-*

**Ex. 8**

Menuet

The musical score for the Minuet in F major is presented in two systems. Each system contains three staves for woodwinds: 2 Oboes (Ob.), 2 Cor(F) (Cor Anglais), and 2 Fag. (Fagot). The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/4. The melody is derived from the Gregorian chant 'Incipit Lamentatio Jerimiae'. The first system includes dynamics like 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte), and markings like 'Incipit lamentatio' and 'for'. The second system continues the melody with similar markings.

*tatio* under the opening measures of the first oboe part. The plainchant provides a background on which the typical pre-classical melodic structure suddenly seems to stand out with a new significance: Haydn has succeeded in lending a dignified aspect to the primitive Viennese minuet (Ex. 8). The use of these old church melodies in the early Eisenstadt symphonies will be discussed in Chapter VII.

*The Scherzandi*

About 1760, Haydn wrote a set of six works which are usually called *Scherzandi* on the basis of their appearance in the Breitkopf catalogue of 1765. The A major Scherzando is the first entry on page one of EK, and there is reason to believe that the other five were contained in the opening, lost pages of the catalogue<sup>15</sup>. A thorough analysis of these works is, to a certain extent, limited by the baffling problem of the original orchestration, which is no longer possible to determine with any exactitude. In the Breitkopf catalogue and in MSS. at the Estense Library of Modena and the former Berlin Staatsbibliothek, the set is scored for two oboes, two horns, two violins and bass; the trio of each minuet contains a solo flute part, presumably executed by one of the oboe players, whose parts are always marked *tacit* here. However, in the monastery of St. Peter in Salzburg there exists another complete set of the six works in old MS. parts the watermarks of which indicate that the copies were made before 1770. In this source the Scherzandi — they are listed as *Divertimenti* — are scored for two horns, two violins, viola, bass; the flute parts (*Traverso Solo ad Trio*) are identical with those of the Berlin MSS. In St. Florian there is a set of parts containing only the E major Scherzando — here the title is *Notturmo* — with the scoring: two oboes, two horns, two violins, viola, bass and flute; but the viola part is considerably different from that in the Salzburg source, and the horns agree with those neither of Berlin nor Salzburg. In some sources, this E major Scherzando even appears in D major, as in the Göttweig catalogue (MS dated 1776)<sup>16</sup>. A copy of that in C from the monastery of Admont (formerly Aussee, now Graz) agrees with the Berlin-Breitkopf scoring. Probably the oboes are authentic; the title 'Symphonia' in EK would seem to support this belief, for none of Haydn's symphonies is scored for less than oboes

<sup>15</sup> See above, pp. 5 and 24f.

<sup>16</sup> Larsen, DKE, Anhang III, D-10.

and horns. In any case, the reading of the St. Florian copy of the E major work seems rather doubtful<sup>17</sup>. The viola is much more freely treated, whereas in the Salzburg MS. it follows, with little alteration, the bass line. Whether any viola part is genuine remains an open question<sup>18</sup>.

Most of the divertimenti so far discussed have consisted of five movements, viz. Allegro — Minuet — Slow Movement — Minuet — Finale (Presto or Allegro). The Scherzandi have but four, differing from the usual symphonic form of the period only in that the minuet comes second, preceding the slow movement. Moreover, in their inner structure and orchestration these Scherzandi resemble miniature symphonies. The brevity of expression which characterized the *Parthien* for wind band is now applied to the more regular divertimento, with the result that these six works form a direct link with Haydn's earliest symphonies, from both structural as well as stylistic standpoints.

The form and character of the six Scherzandi may be briefly outlined as follows:

*The First Movements (Allegro).*

Two basic approaches are employed:

(1) The use of a binary or ternary form in which the first section, i. e., that portion extending up to the first double bar, consists of the opening theme; this may end either in the tonic (D major, eight measures, see Ex. 9 a) or in a half-close on V (F major, ten measures, see Ex. 9 b). The rest of the movement (D major: thirty-one measures; F major: twenty measures) reveals whether the movement is ternary or binary in character. The D major has a distinct recapitulation, although the second four-measure phrase is altered and broadened to twice its original length, whilst in the F major the main theme never reappears in anything approaching its original state, and a binary feeling results. In this telescoped kind of first movement it will be observed that the thematic material is of the 'stanza' construction, i. e. in equal, symmetrical four-measure phrases. In the D major, the main theme is an eight-measure sentence, built upon two four-measure

<sup>17</sup> Apart from the oboes and horns, there are other important divergences between St. Florian and the other sources.

<sup>18</sup> The musical examples quoted below are based upon the Salzburg sources, which seemed to be the more reliable.

phrases of which the first part of each uses identical material. The opening melody of the F major is more hybrid, a four-measure phrase being spun out for an additional six bars.

(2) The movement is considerably broader in scope, the first section, up to the double bar, being sufficiently long to allow a real modulation to the dominant, instead of a tonic cadence or half-close on V; while the second section is also extended as befits the enlarged opening part. Here the form is obviously ternary and may be considered the direct precursor of the sonata form. Curiously, as soon as Haydn broadens the structure of these first movements he tends to avoid the phrase or stanza, preferring spun-out baroque thematic material. Only the Scherzando in A utilizes symmetrical melodic construction; those in C, G and E major return to the *Fortspinnungstypus*. As in the earliest Haydn symphonies, one cannot as yet speak of a development section in the later sense of the word; but in all four of these works (C, G, A, E) there is a clear recapitulation, even if, as in the G major, it may be somewhat irregular. The Scherzando in E major has the most extended and highly developed opening movement, consisting of seventy-five measures. It is the only one of the six to have an (albeit rudimentary) subsidiary subject in the dominant, introduced at the nineteenth bar; and, as is typical of Haydn's early style, this section is marked *piano* and played only by the first and second violins, a device employed in numerous symphonies of this period. While the opening subject is of the spun-out type, the second subject begins with a four-measure phrase, the extension of which is broken off in order that the concluding material of the exposition may be introduced: the tendency to reserve symmetrical construction for the second, rather than the opening, subject is also a characteristic of Haydn's early symphonic works; nor is it surprising that the second theme of this E major Scherzando is entirely omitted from the recapitulation, although it does figure slightly in the development. The symphonic character of the movement as a whole is also nurtured by richer subsidiary voices and a stronger dynamic language; after the second subject a crescendo is even introduced, in both the exposition and recapitulation. This *Allegro* might in fact be the first movement of an early Haydn symphony, so closely is its style and structure related to the composer's symphonic style of the period. The exposition of this E major Scherzando is quoted as Ex. 9 c.

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**Ex. 9**

a. Allegro



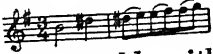
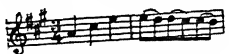
b. Allegro



c. Allegro

*The Second Movements: Minuet & Trio.*

The minuets are all constructed in symmetrical phrases, the first section, up to the first double bar, invariably consisting of eight

measures. Sometimes a 4 + 4 construction is used, sometimes the first eight measures constitute a single-phrased sentence ending on the tonic, as in the G major work. The second section of the minuet proper is occasionally eight bars long, more often it is extended; in the G major minuet the second section is twenty measures in length. The character of the melodies employed in the minuets proper varies only slightly from work to work; the same melodic formulae over the usual II<sup>6</sup> (or IV)-I<sup>6</sup>-V-I cadential progressions are encountered in almost every work; baroque 'sighing' motifs, either upwards or downwards (e. g.  or )<sup>19</sup> often appear.

The trios, invariably either in the tonic minor or the subdominant, display even more stereotyped features and are peculiarly restricted in their emotional scope. Each is a short but sometimes elaborate vehicle for the solo flute, accompanied only by the strings. In the E major work, however, there is a definite attempt to connect the minuet with the trio by means of similar thematic material (see Ex. 10). On the whole, the dance movements of the Scherzandi are more pliable and show greater rhythmic and melodic variety than the 'Seitenstetten' minuets (c. 1760), of which Haydn's (undated) autograph has recently been discovered. These latter, possibly written a year or two before the Scherzandi, never manage to rise above the mediocre, and might indeed have been written by any of a hundred Austrian, German or Italian composers flourishing at the time; whereas the minuets of the Scherzandi already contain elements of the infectious, swinging gait of Austrian or Slavonic folk-melodies such as will enliven and enrich Haydn's later symphonic minuets.

**Ex. 10**

a. Mennuet



b. Trio



Vln. I

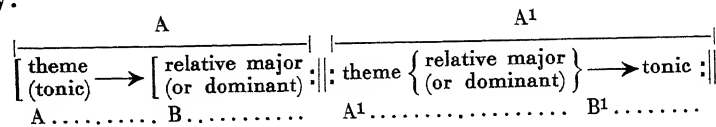
Flauto Solo

*The Third Movements (Adagio; or Andante[?]).*

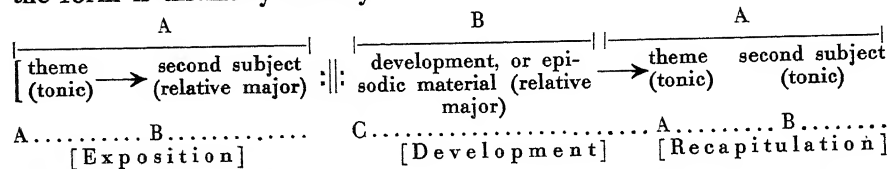
The Salzburg MSS. indicate *Adagio* as the tempo of all the slow movements; the other sources suggest *Andante*, and this seems more

<sup>19</sup> Taken from the minuets of the Scherzandi in G and A major, respectively.

compatible with the consistent use of two-four time and the light, carelessly jovial nature of the movements altogether. Most of these slow movements are in the tonic minor, while that of the A major is in the subdominant. The use of the minor is not, however, indicative of any profound change in emotional outlook — quite the contrary: like most of his Italian and Austrian contemporaries, Haydn in his early years turns to the tonic minor as readily, and as innocently, as to the dominant or subdominant; the choice of any one of these three possibilities — for hardly any others came into consideration during this period of music — was dictated purely by the desire to introduce at least some variety into the monotonous and restricted tonal scheme of the pre-classical symphony or divertimento. The form of the slow movements wavers between binary and ternary form. In the Scherzandi in D and A, the slow movements (in D minor and D major, resp.) are binary:



while in the D major, and even more strongly in those in G and F, the form is distinctly ternary:



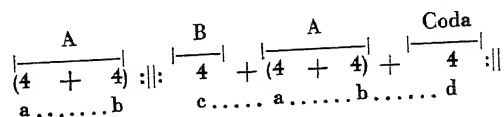
The undeniable leaning towards sonata form in this second type is quite obvious. The thematic material is only rarely divided into symmetrical, four-bar phrases, as in the second movement of the Scherzando in D major; the Scherzandi in G and F employ five-bar phrases for their opening subjects, which creates a strange kind of hybrid formation, for the newer, sectional thematic construction has its roots in, and preserves the character of, the asymmetrical, spun-out type. It will be observed, in the course of this chapter, that the slow movements are those which are most reluctant to accept wholeheartedly the new melodic constructions. A certain stiffness is always present in the slow movements of the Scherzandi, as if Haydn consciously avoided any personal expression; in this respect one is reminded of the trios of the minuets, which are often frigidly impersonal.



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*The Finales (Presto).*

All these works have presto finales in three-eight time. None of them can be said to contain any original or significant thoughts, and certain of these prestos are singularly unfitted to conclude the Scherzandi to which they belong; for example, whereas the presto of the F major (14 and 22 measures on each side of the double bar) is of a length compatible with the opening allegro (10 and 20 measures, resp.), the tiny finale of the E major, consisting of  $\parallel:8:\parallel$  and  $\parallel:16:\parallel$  measures, is quite insufficient to balance the lengthy first movement ( $\parallel:34:\parallel$  and  $\parallel:41:\parallel$ ). The form of these prestos is generally three-part, but on a minute scale; that in E major (Ex. 11) will serve as an example. Taken by itself, *i. e.* ignoring its insufficient size compared with the rest of the work, the finale might be from one of Haydn's earliest quartets. The almost continuous use of dynamically contrasted four-measure phrases is also a general characteristic of the composer's earliest finales. Schematically the A-B-A process may be applied as follows:



**Ex. 11**

Finale, Presto

The musical score for 'Finale, Presto' is written in three systems. The first system features a string section (Str.-Cor. *f*), a horn (Cor.), and a violin (Vln. a2). The second system continues with the violin (Vln. a2) and horn (Cor.). The third system also features the violin (Vln. a2) and horn (Cor.). The music is in E major and 3/8 time, characterized by rapid sixteenth-note passages and dynamic contrasts.

(This finale, incidentally, provides an excellent example of the structural and emotional necessity for observing all of the indications for repetition, for to play through the movement without repeating both sections is to rob the piece of its already tenuous form and to render it completely ludicrous.)

Those familiar with Haydn's earliest symphonies will immediately see that these Scherzandi are the works in divertimento form which most closely approach the form and spirit of Haydn's first efforts in the symphonic form itself. The Scherzandi form an important historical link between the divertimenti of the 'fifties and the symphonies of the late 'fifties and early 'sixties.

Before proceeding to the earliest symphonies, we must, for a moment, touch upon the two most important instrumental forms running parallel to the first symphonies, viz. the string quartet and the concerto; for the student of Haydn well versed in the composer's earliest string quartets<sup>20</sup> will undoubtedly receive a considerable shock at the difference between these and the first symphonies and concerti, which are by comparison far more primitive. The airy grace which often characterizes even the earliest quartets is completely absent from the orchestral works of the same period, nor do we encounter the attractive slow movements (e. g. the 'Serenade' from Opus 3, No. 5) which are scattered throughout the first dozen or so *Divertimenti a quattro*. None of his immediate predecessors in the quartet form, except possibly Johann Stamitz, had created works which consistently maintained the level of Haydn's first efforts in this line; and if the form he used was one bequeathed to him by his precursors, the spirit that he instilled into it was new and personal. With the symphony and concerto this was not the case, for during the 'fifties Haydn seems to have been particularly conservative in his treatment of both these larger forms. As we know from EK, he considered the quartet a divertimento form, and it was in this lighter vein that he felt most at home, at least until about 1760. Especially in the concerto we feel that the formal language employed, with its stiff and traditional phrases, is more reminiscent of his contemporaries than of Haydn. This is perhaps the place to mention the importance of Wagenseil in relation to the young composer. Unfortunately, the particular selection of the older

<sup>20</sup> Opus 1, Nos. '0'—4 and 6; Opus 2, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6; and possibly the six quartets of Opus 3, the date of which has never been exactly established.

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master's works in the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* does not show this relationship at its clearest. A better glimpse of the extraordinary similarity between Wagenseil and early Haydn is gained by comparing Haydn's Concerto in C for Organ and Orchestra (the date on the autograph, [1]756 was added by the composer years afterwards and is therefore somewhat questionable) with Wagenseil's Concerto in C for Violoncello and Orchestra, the autograph (?) of which, dated 1763, I discovered in an auction<sup>21</sup> at the Dorotheum in Vienna during March, 1953. The entire structure as well as the harmonic and melodic basis of Haydn's concerto may be found in Wagenseil's work; and since the latter was without any question composed after Haydn's concerto, which can be dated 1760 at the latest, there is probably no question of plagiarism involved: the two works are simply interesting in that they represent two very similar and somewhat routine examples of the pre-classical Viennese concerto form. Haydn makes no attempt to escape its rigid confines, nor does Wagenseil; and yet in string quartets of the period Haydn had already created his own style, which if not yet inspired, was fresh, vigorous and personal. (The beginnings of Wagenseil's and Haydn's concerti are placed side by side in Ex. 12.) This strict adherence to tradition is also characteristic of the other early keyboard concerti by Haydn; it is not until the Violin Concerto in C major (c. 1761) and the Horn Concerto in D (1762) that he creates anything original in the form.

**Ex. 12**      a. Wagenseil, 1763  
Moderato

2 Corni(C)

Ob. I - Vln. I

Ob. II - Vln. II

Vla., Vcl. Basso

for: Vla sua

etc.

<sup>21</sup> At this same auction were placed on sale several dozen orchestral and chamber pieces by Wagenseil, many of which appear to be quite unknown. Space prohibits an analysis of the relationship between these newly discovered works and Haydn's first period of creative activity; it is hoped that this evidence can be presented at another time. See also above, p. 188.

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b. Haydn, 1756 (?)  
Moderato

\*) 2 Clarini: Staves not filled out

The differences between Haydn's first symphonies and the quartets of Opus 1 — an arbitrary but for our purposes practical assortment of several early works in quartet form — may be observed at first hand by comparing the Symphony in B flat major, erroneously attached to Opus 1 as No. 5, with the other, real quartets, to which should be added Marion Scott's 'Opus 0'. The history of the early editions of Opus 1 shows that the lustier and more vigorous symphony, stripped of its oboes and horns, was substituted for the more 'old fashioned' divertimento-like 'Opus 0'; naturally, neither EK, nor HV, nor any of the quartet collections in the Austrian monasteries (*i. e.* Kremsmünster, Stams, Lambach, Melk, *etc.*) contain the quartet arrangement of the B flat Symphony, which may probably be traced to some French or German publisher, certainly not to Haydn. The work exists in the monastery of St. Florian in Upper Austria, and this set of parts, which contains performance dates from 1767 onwards, is one of the few extant copies containing the missing wind instruments — parts including the winds were formerly in the Breitkopf and Härtel archives, and in the monastery of Göttweig in Lower Austria, but can no longer be traced. (The symphony is printed for the first time in score as a supplement to this book.) Sandberger<sup>22</sup>, who did not seem to be aware of the Göttweig or St. Florian MSS., follows Pohl<sup>23</sup> in stressing the strange,

<sup>22</sup> *Zur Geschichte des Haydn'schen Streichquartetts, Altbayerische Monatsschrift*, Jahrgang 2, Heft 2/3, Munich, 1900, p. 59.

<sup>23</sup> I, p. 337; see also Geiringer, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

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new character of the work. 'Besides this fusion of *Cassatio* and *Quadro*', Sandberger points out, 'we find amongst the first dozen Haydn quartets the unmistakable influence of the operatic overture in No. 5. This three-movement quartet is, in its opening movement, clearly modelled on the operatic overture. The tone of the first *Allegro* is more pompous, the development, based upon the second subject, is more significant than usual, and the Italianisms are especially strong.' One only needs to compare the first theme of the opening *Allegro* of this symphony with the beginning of Opus 1, No. 1, in B flat major, a theme too well known to require quotation here, and the different techniques will be made clear. In the symphony, Haydn is working with strong, chordal patterns of the self-propelling, spun-out type, whilst in the quartet he uses divertimento-like segments, divided and subdivided by dynamic contrasts; the symphony continues theatrically, with much motion in the strings, the quartet intimately, and on an altogether smaller scale.

### *The Earliest Symphonies*

The similarities of the nine symphonies placed in this category far outweigh any individual differences they may have. All contain three movements: an opening *Allegro* in common, barred or three-four time, a slow movement invariably marked *Andante* and with one exception (No. 27/II in six-eight) in two-four time, and a *Presto* in three-eight—the finale of No. 4, a *Tempo di Minuetto* in three-eight, and the six-eight of No. 16 and the Symphony in B flat are scarcely different in conception. The andantes are in the dominant (No. 2), the subdominant (Symphony in B flat, and Nos. 1, 10, 16 and 27), or the tonic minor (Nos. 4, 17, 19), the two outer movements in the tonic major. All nine works are scored for two oboes, two horns and strings, to which a bassoon and harpsichord must be added as part of the *continuo*; the wind instruments are always omitted from the slow movements, a practice almost universal in the pre-classical *sinfonia*. The first movements are all in a kind of rudimentary sonata form, sometimes with more than two themes; the second theme, or thematic group, is generally in the dominant minor. The slow movements are in the hybrid binary-ternary form discussed in connection with the Scherzandi, while the finales are either in ternary or rondo form. All these features, which are the main characteristics of Haydn's earliest sym-

phonies, may be found in the contemporary Viennese symphonists and their Italian predecessors. The Mannheim influence upon Haydn is, at this stage, limited to rare examples of the crescendo over a pedal point, as in No. 1, the 'sighs' of No. 16/I, or in the closely-knit orchestral texture of No. 27/I. Direct Italian influences are even rarer, the only obvious case being the delightful Neapolitan *canzonetta* which serves as No. 27/II. In general, one might describe the style of these early symphonies as a mixture between the linear part-writing of the baroque and the vertical, harmonic patterns of the more modern era; thus, elegant, baroque chain sequences of sevenths are placed beside perky Viennese street-rhythms over a simple harmonic background.

The melodic structure of these symphonies is far more conservative than that of the Scherzandi; it is only rarely that Haydn attempts the phrase or period construction here. For the most part the themes are constructed from small motifs which spin themselves out asymmetrically. In this respect the conservative concerti and symphonies are behind the more modern divertimenti, quartets, string trios, clavier sonatas, and the like; for it took several years before Haydn adopted in the larger forms the symmetrical, organized thematic structure of the smaller. One notices that the symphonies of this period turn to the even-spaced phrase or period most readily in the finales; thus, in No. 2/III — perhaps in keeping with its use of the strict rondo form — we encounter the new type of melody, though the middle section, in the minor, reverts to asymmetrical thematic construction. The finale of No. 27 is also regular in its melodic form, viz. 4 (*f*, statement)  $\times$  4 (*p*, answer) + 4 (*f*, statement)  $\times$  4 (*p*, answer): a straightforward 8 + 8 formation. The first of the nine symphonies to employ the new kind of melody in an opening movement is No. 16, in which the Mannheim 'sighing' motif is constructed 8 ( $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ ) + 8 ( $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 2$ ); even the ensuing *Andante* opens with a four-measure phrase, which is, however, extended in the older, baroque manner. The most highly developed melodic treatment found in a slow movement is in that of No. 27. The reason for this undoubtedly lies in the serenade-like Italian pattern, which had been brought to a high level of thematic and harmonic perfection long before Haydn adopted it in his symphony. The evident charm of the movement is not, however, Haydn's but belongs to a thousand Italian operas, and probably for this reason we never again find this type of movement in a Haydn symphony.


The orchestration of the early symphonies is worthy of study; for

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even in the course of these nine works a distinct improvement in the orchestral texture, and especially the woodwind writing, may be noted. It is generally supposed that the earliest Haydn symphonies can be recognized as such because of the bare harmonic or, if one will, orchestral structure, in which the harpsichord was supposed to provide the lacking middle voices. The most striking feature about Haydn's early orchestration in this respect is the unevenness with which the viola is treated; for while it often doubles the bass part throughout an entire movement, as in No. 2/II, there are frequent passages where it is used with some ingenuity and quite separately from the bass line, as in No. 1/I (Ex. 13).

Ex. 13



There are many instances of far less advanced orchestration in the otherwise more mature symphonies of 1764—1768. What characterizes the early works is a certain instrumental confusion, whereby typical Mannheim effects — the crescendo of No. 1 — can be found side by side with elements of the old suite or trio sonata as well as the popular cassation or divertimento. The same groping for a personal style that was noted in the very early Divertimento (Quintet) in G for strings can also be observed in these symphonies, although Haydn's technique soon ceases to suffer from a direct lack of orchestral experience. The use of the wind parts also reveals a certain immaturity. Almost without exception, these are used only to reinforce the tutti or at most to contribute inessential rhythmic patterns of their own; and because of this cautious treatment it was possible, as we have seen, to drop the oboe and horn parts from the Symphony in B flat and turn it into a string quartet. Nevertheless, a distinct improvement in the horn writing is noticeable if we compare the first movements of Nos. 1 and 17. In the former, especially after the second subject-group, the horns frequently contribute a  rhythm which has nothing to do with the rest of the orchestral fabric, whilst in No. 17 these rather

primitive fanfares are dropped in favour of a sonorous, harmonic support of the other voices; when, in No. 17/I, the horns have their own unsupported part, as in meas. 4, it is usually a rhythmic lead belonging to the overall part-writing and simply assigned to them. The same difference in horn technique may be seen by comparing the fanfares of No. 19/I with the more integrated parts of No. 16/I. The oboes are from the first designed to double the line, if not the actual notes, of the violins, and extraneous rhythms such as are found in the horns are, being unsuited to the oboes, very little in evidence. Oboe solos are in fact practically non-existent in these early symphonies.

The dynamic content of these symphonies is simple, and except for the crescendo in No. 1/I there are no traces of the Mannheim technique or of Franz Beck's extravagances. Haydn's early style is marked, amongst other things, by a strict adherence to baroque 'terraced' dynamics, by direct alterations of *forte* and *piano*. The widest dynamic range is found, as might be expected, in the opening and closing movements. In this connection we must mention Haydn's predilection for the alternation of unison *forte* with harmonized *piano* passages; the latter are often still further contrasted by being confined to the first and second violins — a practice already noticed in the *Scherzandi*. This whole feature, which derives from the *solo-tutti* principles of the *concerto grosso*, continues to be a typical device in the Haydn symphonies of this and the succeeding periods — see Symphonies Nos. 3/I, 5/I, 17/I, 33/I, etc. In the slow movements, the music rarely rises above a *piano* level, and the *forte* and *forzato* interjections of Nos. 1/II and 19/II are exceptions to the composer's customary approach.

Before turning to the individual movements, one general aspect of Haydn's traditionalism should be discussed; namely, the restricted harmonic and melodic range of the cadential formulae. Throughout this as well as the following period Haydn deliberately chooses a number of these closing patterns which he is content to repeat time after time. The most frequent are: (a)  $I^6-VI-II_5^6-V-I$ , usually in three parts, the middle part being syncopated and the top part either dropping from the fifth to the tonic and resolving by means of a trill on the note above (Ex. 14a), or moving by means of a dotted figure from the tonic to a trill on the note above and back to the tonic (Ex. 14b); (b) the upper voice proceeds as in Ex. 14b, the syncopated middle voice remaining constant, while the harmony moves  $I^6-II_5^6-$



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V-I (Ex. 14 c) (c);  $I^6$ -IV- $I_4^6$ -V-I, the upper voice leading down one octave from tonic to tonic, or from the sixth, by means of a triplet or appoggiatura group—several varieties are cited in Ex. 14 d; (d) a unison passage I-VI-IV-V-I, the first note either identical with or an octave higher than the last.

**Ex. 14**



*The First Movements.*

Haydn's sonata form, in the first movements of his very early symphonies, is not ternary but binary. The section of the movement up to the double bar may be considered the first part, or exposition; the section after the double bar to the end of the movement differs from Haydn's later works in that the development is so rudimentary that it cannot be considered a separate part of the sonata form, but, being taken together with the recapitulation, forms the second part of the formal structure. This second section is, in the early works, scarcely longer than the exposition; so long as Haydn's developments are not real developments in the later sense of the term, but varied expositions, the second and third parts of his sonata-form movements remain merged. As his interest in the development section rises, the whole second part gradually becomes far longer than the first; and in order not to overbalance the relationship between the exposition and what follows, a ternary form is established.

A curious milestone in this formal development is represented by Symphony No. 17. Judging from the first movement, one would be inclined to place it in the next chapter; but the rest of the symphony

represents no advance over the very earliest works. It is the opening *Allegro* which is of formal interest, for it is twice the size it ought to be to belong properly to the rest of the work. It is perhaps the first symphony in which a ternary rather than a binary sonata-form scheme is suggested. A comparison with its numerical, if not chronological neighbour, No. 16, will show the greatly enlarged proportions of the opening *Allegro* and the disproportionate size of this movement compared with the other two. (In this respect, No. 16 is a much better balanced symphony.) The number of measures in each is:

Symphony No. 16			Symphony No. 17		
54 plus 60	(Allegro 3/4)	1st. movt.	54 plus 110	(Allegro 3/4)	
27 "	46 (Andante 2/4)	2nd. "	38 "	69 (Andante 2/4)	
33 "	38 (Presto <sup>24</sup> 6/8)	Finale "	34 "	58 (Presto 3/8)	

The first movement of No. 17 illustrates the old and not very successful practice of pouring old wine into new bottles. Haydn is not yet ready for the tripartite sonata form; he struggles against the mere presentation of the thematic material, he attempts something more than a 'varied exposition' in the middle (development) section, he unifies the movement through a constantly repeated pattern of quavers (as he was to do so often in the next period): but because his basic material is the same as that used in the earlier type of dualistic structure, he only achieves a prolonged binary movement which has outgrown the form and is not sufficiently organized to make a real ternary structure. The rest of the symphony, incidentally, progresses backwards stylistically: the slow movement is certainly less mature than the *Allegro* but not quite so brittle as some of the middle movements in the very earliest symphonies, whereas the finale is on the level of the primitive concluding prestos of Nos. 1, 2, 4 or 19.

As it is the development section which eventually becomes the focal point of Haydn's symphonic scheme, it might be well to point out one very characteristic feature of these early symphonies. This particular trait is of immense importance if we are to understand how Haydn arrived at the later kind of development.

In the course of the exposition of a normal movement in sonata form, Haydn modulates to the dominant, ending at the double bar with a full close in V. Usually this cadential phrase does not employ directly the material of the opening subject (No. 4/I is an exception).

<sup>24</sup> In the Melk MS., 'Allegro'.

The middle or development section often begins with the opening theme, intact but in the dominant, followed immediately by the theme in the tonic, which is reached by the simple expedient of marching down the scale from V to I. It is only after this statement of the main subject in the tonic that the development section really begins. Symphonies Nos. 17 (see Ex. 15), 19, 33 and 36 follow this procedure to the letter. No. 3/I also maintains this scheme, but *piano* instead of *forte*, whilst No. 4/I only differs from Nos. 17, 19, 33 and 36 in that, after reaching the tonic, the main subject is broken off before being quoted in its entirety. In No. 37/I this V to I process is, so to speak, stretched out: whereas in the above-mentioned symphonies, the initial statement of the main subject in the dominant is limited to four or five measures, in No. 37 Haydn remains for thirteen measures in the dominant or, strictly speaking on a pedal point with a strong suggestion of the progression  $V-V^7-I_4^{b6}$ , before proceeding, in typical conjunct motion, back to the tonic and then into the real development. Another version of this occurs in Symphony No. 32/I: here the beginning of the second section, though not using material from the main subject, remains for sixteen measures in the dominant, twice using the progression  $V-V^7-I_4^6$  before modulating, not to the tonic, but the dominant of F major. No. 27/I is similar to this.

**Ex. 15** a) Symphony No. 17 - beginning

Allegro

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Basso

Vla. 8va

etc.

b) Symphony No 17/I, beginning of development

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Basso

Vla. 8va

etc.

Rarer is the direct leap into another tonality, as exemplified by No. 20/I where, having ended the exposition in the dominant (C major), Haydn moves abruptly into the dominant of the super-tonic (D minor); the element of surprise is heightened by the concomitant alternation of *p* and *f*. We shall see how Haydn combines these various elements in the years after 1770 to produce the *fausse reprise*.

If we miss in these works most of those features which characterize Haydn's later style, there is one stylistic trait which can be found in almost all the first movements of even the earliest symphonies: the use of small motifs to unify and cement the structure. This is perhaps the most important device used by Haydn in his efforts to bring about unification of the symphonic movement. As a result of the process, the second subject becomes less and less important and in the end either drops away entirely or serves as a brief contrast in an otherwise monothematic system—a momentary interruption in a close train of thought. Haydn even goes to such lengths in this desire to unify his movements that he will prolong the entrance of the second subject as long as possible, finally bringing it in just before the double bar; or he will subjugate the subsidiary idea by constructing it from part or parts of the first subject. In this respect, the opening movements of Nos. 2 and 19 show a great improvement upon those of Nos. 1 and 4. Haydn's efforts in this direction appear almost too laboured in No. 19, as if he were consciously making an effort to escape the multi-thematic disintegration which is all too prevalent in most of the other opening movements.

A comparison between the first movements of Nos. 1 and 2 will illustrate the constant struggle between purely baroque and Viennese-Italian-Mannheim pre-classical elements. Even aside from their vastly different structures, Nos. 1 and 2 are worlds apart. Symphony No. 1 looks partly to the Mannheim school for its inspiration while No. 2 reverts to baroque cadences and long, deliberately archaic sequences, though it is distinctly modern as regards general structure and thematic development. It is hard to believe that the two symphonies were composed within a year or two of each other; and yet this must have been the case. This dualism in Haydn's style—for each of the two symphonies will gain its followers—does not resolve itself until after *Le Matin*, *Le Midi* and *Le Soir*.

The crescendo which opens No. 1 is literally borrowed from a D major Symphony in 'La Melodica Germanica' by Johann Stamitz; it is one of the few experiments which Haydn only attempted once or twice; and the second instance — the opening measures of No. 6 — already bears the stamp of Haydn's personality and is no longer the typical Mannheim 'steamroller' (*Walze*). On the other hand, as Geiringer<sup>25</sup> rightly observes, there is a surprising number of elements adopted from contemporary composers which point to later Haydn; 'the sudden alternations of *forte* and *piano*, often within a single group of themes, the swift changes from major to minor, the changes from *forte* passages in unison to harmonized *piano* passages [are] traits which form an important part of the master's surprise technique.' The two features most foreign to the composer's style of even a few years later are the multitude of themes and the confused subsidiary parts. After the opening crescendo (Ex. 16 a) has reached a climax nine measures later, a second subject, still in the tonic, is introduced (Ex. 16 b). In many ways it would have produced a less chaotic texture if Haydn had allowed the second violin in Ex. 16 b to double the first instead of working out a subsidiary part which contributes nothing to the forward motion or general sound. Nor do the intricate separate parts of the succeeding passage, already quoted in another connection (see Ex. 13), give the impression of a coherent whole. This episodic transition leads to the dominant, where, with a rather precious Salzburgian trill, the third subject is ushered in (Ex. 16 c). Still another tutti, with fanfares in the horns, leads us to the fourth subject, placed in the conventional dominant minor (Ex. 16 d); the concluding material of the exposition is again episodic. If, however, the exposition is surprising by comparison with those of Haydn's maturity, the development — if indeed it can be so termed — is unique in its almost complete disregard of the foregoing thematic material. Its nineteen measures are, with the exception of a short passage which might be construed as deriving from the cancrizans of the first bar of the third subject (Ex. 16 c), entirely episodic in character. In the recapitulation Haydn dispenses with the episodic material between themes and places all four subjects end to end. It is surprising that, despite its great formal deficiencies, the movement makes an effect by virtue of its extraordinary vigour.

<sup>25</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

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Ex. 16 a) Presto

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla. 8va  
Vla. Basso  
Str.

*p* *cresc.* *poco f* *f* *etc.*

*p* *cresc.* *poco f* *f* *etc.*

*p* *cresc.* *poco f* *f* *etc.*

*p* *cresc.* *poco f* *f* *etc.*

The opening movement of No. 2 is suave, baroque and concerto-like in the elegance of its dotted main subject (Ex. 17 a). This theme is exploited much more fully than that of No. 1, and the dotted rhythm is the predominant pulse of the whole movement. The second subject, reached only after forty measures of preoccupation with the opening material, is quite obviously based upon the dotted rhythm of the first theme (Ex. 17 b), while the development makes a real effort to extend and exploit the previous themes. There is during the course of this section a kind of *fausse reprise* which shows that Haydn has taken care to construct the beginning of the development in double counterpoint (see Exx. 17 c and d). This contrapuntal extension of the main theme is again used in the recapitulation, where the tutti which originally followed the second subject is broadened by the insertion of the contrapuntal passage.

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The movement is in fact entirely different in formal, orchestral and harmonic structure from its chronological companions; and this difference even extends to a significant detail: all three movements of No.2 dispense entirely with indications of repetition. It took, however, many years before Haydn finally adopted this important feature, and even at the end of his life he preferred to repeat the exposition, if not the rest of the movement.

Ex. 17 a)

2 Ob. *a2*

2 Cor. C(basso) *a2*

Vln. I *a2*

Vln. II *(f) Vla. 8va*

Vla. *(f)*

Basso *(f)*

b) Vln. I *p*

Vln. II - Vla.

Basso

c) Beginning of development

Tutti

Vla. 8va

d) Fausse reprise

*(p) Str.*

Tutti

Vla.

etc.

Another attempt to improve the structure of the first movement occurs at the beginning of Symphony No. 19. The opening theme (Ex. 18a) contains three separate motifs which, though undistinguished, later attain significance. By creating a melody which can be taken to pieces and used in segments during the course of the movement Haydn

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establishes a precedent which is of the utmost importance in his development as an artist. His later sketches, such as those to Symphony No. 99, show that the development section was often worked out before the actual themes, and the process may have been the same with No. 19/I. It will be noticed that the second section of the theme — the fifth to the eighth measures — is used to conclude the exposition as well as the end of the movement. In the bridge passage to the dominant, a typical tutti in semiquavers is abandoned and the second motif of the main subject is again introduced (Ex. 18b). In Symphony No. 2/I Haydn was content to suggest a connection between first and

**Ex. 18**

The musical score for Ex. 18 is divided into four systems, each with a label (a, b, c, c') and a measure number (27, 33). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The instruments are: Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vcl.), Double Bass (Cb.), Cor Anglais (Cor.), and Flute (Fl.). The score shows a development section with various musical motifs and dynamics. The first system (a) is marked 'Tutti' and includes a 'Vla. 8va' part. The second system (b) is marked 'Vln. I' and 'Vln. II'. The third system (c) is marked 'Vln. I', 'Vln. II', 'Vla.', and 'Cor.'. The fourth system (c') is marked 'Vln. I', 'Vln. II', 'Vla.', and 'Cor.'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p' and 'f'.



second subjects by a rhythmic similarity; in No. 19 he goes a step further and actually utilizes the third motif of the main theme in the dominant, to which, after five measures, he adds the second motif (see Ex. 18 c), followed by a diminution of the first. The three parts of the main theme continue to turn up, in various guises, during the course of the movement.

The other first movements of these works show, with varying degrees of success, Haydn's constant attempt to unify the form and orchestral structure. In No. 4 he uses, according to Kuhač<sup>26</sup>, an opening melody based upon a *Kolo* from Servia; a similar melody was later used in the first movement of Symphony No. 15. It cannot be said, however, that this produces any significant change in the composer's style, for the rest of the movement, though more compact, reminds us of Symphony No. 1 rather than Nos. 2 or 19. In No. 27/I Haydn turns to the solid, symphonic orchestration of the Mannheim school, with bustling inner parts and stamping bass lines; in No. 10/I he displays a preference for broken rhythmic lines (, ♪♪) and sharply etched melodic patterns with large skips — this type of string-writing will, eventually, prevail. In No. 16 — perhaps, with No. 17, the most successful opening movement of the nine — the theme is announced *piano* in the viola and bass lines; the melody itself is a traditional 'sighing' progression, worked out in double counterpoint and convincingly developed. Haydn's linear writing in No. 16/I is very attractive (*e. g.* in the recapitulation, where the main subject is delightfully varied by the addition of a subsidiary voice in the second violin).

*The Second Movements.*

All the slow movements in these nine symphonies are marked *Andante*; slower tempi, such as *Adagio*, are scrupulously avoided, and by adhering to the faster marking Haydn need not depart from the form or the mood of his precursors. The form is like that of the Scherzandi: two sections, both repeated, with a strong ternary feeling. In fact the earlier binary form (A — A<sup>1</sup>) is in these nine works almost entirely overshadowed by the ternary tendency produced by a literal or suggested recapitulation. Despite their generally conservative structure and rather impersonal, restricted emotional scope, these andantes are surprisingly varied. The middle movement of No. 1, for example, is a sprightly dance, somewhat in the spirit of a gavotte,

<sup>26</sup> Hadow, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

with the favourite alternations of triplets, dotted rhythms and even-paced quavers or semiquavers, which give an undeniable dynamic freshness (*e. g.* meas. 2/3, *etc.*). The *Andante* of No. 2 has been aptly described by Hermann Kretzschmar as a sort of 'moto perpetuo': the entire movement is in two-part harmony, the violins constantly moving in semiquavers, without any alternations of the dynamic level to break the monotonous forward motion. In No. 4/II the second violin moves throughout in a syncopated rhythm which, like the 'moto perpetuo' of No. 2, would have been more effective if it had been used with greater moderation. The andantes of Nos. 17 and 19 are in the tonic minor, and while the basic mood and structure are not altered by this choice of key, both movements have an attractive sombre quality, serious but never tragic. In No. 19/II the rather flat tone-colour is relieved by judicious alternations of *f* and *p*.

For the first time in any of these nine works, a violoncello is used separately from the *basso continuo* in the *Andante* of Symphony No. 16. In both this as well as the second movement of Symphony No. 14, presumably composed a few years later in Eisenstadt, the 'cello doubles the melody, *i. e.* the first violin part, one octave higher. Haydn's biographer, Dies<sup>27</sup>, reports that this created a great stir in the musical world at that time and that Haydn, if he did not invent the idea, was one of the first to use it, in any case the one to make it popular. For the first time, perhaps, Haydn has created a slow movement which bears the stamp of his personality, for he obviously took pains with the quiet, finely wrought melodic line, and with the gentle chromaticism that relieves the predominantly diatonic character of the harmonic structure.

Mention has been made, above, of the *siciliano*, as it is termed in many old MSS., that constitutes the second movement of Symphony No. 27. It is the only symphonic *Andante* of this period in which Haydn has chosen six-eight time; this is quite intentionally derived from the much admired Neapolitan *canzonetta* — Mozart's 'Deh vieni, non tardar' from *Il Nozze di Figaro* and 'Deh vieni, alla fenestra' from *Don Giovanni* are the classic survivors. Haydn has enlarged the simple, tuneful aria into a movement of sufficient length for a symphonic andante without damaging its pretty, unpretentious aria-like character.

<sup>27</sup> P. 207; see also Pohl, I, p. 298; Sondheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 15; and Landon, *On Haydn's Quartets of Opera 1 and 2* in *The Music Review* XIII, 3 (August, 1952), p. 184.

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In general, the slow movements of these nine symphonies represent a considerable advance upon those of the Scherzandi and early divertimenti. It was not, however, until the decisive first years in Eisenstadt that Haydn's emotional and musical capacities were sufficiently enlarged to encourage his attempting something more profound and lasting in the slow movement of his symphonies.

#### *The Third Movements (Finales).*

There are, briefly stated, three basic types of finales in these early symphonies:

- (1) Three-eight time, rudimentary sonata form (Nos. 1, 4, 10, 17, 19, 27).
- (2) Six-eight time, also rudimentary sonata form (Symphony in B flat; No. 16).
- (3) Three-eight time, rondo form (No. 2).

The tempo is *Presto*, or *Allegro molto*, or, as in No. 4, *Tempo di Minuetto*. The second subject of those movements in sonata form is generally so slight in character and short in length that its presence is of very little importance. In neither rondo nor sonata is there any development; episodic material usually fills in the gaps between sections. In melodic and formal structure the finales are the most primitive movements in this group of symphonies. The melodies of all the three-eight movements are similar to each other and to any number of contemporary finales of this sort. For the most part Haydn uses short, four-bar phrases, but without much conviction; he is always ready to return to the earlier spun-out type of melody, particularly for the second subjects — or, if one will, that portion of the movement immediately preceding the double bar. Unison *f* passages are frequently employed, often with contrasting harmonized measures, marked *p* (e. g. the second subject of No. 1/III). The finale of No. 2 in strict rondo form (A-B-A-C-A), is the most satisfactory from the formal standpoint, but its melodic construction is no less primitive than that of the others.

#### *The Interim Symphonies*

Several important innovations in these intermediate symphonies, some of which must have been written before Haydn's engagement as Vice *Capellmeister* of the Esterházy court, and some during

the first years of his new position, show that they form a link between those of his earliest period and the first productions of the Eisenstadt era. The most important change in their outward form is the introduction of the minuet between the slow movement and the finale. On rare occasions the minuet comes after the first movement, as in the six Scherzandi, the Partita or Symphony (HV 7) and Symphonies Nos. 15, 32, 37 and 44, besides most of the string quartets from Opus 3 onwards. One feels that perhaps Haydn reached the four movement form not only directly from his predecessors but also indirectly by the simple expedient of omitting the second minuet in the five-movement divertimento form, which resulted in the four movement structure with minuet in the second place. It is not clear why he preferred this particular order for the string quartets and seldom resorted to it in the symphonies. We have assumed that most of the symphonies consisting of three movements without a minuet belong to an earlier period, and there is, as we have seen, internal and external evidence to support this theory. Apart from No. 12 (1763), all the symphonies after c. 1761 include a minuet as an indispensable part of the symphonic scheme; Haydn was prepared to leave out the finales of several works (Nos. 9, 26 and possibly also No. 28) but not the minuets. Throughout his life he strove to create original music in this form; he is reported to have said to someone about modern music, 'I wish someone would compose a really new minuet'.

A second important change concerns the finale, which Haydn began to take far more seriously than hitherto. He quickly abolished the three-eight time and rarely reverted to it in the next few years. Apart from this outward change, he began to enrich the finale with ideas of a kind previously reserved for the opening movement. Hand in hand with this desire to improve the conclusion of the symphony, Haydn soon manifested a dissatisfaction with the quick-stepping, light andantes, of which we have seen many examples in the first symphonies. He began to write adagios instead, imbuing them with a quiet and subtle emotion which is not only far more real and personal but also worthy of intellectual consideration: for the empty Italian andantes cannot have been of much greater interest to the cultivated audience of the Esterházy circle than to a twentieth century music-lover.

Despite the great improvements which this new symphonic form could show when compared to the Italian *sinfonia*, Haydn was still

not quite satisfied with the customary order of the four movements, which, as we have seen, now consisted of Allegro—Adagio (Andante)—Minuet and Trio—Finale (Allegro; Presto; Vivace, etc.). Borrowing a leaf from the old Church Sonata (*sonata da chiesa*), which usually commenced with an elegant *Grave* or *Adagio*, Haydn reversed the order of the first two movements and began the symphony with an entire *Adagio* movement<sup>28</sup>, and like the *sonata da chiesa* Haydn's symphonies also employ the same tonality throughout the work. The character of the succeeding *Presto* movement, too, is quite original. The two earliest examples of this new form are Symphonies 5<sup>29</sup> and 11. During the year 1764 Haydn wrote two further works with opening Adagio movements (Nos. 21 and 22), while No. 18 was probably written a little before this date. Nos. 34 (c. 1765) and 49 (1768) are the last two examples of this type of symphony. Several quartets and the majority of the early string trios also employ an opening slow movement, but in a different way; the string trios<sup>30</sup> usually have Adagio—Minuet—Finale (*Presto*), which is not as effective as the corresponding symphonic form. The last of the seven extant symphonic works in this form was composed in 1768. In several symphonies Haydn attempted a hybrid form, in which a long slow introduction took the place of the opening Adagio; Nos. 6 and 7 employ short opening adagios which probably have some significance in the general programmatic scheme, but No. 15 actually uses the old French *Ouverture* form of Lully (slow—fast—slow) for its initial movement. No. 25, apparently written about the same time, begins with a protracted *Adagio* which is neither an introduction in the style of Nos. 6 and 7

<sup>28</sup> This procedure can be found in various early string quartets and string trios. It is probable that Haydn learned the idea, not directly from the old Church Sonata but from the works of his predecessors. Thus, one finds examples in the works of M. G. (G. M.) Monn, such as the Symphony in D major of 1740 (DTÖ., XV. Jg., 2. Teil), and, more exactly, in the quartet-symphonies (*Sinfonia a Quattro*; catalogue in DTÖ., XIX. Jg., 2. Teil, Bd. 39), whose scheme is very often: slow movement (tonic); fast movement (tonic, usually fugue); (slow movement, sometimes omitted, when present usually leading to last movement by a Phrygian cadence); finale, in quick time ( $\frac{2}{4}$ , often  $\frac{3}{8}$ ). Two such works, in A major and B flat, are printed in the DTÖ., Bd. 39 (see above). Two violin (trio-?) sonatas by Franz Benda in MS. owned by the author also utilize this scheme.

<sup>29</sup> The B. & H. G. A. reverses the order of the first two movements of No. 5: certain old MSS. do have the B. & H. order, but EK, Melk, St. Florian, Kremsmünster and Göttweig all agree that the slow movement should come first.

<sup>30</sup> The two violin sonatas by Benda referred to above have three movements, an opening *Adagio* followed by two quick movements.

nor a complete opening slow movement. The symphonies of 1768-1774 are preoccupied with other matters, but after 1773-4 Haydn again takes up the problem of quick or slow opening and arrives at the satisfactory solution of a *slow introduction*. It is noteworthy that a whole series of works suddenly introduces a short opening *Adagio* or *Largo*: Nos. 50 (1773), 54 (1774), 57 (1774), 60 (1775) and No. 53 (c. 1778). *There is much to suggest that the opening slow movements of the early Esterházy period are the direct predecessors of Haydn's famous slow introductions.*

In his first symphonies, Haydn was, as we have seen, very cautious about employing his wind instruments alone, without support from the strings. In the earliest divertimenti for winds and strings, and in the symphonies of this and the succeeding period, the first emergence of winds from their earlier rôle is found in the trios of the minuets, as in Symphony No. 3: only here do they separate themselves from the strings, whilst in the *Andante* they are, following the customary practice, silent. In Symphony No. 11, the horns are used in the opening *Adagio cantabile*, but only sparingly during the *tutti*; the oboes are silent until the ensuing movement. The *Adagio ma non troppo* which opens Symphony No. 5 is, therefore, quite unusual in its extensive use of the horns in solos of extreme difficulty; on the other hand the oboe parts are as conservative as those of the horns in the first movement of No. 11. There are very few horn players to-day who can execute the following passage from the *Adagio* (Ex. 19 a) or the trio of the minuet (Ex. 19 b). (In both examples the horns are of course to be performed in *A alto*, since *A basso* did not come into existence until some sixty years after the date of this symphony.)<sup>31</sup>

**Ex. 19**

a) [Adagio]  
2 Corni in A  
(Solo)



b) Trio  
2 Corni in A  
Solo



If, in Symphony No. 3, the winds are not given such daring and divertimento-like scope as in No. 5, they are used with far greater sonority and true symphonic fullness. The whole symphony, in fact,

<sup>31</sup> See above p. 123.

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is richer in its orchestration than any of the other symphonies of this period. It is without any doubt the maturest work discussed so far, and if it were not for the manuscript dated 1762 in the Benedictine Abbey of Göttweig, one would not hesitate to place it c. 1763. The first movement (*Allegro*) is completely different from the other works surrounding it. The orchestration is compact in a way which does not become standard practice in Haydn's symphonies until 1763/64. The viola is often employed quite separately from the bass, but without disrupting the solidity of the bass line, while the violins are even treated with a certain virtuosity. The fanfares of the horns seem to grow out of the musical fabric and are not sporadically superimposed, as in Symphony No. 1. The oboes detach themselves from the violins and act as real harmonic sustainers, just the opposite of their function in the earlier works where they nearly always double the upper strings. Two typical examples from the first movement will illustrate Haydn's new sense of orchestral colour:

**Ex. 20** a) 

b) *Solo* 

The second movement (G minor, strings alone) is another example of the type of slow movement found in all of the previous symphonies except Nos. 5 and 11. But although strongly derivative in character,

this *Andante moderato* is not without a certain charm. It does not, however, reach the high level of inspiration found in the previous or succeeding movement, and there is an unevenness of orchestration which reminds us of Symphonies 1, 2 or 4. While in most of the movement, the viola is treated quite apart from the bass, there are occasional lapses which sound unattractive without the support of a cembalo. The minuet is suave, restrained, and uses none of the local Austrian rhythms of Symphony No. 9<sup>32</sup>. Instead, it contains a canon between the violins and the viola-bass at the interval of one bar.

Haydn must have sensed the inadequacy of the type of 3/8 finale with which he had been content to conclude his earliest symphonies, for the last movement of the Third Symphony renounces all the characteristics of the earlier *genre*. Not only does Haydn write in 4/4 (actually C), he chooses the one form which is spiritually the most removed from the 3/8 Italian finale: a strict (double) fugue (Ex. 21 a). This rejection of the Italian manner was absolutely necessary before the symphony could achieve a proper conclusion. Like most revolutions this one goes to the opposite extreme to gain its end, and only two other neighbouring works (Nos. 13 and 40, both written in 1763) follow this pattern so closely; years later, in Symphony 70, Haydn had recourse to the strictest counterpoint at a time when the symphony had again become too stereotyped. Not content to utilize the double fugue *per se*, he constructed transitional (episodic) material (Ex. 21 b) which could be combined with the fugal subject and counter-subject (Ex. 21 c). In the course of the movement there is a fine stretto as well as a concluding pedal point, after which Haydn abandons counterpoint and ends with a rousing unison tutti and a chordal finish. There is, of course, no double bar and the whole *Presto* is *durchkomponiert*. The symphony forms a link between Symphony No. 2 — which, as we have seen, attempted in a less effective way to make a break with the Italian *sinfonia* — and the programmatic symphonies of 1761.

Although the outward forms of Nos. 5 and 11 are much more original than that of No. 3 — in this respect conservative except for the fugal finale — neither of the two is as inspired as the G major work. Nevertheless, both Nos. 5 and 11 show Haydn's constant attempt to enrich the form. The opening slow movement of each work is an *Adagio*

<sup>32</sup> See below, p. 226.



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**Ex. 21** Finale [Allegro]

a)

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
pp

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Bassi  
pp p(p) etc.

b)

Vln. I  
f  
Vln. II  
etc.

c)

Vln. I  
f  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
f etc.

instead of an *Andante* (not that the older type could possibly be used to begin a symphony). One has the impression that Haydn was seeking to write the type of powerful, deeply-felt adagio later exemplified in Nos. 21 and 22, but had not as yet the necessary inspiration or technique. The *Adagio* of No. 11 is burdened with an excessive use of triplets, the orchestration is rather crude, particularly as regards the strings; and the horns are scarcely used at all. The movement has a certain resemblance to the very earliest divertimenti.

No. 5 is obviously more advanced, but the horn-writing, of which we have already spoken, still reminds us of the *concertante* technique employed in the divertimento; the horns do not seem an integral part of the orchestration, as they were in the less daring No. 3. Haydn has not yet learned the art of combining *concertante* and symphonic elements; this is first thoroughly and convincingly achieved in Nos. 6-8. Nevertheless, there are some very attractive sequences on the main theme, especially after the double bar. One definitely feels that the movement was composed later than that of No. 11.

The second movements of Nos. 3 and 5 (*Allegro*) attempt to create

the sudden jolt of the prestos which follow the opening adagios of Nos. 21 and 22. Both allegros are more successful than their adagios: Haydn's earliest style is more at home in fast movements, and it required the exaggerated slow movements of 1761 to enable him to express himself with ease in the slower tempo. As a whole, No. 5 again contains the better movement. The ♩ ♪ ♫ rhythm dominates the development section. For effective and necessary contrast, Haydn brings in the second subject in altered guise shortly before the recapitulation; this is much in the style of his later symphonic movements. One of the finest moments is the *reprise*, which introduces a terse imitation between first violins and bass:

## Ex. 22

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II - Vla.  
Basso

etc.

The finales again show Haydn's desire to escape the Italian tradition, which he now conquers by means quite different from the strictly contrapuntal tactics of No. 3. The finale of Symphony No. 21 follows almost to the letter the precedent established by No. 5/IV — the *piano* beginning in two voices (in both works violins), the sudden *forte*<sup>33</sup> followed by a repetition of the opening *piano*, the ensuing tutti which remains *forte* to the end of the double bar, *etc.* In this type of finale, Haydn writes in the same style as in the customary opening *Allegro*; he was to do so for many years before achieving the light-hearted rondo of the 1780's. The main difference between the opening *Allegro* and the concluding movement is that the latter drops the second subject and telescopes the development into the recapitulation, thus shortening the section and making a compressed sonata form. The *Presto* of No. 11 is constructed along similar lines, except that Haydn still uses a kind of subsidiary subject based upon the opening theme. The movement preserves the outlines of sonata form

<sup>33</sup> The B.&H. *Gesamtausgabe* reaches a particularly low point in this finale. The dynamic marks of the main theme are erroneous and instruments are omitted in places. See Appendix I.

more carefully. Aesthetically the finales of both works are infinitely more satisfying conclusions than any of the earlier, three-eight prestos.

Although Symphony No. 15<sup>34</sup> is dated c. 1763/4 (B & H: 'vor 1764'; Haydn Society: 'ca. 1763') we are nevertheless inclined to believe that it was composed about two years before. It is a rather strange work, full of conflicting ideas and alternating between fiery nervousness in the first *Presto* and a placid, divertimento-like leisureliness in the other movements, particularly in the trio of the minuet, where the violins and the violas-'cellos are used in alternate, *concertante* phrases much in the style of the very earliest Haydn divertimenti. The slow movement and the finale are very primitive, especially the latter, using the old three-eight time.

The outward form of the work, however, is most unusual and deserves a brief discussion. The scheme is

- I. Adagio — Presto — Adagio
- II. Minuet & Trio
- III. Andante
- IV. Finale (Presto)

The first movement is in pure French-Overture style, an introductory and concluding *Adagio* of 33 and 23 bars, respectively, enclosing a *Presto* in compressed sonata form. The outer, slow part has a certain relationship to the opening slow movement of Symphony No. 11; only horns and strings are used, except in the very last bars of the movement, where oboes enter as well. Not only the instrumentation but the structure and general feeling of the first bars point more to the divertimento than to the symphony (Ex. 23a). Oboes join forces in the ensuing *Presto*, of which the main idea is similar to the opening theme of Symphony No. 4 (Ex. 23b). The second subject, or rather the last of a group of themes, is in the dominant minor, still another indication of the early date of composition.

The minuet is primarily baroque in conception, especially in its profusion of dotted figures. The slow movement does not rise above the level of the pre-1760 symphonies, and the finale is perhaps even more conservative. It is in simple A-B-A form, a rarity in Haydn's symphonic finales. The middle section is archaic in its dynamic con-

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<sup>34</sup> This work is also very inadequately reproduced in the *Gesamtausgabe*: see Appendix I.

**Ex. 23** a) Adagio 2x

b) Presto

[Symphony No. 4]

trast (*piano* throughout), tonality (tonic minor) and instrumentation (winds omitted). The repeated 'A' section has a short coda of ten measures but is otherwise a literal *da capo*. The work as a whole gives the impression of belonging midway between the earliest symphonies and *Le Matin*; it is perhaps one of the first of these interim works.

The Partita or Symphony (HV 7) is a strange piece, so foreign to anything else in the form that if it were not found in HV (*via* the Kees Catalogue) one would be inclined to cast grave doubts on its authenticity. That it must be one of the earliest symphonies is suggested by even a cursory glance at the score, and yet it would be very difficult to decide its exact date on that basis alone. The work contains far fewer Italianisms than any of the earliest works, with the possible exception of No. 2. Baroque patterns establish themselves in the first bars, and only the ninth and tenth measures strike one as being anything like Haydn. The minuet comes second; perhaps because of this divertimento-like order of the two inner movements, some of the old manuscripts (Göttweig, Zittau) are entitled *Partita*. If the opening *Allegro molto* seems to place the work in the midst of the earliest symphonies, the trio of the minuet, with a witty bassoon solo (otherwise *col basso*), reminds us of the similar passage in *Le Matin*. The opening themes of both minuet and trio are constructed in ten-

bar periods, which is unusual; the second part of the minuet is 8+12, the second part of the trio 6+10.

The *Andante* is the most derivative of any single slow movement among the first two dozen symphonies. There is scarcely a single measure in which Haydn's own personality could be traced. The entire movement is constructed in baroque sequential patterns, some of which might even be ascribed to J. J. Fux, but certainly not to Haydn. With the opening measures of the finale we are jolted forward about two decades. This *Presto* is the only movement which has any direct contact with the early quartets or symphonies; here, we feel, is solid ground again. Despite the extreme melodic and harmonic simplicity, the movement is much more original than the early prestos, although less so than the concluding fugue of No. 3 or the hybrid finales of Nos. 5 and 11. It is constructed in strict sonata form, the second subject, in typical Haydn fashion, being assigned only to the violins.

The three movements of Symphony No. 9 have very little in common with any other work of the same period. The writer believes that it was used as the prelude to some operatic performance in Eisenstadt, possibly one of the lost Italian comedies of 1762, which is also the date of the now lost holograph manuscript of the symphony. The music to these little operettas, with the exception of one extract from *La Marchesa di Napoli*<sup>35</sup>, is lost and only the names are known to us: *Il Sganarello*, *La Vedova*, *Il Dottore*. So there is a possibility that the work could have been used—or, indeed, even composed—for the theatre. An examination of its content only strengthens this belief. There is no strongly outlined thematic material at all, and a festive series of runs in the oboes and strings opens the piece. The strings dash merrily onwards in a few bars of oblivious modulations which turn into some rather Venetian fanfares for the oboes and horns. The end of the exposition consists of another series of runs up and down the scale, the development of a varied exposition in the manner of Symphony No. 1, and the recapitulation of an almost exact repetition of the exposition. If, after studying the score, any doubts remain as to the origin and purpose of the work, a comparison with the Overture to Haydn's first opera, *Acide*, also written during the year 1762,

<sup>35</sup> Haydn's Italian grammar was not all it should have been, for this work is listed in his handwriting in EK as *Comedia la Marchesa Nepola*. Pohl innocently uses this as the correct title in I, p. 231.

should show the difference between a real symphony and the outwardly similar operatic overture. In *Acide* one finds the same absence of any real thematic material and the same series of festive semiquavers and bouncy fanfares:

**Ex. 24**

a) *Acide* (1762): Overture

Allegro



b) Symphony No. 9 (1762?)

Allegro molto



Both works give the impression of having been hurriedly written: the autograph of the *Acide* Overture even shows literal traces of haste. There is no other way to account for the tremendous sag in inspiration between 1761, the year of *Le Matin*, *Le Midi* and *Le Soir*, and 1763, in which at least three superb works were written (Nos. 12, 13, 40). Apparently there are no other symphonic works which can be ascribed with certainty to the year 1762; but the Horn Concerto in D major, written in this year, contains a beautiful second movement (*Adagio*) which shows that Haydn's inspiration had not temporarily abandoned him — a theory which might be advanced if one were to base the year's instrumental production on the *Acide* Overture and Symphony No. 9. It seems far more logical to assume that the 'Symphony' was actually a prelude to some opera or cantata which cannot now be identified.

Haydn substituted flutes for the oboes in the slow movement, a practice which becomes fairly common in the next years. The minuet is rather bizarre. The eight bars are not broken up into the customary 4+4 but into 3+3+2 (Ex. 25a). The delicious trio (Ex. 25b) is one of the first examples of a waltz in Haydn's symphonies; how different is this saucy little melody from the grave, courtly minuets of Nos. 6-8.

The second part contains a solo for the winds, including the bassoon,

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which up to that point has played with the *continuo*. The minuet as a whole is by far the most attractive movement of the symphony.

#### **Ex. 25**

a) Menuet



b) Trio



### *The C major Symphonies*

The person who seeks a psychological motive for the use of the various tonalities found in the symphonies of Haydn will be baffled even upon cursory examination; for it is doubtful if tonalities were associated in Haydn's mind with any particular emotions before the last oratorios and masses, where B flat major gains a peculiar significance. There are, however, two notable exceptions to this, one of which is the use of the minor tonality in general — this will be discussed in Chapter VIII — while the other concerns a group of symphonies that one finds from the earliest up to Symphony No. 97. In the course of composing his first symphonies, the tonality of C major became indelibly impressed on Haydn's mind as the key of pomp, the key of C *alto* horns, trumpets and timpani, the vehicle for composing brilliant and festive music, although at least during this period he did not always reserve the tonality of C major for this particular kind of symphony: Nos. 2, 7 and 9, and possibly Nos. 25 and 30 — discussed in the ensuing chapter — are C major symphonies without the psychological manifestations inherent in most of the later works in this key. For the rest, however, the C major path is astonishingly clear; it can be traced from its inception, in Nos. 20, 32 and 37, through No. 33 and the more mature Nos. 38 and 41 to its synthesis in the *Maria Theresia* (No. 48) and No. 56. It continues with No. 50 and proceeds through Nos. 60, 63, 69, 82 and 90, reaching its final culmination in No. 97.

**Ex. 26** [Allegro molto]

The first group of these symphonies is identically scored, for 2 oboes, 2 horns (probably in C *alto*) and/or trumpets and timpani. In due course (after 1774) one or two bassoons are given solo parts, where they previously doubled the bass; and the flute also joins the standard orchestra, first in No. 41 and permanently after No. 63.

Following the baroque tradition, in which trumpets were generally reserved for works in C or D major, Haydn was extremely conservative in this respect until after 1774, employing these instruments only in conjunction with C major<sup>36</sup>. Although no longer soloists in the baroque manner, Haydn's trumpet players were still capable of reaching high notes, as the high *c*'s in Symphonies 20 and 32 testify. In order to separate these instruments from the rest of the orchestra, Haydn does not allot to them the brilliant and difficult parts of his predecessors, but has recourse to the fanfare method, which he used for the horns in Symphony No. 1. To a certain extent this lends an archaic air to his whole orchestration; for after the earliest symphonies, he generally took pains to avoid this type of 'extra rhythm', which has nothing to do with the rest of the structure, and which perhaps derives from the Venetian trumpet overtures (Ex. 26: No. 32/I).

The orchestration is not only archaic in this respect: the slow movements also revert to the earliest type, without winds, and in

<sup>36</sup> The timpani part to No. 13 (in D major) was added in a blank stave of Haydn's autograph, but by an unknown person. The trumpets found in the Esterházy parts to Symphony No. 72 are emergency substitutes for the third and fourth horn parts; see Appendix I.



the baroque manner. Even No. 50 (1773) contains an *Andante* written in a style a decade earlier than the rest of the work. The finales of Nos. 20, 32 and 37 still preserve the old three-eight *Presto*. And apart from these outwardly conservative manifestations, the thematic material is generally rather stiff and formal. This is perhaps the place to remark that the old B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe* does not include trumpets and timpani in the scores of Nos. 33 and 37. The Breitkopf<sup>37</sup> catalogue and various old MSS. list these instruments for No. 33, and the *Entwurf*<sup>38</sup> catalogue and Regensburg (Thurn und Taxis) MS. supply them for No. 37.

There is little that needs to be said about these three earliest C major works. They follow the typical outward formal scheme of the interim symphonies except that in Nos. 32 and 37 the minuet is placed second, i. e. before the slow movement. In the first movements the subsidiary subject is still in the dominant minor, as in all the very earliest symphonies; the finales all adhere to the dry three-eight time. Moreover, in these particular C major works, a certain pedantic character comes very much to the fore, lending a brittle, impersonal atmosphere to the whole: all three are totally devoid of any warmth, and are in many ways reminiscent of the magnificence, the pomp, and the cold splendour of some of the Austrian baroque monasteries (for which, indeed, they might very well have been composed). In part, this strange impersonality is due to the archaic, neo-baroque orchestration: as we have observed, this was difficult to apply to the bouncing pre-classical structure. Even in the rather impressive opening movement of No. 20, the trumpets and drums are used in a peculiarly uncharacteristic manner, almost as if they were pasted on top of the orchestral texture, much as ornaments were treated in inferior baroque architecture. It took Haydn many years to outgrow his weakness for this particular orchestration; and it was not until the end of the 'sixties that the works in this C major *genre* reflected the steady progress apparent in his other symphonies.

<sup>37</sup> 1767, Raccolata IV, No. III.

<sup>38</sup> P. 31: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Clarini, Tympano' in handwriting of Kees catalogue. The latter lists only 'Oboe, Clarini' for the work; this may have been the copyist's oversight. On the other hand, Kees gives the instrumentation of No. 20 without trumpets and drums.

## CHAPTER VII

### SYMPHONIES OF 1761—1765

*Chronology:* For the years 1761—1765 the following symphonies are preserved in autograph: No. 7 (1761); (No. 9 [?] 1762)<sup>1</sup>; Nos. 12, 13, 40 (all 1763); Nos. 21—24 (1764) and Nos. 28—31 (1765). To these must be added Nos. 6 and 8, as they obviously belong together with No. 7 and may be presumed to have been composed at one and the same time. External and internal evidence suggests that Nos. 14, 18, 25, 33, 36 and 72 should be placed in this period.

Haydn was engaged as Assistant *Capellmeister* to the Court of Prince Anton Esterházy in May, 1761. The first symphonies which he composed for his new patron appear to have been a trilogy entitled *Le Matin*, *Le Midi* and *Le Soir* (Nos. 6-8), the idea of which, according to Haydn's biographer, Dies<sup>2</sup>, was suggested by the Prince himself. Haydn's failing memory could only dimly recall the circumstances of their composition forty odd years before, and it is therefore not particularly surprising to find Dies referring to the symphonies as 'quartets', based on the four (*sic!*) 'Tageszeiten'; the quartets, he says, 'are very little known to-day.' That it is nevertheless *Le Matin*, *Le Midi* and *Le Soir* to which Dies was referring seems clear.

Pohl<sup>3</sup>, comparing Symphony No. 1 with 'Le Matin', says:

What a tremendous difference! What expansion... new depth, and glittering extravagance. Except for the violins, which obviously received a new stimulus by the addition of Tomasini, the band was not at that time in a position to execute this work with their own forces and must have supplemented their numbers with additional Viennese players...

As the difference between these first three symphonies for Eisenstadt and the earlier ones composed at Lukaveč is indeed 'tremendous', it behoves us to examine Haydn's style and how it came to be influenced by the circumstances of his new position.

In the previous chapter it was our primary concern to analyse and discuss Haydn's earliest orchestral style which, as we have seen, originated in and adhered to the pre-classical Viennese or Austro-

<sup>1</sup> This work is discussed in the previous chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> I, p. 285.

German tradition. During these earliest years, however, the composer did not cultivate one style alone; for like his contemporaries he assumed a different personality when composing in different art forms. One style was used primarily for church music, and this, though basically the outgrowth of the contemporary Italian vocal tradition, was different from the second, employed for cantatas or operas. A third was used for divertimenti, in which form Haydn's early clavier sonatas, string quartets, trios, nocturni, cassations, and divertimenti for chamber orchestra may be said to be cast. A fourth method was adopted for the concerto, at this time a kind of hybrid form utilizing elements from the divertimento as well as the older Italian *concerto grosso* and concerto. And finally, for symphonies and partitas, Haydn and his contemporaries preserved a special 'symphonic style', which was, as we have observed, fundamentally different from that used for those works in the divertimento category.

During the whole of Haydn's life one can trace a steady amalgamation of these various styles, as one can in Mozart's career, so that at the end of his life Haydn was writing music not in the symphonic, divertimento, church, operatic or concerto manner but in his own. The process was a long one in both Haydn's and Mozart's artistic life; and it was only when this problem was fully mastered by each of them that we are given the great Mozart operas, symphonies, concerti and chamber music, and the late masses, quartets, trios, sonatas, oratorios and symphonies of Haydn. That Mozart could never reconcile the *stile osservato* of his earlier church music with his own mature style, and that Haydn could never achieve a true symphonic concerto is why, except for Mozart's C minor Mass (K. 427) and the Haydn Trumpet Concerto of 1796, neither Mozart's masses nor Haydn's concerti rank with their best works.

During the years up to 1761, Haydn was at his best when writing divertimenti; perhaps his own limitations as a virtuoso performer prevented his writing interesting concerti but, whatever the reason, the early examples of this form, such as the Organ Concerto of 1756 and the Organ or Harpsichord Concerto in C (Larsen, DKE, X, C-2) are on the whole dull pieces; his Mass in F major (c. 1749/1750) adheres to the strictest—but by no means the best—style of baroque church music being written in Vienna at that time; of his early operatic music nothing has survived, but we may rest assured, judging from the first examples of his operas and cantatas produced in Eisen-

stadt, that Haydn was not above the level of the mediocre operatic composers of which Austria as well as Italy produced a staggering number in the first half of the century; and with few exceptions the symphonies up to 1761 are rather stiff imitations of the Viennese pre-classical school with a faint trace, now and then, of the Mannheim manner. It is decidedly the divertimento form in which the young Haydn excelled; and it is no accident that his early string quartets and concerted pieces for winds and/or strings were those which did most to spread his fame throughout Austria and even into foreign lands.

During the period 1761-1765, Haydn concentrated upon instrumental forms, apart from the opera *Acide* and four little Italian comedies, composed in 1762, the early *Te Deum*, some other, smaller pieces of church music and several cantatas. But the emphasis was not primarily on divertimenti. With the possible exception of Opus 3, which has never been dated precisely but was probably composed about 1760 (?), there are no quartets which may be assigned to these years. Of the divertimenti for chamber orchestra only a scant half dozen were written after 1761; and of these only two (HV 8 in D and HV 17 in C) are pieces of any size or consequence<sup>4</sup>. It is in the concerto and symphonic forms where Haydn now excels. The reason for this may, in large part, be attributed to the external circumstance of Haydn's new band, and especially to the presence of Luigi Tomasini, the brilliant leader. Whereas, as we have said, Haydn was limited up to 1761 by his own technique on the violin and clavier — the Concerto in F for violin, harpsichord and orchestra indicates both limitations simultaneously — he now had a superb violinist and equally proficient technicians on the 'cello, flute, oboe and horn. The way to any musician's heart is to write concerti for him; and Haydn immediately captured the affections of his little orchestra by writing one concerto after another, at least half of which are lost. Haydn's catalogues and other sources reveal to us three or four for violin, two for horn, a concerto for two horns, and concerti for flute, 'cello<sup>5</sup> and *violone* (contrabass). For some reason, the newly found possibility of writing for virtuoso performers had the effect of freeing Haydn's concerto style from the stiffness of the earlier works. Besides these pieces in concerto form,

<sup>4</sup> The Notturmi for the King of Naples (1790) must be treated as a *genre* of their own. See below.

<sup>5</sup> During this early period Haydn probably wrote the lost Violoncello Concerto in C. That in D major dates from 1783.

Haydn's symphonic trilogy, *Le Matin*, *Le Midi* and *Le Soir*, reaped the benefits of his increased interest in concerti. His orchestral style becomes flexible and limber where it was stiff and constricted; abandoning his previous brevity, he allows himself to be expansive, to dwell and enlarge upon details of orchestration and form. Perhaps the strangest part of this transformation is the fact that Haydn escapes from the rigid confines of the pre-classical symphony by reverting to the baroque period for many of his harmonic, melodic and instrumental devices.

Haydn's attempt to amalgamate his various styles into one began, then, by his using elements of the concerto to enrich the symphonic form. Coincidentally with the decline of the divertimento for chamber orchestra — for after 1765 only a few baryton pieces and the Notturmi for the King of Naples (1790) were produced — Haydn began to introduce some of its elements into his symphonies. How profoundly this step affected the composer's style between 1761 and 1765 may be gathered from a superficial examination of Symphonies Nos. 31 and 72<sup>6</sup>.

In *Le Midi* and in the *Divertimento a Nove* (HV 17), Haydn even introduces a feature derived from the opera or cantata: a recitative. Conversely, the broad, sweeping orchestral introductions to his early cantatas and operas show their relationship to the symphonic form. It is significant that in these vocal works the most successful portions are those in which Haydn makes use of his new symphonic style; where he relies on Italian tradition, as in the soprano aria with *cembalo concertante* from the cantata 'Qual Dubbio' (1764), the result is mediocre. It is not until after 1766 that Haydn's vocal music begins to accept the innovations of style already perfected in his instrumental pieces.

Perhaps another reason for the new art of this symphonic trilogy is the programmatic character of the whole. Happily, Haydn was intelligent enough not to leave behind an explanation; and the knowledge that the opening bars of No. 6 depict a sunrise and the closing movement of No. 8, labelled 'La Tempesta' on many old manuscripts, describes a summer thunderstorm, does not detract from the charm and originality of the music.

Before proceeding to a more detailed examination of the works themselves, it might be wise to consider the circumstances under which

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 266 ff.

these symphonies were first produced, for it is certain that these, too, had a profound effect on the composer. Prince Paul Anton Esterházy was a cultivated aristocrat, intensely musical, who surrounded himself with a constantly varying crowd of distinguished guests; Haydn had, as an audience, the most brilliant *côterie* which the Prince could collect about him. It represented a step upwards from the more modest gatherings which Count Morzin or von Fürnberg could summon. That this must have encouraged the young and ambitious composer to exert himself beyond what he had previously accomplished is obvious. It was the attentiveness, however, of both audience and orchestra which brought this about; for without Esterházy's distinguished guests (many of whom were practising musicians of no little accomplishment) Haydn would not have been inspired to write his trilogy, and, on the other hand, if he had wished to do this while in the service of Count Morzin, there would have been no possible means to execute his complicated orchestral scores. It was a fortunate combination of circumstances for Haydn.

For his new symphonies the composer was able to gather together

**Ex. 1**

Symphony No. 7/I (Allegro)

The musical score for Symphony No. 7/I (Allegro) is presented in two systems. The first system includes staves for Vln. I Concertante, Vln. II Concertante, Vln. I, II Ripieno, Vcl. Concertante, Cor., Vla., Fag., Continuo, and Vla. 8va. The second system includes staves for Vln. I Concertante, Vln. II Concertante, Vln. I, II Ripieno, Vcl. Concertante, Cor., Vla., Fag., Continuo, and Vla. 8va. The score is written in 2/4 time and features a variety of musical notations, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Vln. I Concertante  
Vln. II Concertante  
Vln. I, II  
Ripieno  
Vcl. Concertante  
Cor.  
Vla., Fag.  
Continuo  
Vla. 8va  
(p) (Cemb.)

Vln. I Concertante  
Vln. II Concertante  
Vln. I, II  
Ripieno  
Vcl. Concertante  
Cor.  
Vla., Fag.  
Continuo  
Vla. 8va

col Vln. II rip.  
etc.

an orchestra consisting of two solo violins, two *ripieno* violin sections, violas, solo 'cello, solo *violone* (contrabass), *continuo*, two flutes, two oboes, one bassoon and two horns. The use of two solo violins and solo 'cello derives from the old Italian *concerto grosso*; in many ways these three works are *concerti grossi* rather than symphonies, and indeed some sources of No. 8 are actually entitled 'Concertino'. On the other hand, it may be that the division of the orchestra into *concertino* and *ripieno* elements is merely another manifestation of the strong baroque tendencies found in the three works. Whether Tomasini

**Ex. 2** a) Symphony No. 7/III (Adagio)

Ex. 2 a) Symphony No. 7/III (Adagio) is a musical score for a single system. The staves are labeled from top to bottom: Vln. Conc., Vcl. Conc., Vln. I, II, Vla., and Continuo. The Continuo staff includes the instruction (P) (Cemb.). The music is in 3/4 time and features a complex texture with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The Vln. Conc. and Vcl. Conc. parts are highly active, while the Vln. I, II and Vla. parts provide harmonic support. The Continuo part is a simple, steady accompaniment.

b) Symphony No. 8/1 (Allegro molto)

Ex. 2 b) Symphony No. 8/1 (Allegro molto) is a musical score for a single system. The staves are labeled from top to bottom: Fl., 2 Ob., 2 Cor., Vln. I, II, Vla., and Vla., Fag., Cont. The Continuo staff includes the instruction f (Cemb.). The music is in 3/4 time and features a complex texture with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. The Fl., 2 Ob., 2 Cor., and Vln. I, II parts are highly active, while the Vla., Fag., and Cont. parts provide harmonic support. The Continuo part is a simple, steady accompaniment.

and the other players were the means or the end remains, therefore, an open question. At any rate, the trilogy is full of the baroque spirit, whether it be the orchestration (Ex. 1), the use of pure sequences (Exx. 2a and 2b *supra* — compare part of the Finale of the Violin Concerto in C, written about this time [Ex. 3]),

**Ex. 3** Violin Concerto in C / III (Presto)



the frequent lay-out of the parts in contrapuntal fashion (Ex. 4),

**Ex. 4** a) Symphony No. 7/I: Allegro

Ex. 4a shows a musical score for Symphony No. 7/I: Allegro. The score is written for strings and woodwinds. The top staff is for 2 Oboes (Ob.) and 2 Cori (Cor.). The middle staff is for Violins I and II (Vln. I, II). The bottom staff is for Viola, Bassoon (Vla., Fag.), and Continuo (Cont.). The key signature is C major, and the time signature is 2/4. The tempo is Allegro. The score shows contrapuntal parts for the strings and woodwinds, with the keyboard part marked (f) (Cemb.). The sequence ends with "etc.".

b) Symphony No. 6/III: Trio

Ex. 4b shows a musical score for Symphony No. 6/III: Trio. The score is written for strings and woodwinds. The top staff is for Bassoon (Fag.). The middle staff is for Violins I and II (Vln. I, Vln. II). The bottom staff is for Violone Solo (Vla., Vcl. Continuo). The key signature is C major, and the time signature is 2/4. The tempo is Trio. The score shows contrapuntal parts for the strings and woodwinds, with the keyboard part marked (pizz.). The sequence ends with "etc.".



Symphonies of 1761—1765

Ex. 5 is a musical score for the second movement (Adagio) of Symphony No. 6. It features several staves: Fag. (Bassoon), Vln. I and Vln. II (Violins), Violone Solo, Vla., Vcl., Continuo (Viola, Violoncello, and Continuo), and Violone col Basso. The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. The Violone Solo part is marked 'etc.' at the end. The Continuo part is marked 'p' (piano) and 'Vla. sva' (Viola sva).

or the sinewy, almost Corelli-like part-writing in the slow movement of No. 6—the end of this movement is a truly noble and heartfelt tribute to the past glories of the baroque era (Ex. 5). Using these

Ex. 5 Symphony No. 6 / II (Adagio)

Ex. 5 is a musical score for the second movement (Adagio) of Symphony No. 6. It features several staves: Vln. I, II (Violins), Fag. (Bassoon), Vla., Vcl., Continuo (Viola, Violoncello, and Continuo), and Violone col Basso. The score is written in G major and 3/4 time. The Violone col Basso part is marked 'p' (piano) and 'Vla. sva' (Viola sva).

time-honoured devices<sup>7</sup> Haydn is able to infuse his music with a new nobility and grace, qualities far removed from the early symphonies.

If *concertante*, baroque elements are perhaps the most striking manifestation of the new style, a number of other features must be recorded which, if sometimes less obvious, are of great significance in view of Haydn's subsequent development.

Following the new spirit of the times, Haydn introduces minuets into each of the three symphonies. With a few exceptions (Nos. 12, 18, 30), the minuet is a constant feature of the symphonies from

<sup>7</sup> Even the characteristic baroque dotted rhythms (♩.♩.♩.) may be found, particularly at the beginning of No. 7 and during the slow movement of No. 8.

this point onwards. The minuets themselves show the devotion which Haydn lavished on the form throughout his lifetime; in the trilogy he takes special pains to see that each one shall be different from the last: thus, that in *Le Matin* is grave, stately, almost in the French manner with dainty ornaments in the flute part; in *Le Midi* we are given a minuet with elements drawn from the baroque (the dotted figures) as well as from the divertimento (the solo horns); that of *Le Soir* for the first time uses the symmetrically divided period; as a whole, this minuet is the best of the three, and it is a jaded listener indeed who will not react to the sturdy, impulsive rhythm of the theme or the delightful wind solos (Ex. 7 [c]) in the second part (again a detail judiciously drawn from the divertimento).

These two elements briefly mentioned in connection with the minuet of *Le Soir* must be further considered. The first of them, the use of the 'period', or even spacing of the measures (*i. e.* 4 + 4 as opposed to, let us say, 6 + 4), is of great importance. During the decade 1761-1770 Haydn turned more and more frequently to the phrase or period, gradually dropping uneven thematic structure except for special effects. Several times in the course of Nos. 6-8 Haydn employs an eight-measure period:

**Ex. 6**

a) No. 6/I: Allegro

b) No. 8/I: Allegro molto

c) No. 8/III: Menuet

The sonata form was thus able to gain symmetry through the application of the regular period.

The second element mentioned in connection with No. 8/III concerns the treatment of the winds. The use of *concertante* strings had, by reverting to the finer and more subtle baroque methods, produced a freer and more truly violinistic approach to the whole string family. By

borrowing a leaf from the divertimento<sup>8</sup>, in which the winds were often expected to perform elaborate solos, Haydn overcomes the pre-classical limitations of woodwind scoring, where these instruments were by and large restricted to the tutti sections, filling in a background of sustained harmony. In his new symphonies, Haydn expects his winds to perform alone, and not only in the trios of minuets, where, even in the earliest symphonies, they were sometimes allowed to have their say. Again, whether the presence of expert wind players in the Esterházy band was the cause or the medium is not clear. At any rate, such passages as those quoted below (Ex. 7) place the winds in a very different category from that to which they were formerly subjugated.

**Ex. 7** a) No. 6/I (Allegro)

Fl., 2 Ob. Ob. II Ob. I Fl. Fag. Ob.  
Vln. I, II  
Vla., Fag. Continuo  
(Cemb.)  
*f p f p f p f p f p*

b) No. 8/I (Allegro molto)

Tutti (*f*) Vla. 8va Ob. + Cor (Str.) Fag. Solo Vln. I, II  
(Cemb.) *p* *f* Vla. etc.  
Fag. + Cont.

c) No. 8/III (Menuet)

Fl. Tutti (*f*) Vla. 8va Ob. + Cor Fag. Solo Vla. Cor  
(Cemb.) *p* *f* (Tutti Bassi)

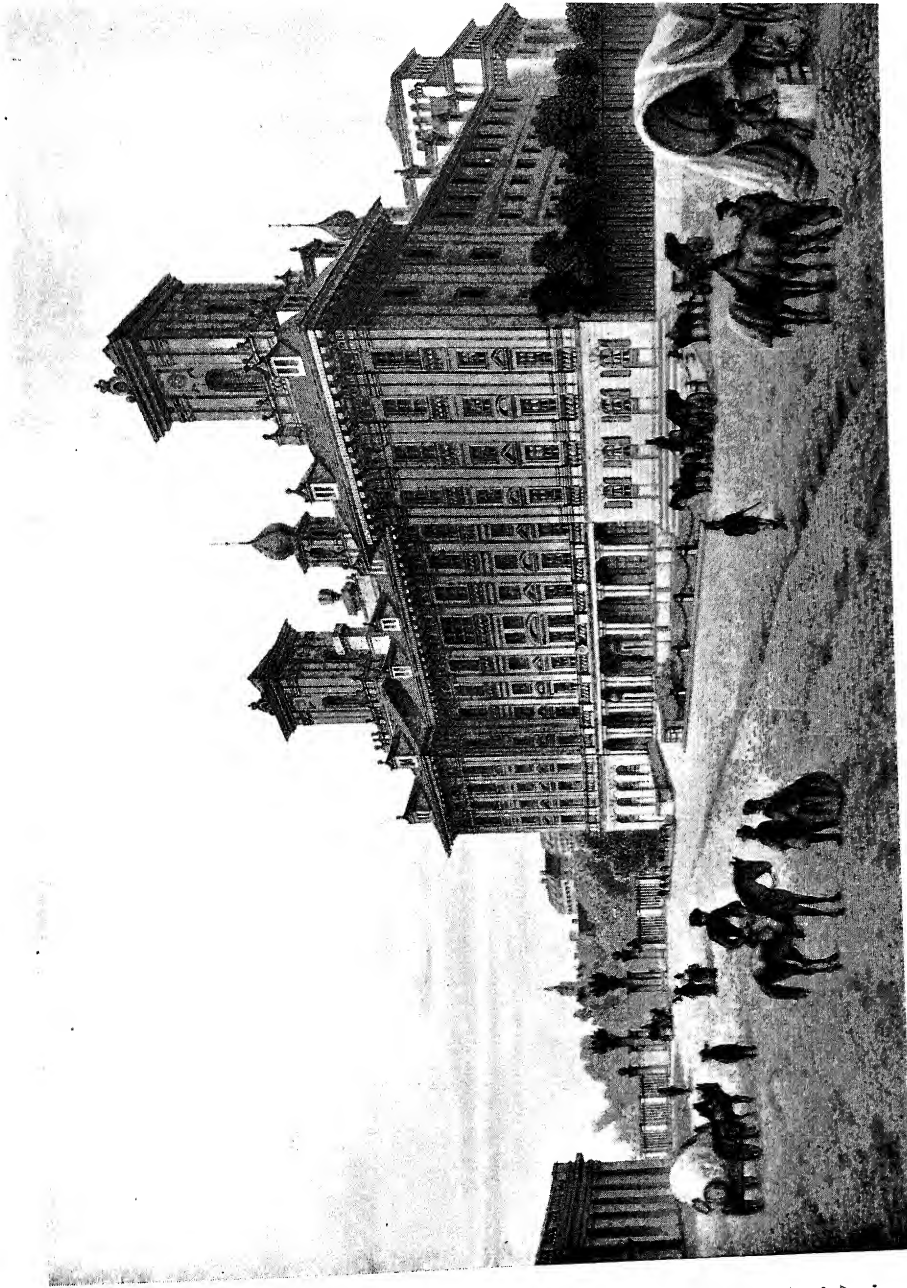
<sup>8</sup> It may be that even the three-eight time used in the first movement in *Le Soir* (and how differently from the trite three-eight finales of the early symphonies) is drawn from the divertimento. Whereas many of Haydn's early quartets and other divertimenti use this metre for their first movements, none of the early symphonies begins with a three-eight marking.

Of particular significance is the declaration of independence made by the bassoon, which, though still expected to reinforce the bass line when not engaged in other business, is given solo passages like the other woodwind instruments (Ex. 4 [b]).

It will be noticed that Nos. 6 and 7 each begin with a slow introduction. In the previous chapter, it was suggested that this innovation may have derived from Haydn's frequent use of the church-sonata scheme of slow-fast-(minuet)-fast; an additional consideration here may have been the programmatic character (the sunrise depicted at the outset of No. 6 may have been responsible for that *Adagio*). Whatever the reason, the short curtain-raisers of *Le Matin* and *Le Midi* establish a precedent which was to become one of the features most closely associated with Haydn.

We have observed that the 'interim' symphonies discussed in Chapter VI often contained a finale far better suited to the needs of the symphonic form than the sterile three-eight presto; on all three finales of Nos. 6-8 Haydn lavished his attention, taking special care to see that they preserve a lighter character than the opening movements; he achieves this by adhering to quick metres (two-four or six-eight) and by an even more pronounced use of solo woodwinds. The flute, for example, is used in charming divertimento-like texture in the last movements of all three works. At the same time, by increasing the length of the finales and by allotting to them thematic material of some weight, he increases their importance. In the finale of *Le Matin* Haydn follows — unconsciously, for he cannot have known the work — the procedure of Bach's Fourth Brandenburg Concerto in introducing a long and difficult violin solo, replete with intricate passage work, double stops and the like. It may be said that these finales, as indeed the other movements, are solidified and made more substantial through baroque devices, and are lightened and made humorous through elements derived from the divertimento. The last movement of No. 7, perhaps the most successful finale, provides an ideal example of this unlikely fusion.

One of the characteristics of Haydn's new style is his use of the fermata or pause (♯) which, like so many other seemingly insignificant details found in this trilogy, is used in typically Haydnesque fashion for the first time here, and later becomes part and parcel of the composer's musical language. There are, of course, examples of pauses in earlier Haydn works but they are by no means as frequent as in



XIX The Esterházy  
palace at Eisenstadt.  
Steel engraving by  
C. Rohrich, after L.  
Rohbock.

Manuscripta Mus. I Nr. 23

**XX Symphony No. 7**  
(1761). Autograph formerly in the Archives of Prince Esterházy (now in the National Museum, Budapest).  
(*Courtesy of J. P. Larsen*).

Nos. 6-8 and lack a personal character. In Nos. 6-8 they either lengthen a rest (No. 6/II, No. 7/V) or come before the close of an exposition or recapitulation to set off the closing or cadential passage from the body of the section (No. 6/IV, No. 8/II); once, in No. 8/I, the fermata is used over a deceptive cadence, to heighten the surprise effect. Anyone familiar with mature Haydn will recognize the significance of this innovation.

It was mentioned above that the second movement of No. 7 was a recitative. This and the connected slow movement are so remarkable that one's attention is automatically focused upon them. The first movement of No. 7 employs the full orchestra used in this trilogy, but without flutes. The second movement, an accompanied recitative in the style of an Italian opera or cantata, is scored for two oboes, strings and *continuo*, a solo violin being used instead of the voice. Wordlessly, the vocal line beseeches, pants, weeps and sighs in the best Italian *opera seria* manner. A sudden *Allegro* underlines its anguish; then the music relapses into a curiously poignant *Adagio*, ending in the prescribed V-I cadence. Having arrived at B minor Haydn then begins his third movement, an *Adagio*, in G major. In the first measure, two flutes in thirds suddenly soar over the sustained solo violin and accompanying strings. The effect of G major after B minor and the soft warmth of the flutes (not previously employed) is like the sudden and unexpected release of a damned spirit who is now free to walk in the Elysian fields. But our surprises are not yet over. After approaching the close of the second part in normal fashion Haydn leads the music to a six-four chord, whereupon the solo violin and solo 'cello are given a long cadenza to themselves. In the midst of this, a few measures of *Allegro* are introduced. After a long, prepared cadence, including the customary trill, the movement concludes, in the fashion of a true concerto, with a short tutti. To the average listener, this portion of *Le Midi* will undoubtedly represent the most obvious innovation of the trilogy; but the recitative is actually no more than a particularly sensational example of the many ingenious and felicitous elements contained in all three symphonies.

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After *Le Matin*, *Le Midi* and *Le Soir* Haydn's symphonic output settles down to a more normal course. The trilogy constituted the necessary and effective break with his former style, but being

extremely hybrid in formal and orchestral construction, it did not solve any of the problems with which Haydn had been grappling in the interim symphonies discussed in Chapter VI. The course of the next ten years saw the solidification and concentration of Haydn's symphonic style. This process was mainly accomplished by a succession of novel and often daring experiments; the composer — particularly after 1765 — began to introduce into the normal frame of his symphonic structure various elements designed, on the one hand, to make each work different from the last and, on the other, to determine the basic course of the symphony. It remains a matter of conjecture how seriously Haydn took the task of organizing and perfecting the symphonic form; it is not always obvious whether a bold innovation — such as the introduction of church melodies into secular works — was primarily designed to enrich the fabric of the form as a whole or simply to vary the monotony of the numerous symphonies produced each year at the Prince's 'Academies'. If one compares, for example, the four symphonies composed in 1765, one sees immediately that each is quite different from the other tonally, structurally and emotionally. If not all the movements in each symphony of this period are of equal value, this may be attributed to the prodigious rate at which Haydn was expected to compose (the Prince suggested, in a very unpleasant letter<sup>9</sup> dated 1765, that Haydn should 'apply himself more diligently to composition than heretofore'[!]), and to the fact that the composer had not yet reached maturity — this was to come in the years 1771-1774.

The outward form of the symphonies produced between the programmatic trilogy and the year 1766 makes it possible to divide them into three categories:

(1) Those displaying the normal order of movements, with or without minuet (Nos. 12, 13, 40, 14, 23, 24, 28, 29, 33, 36).

(2) Those cast in the church-sonata mould, with the slow movement first (Nos. 18, 21, 22).

(3) Hybrid types which do not fall into either of the above categories: the four works concerned are (a) the *Hornsignal* (No. 31) and (b) another 'hunting' symphony, No. 72, both of which are closer to the divertimento or suite than the symphony; (c) No. 25, a curious little piece — incidentally the only one of the 104 not in HV — con-

<sup>9</sup> Pohl I, p. 247 ff.



structed in three movements: viz., slow introduction — *Allegro* — minuet with trio — finale; and (d) No. 30, in which the minuet and finale are merged together in a rondo entitled 'Tempo di Minuet[to]', a form which Haydn frequently employed in keyboard sonatas and clavier trios; the same sort of finale is also used for No. 18, but since the latter adheres basically to the church-sonata form it was thought preferable to include it with Nos. 21 and 22.

In general, the foremost characteristic of this period is brevity. As if in answer to the deliberate expansiveness of Nos. 6-8, the symphonies of 1763 are remarkable for their extreme conciseness; it is almost as if Haydn were disciplining himself after the luxury of the programmatic trilogy. Of the works composed in or about 1763, Nos. 12 and 14 are perhaps the most concentrated. No. 14 has in fact the character of a miniature symphony; but how finely wrought are its terse outer movements, how effective the one dynamic surprise in the opening *Allegro molto* (the *fortissimo* just before the recapitulation). This economy of means is reflected in Haydn's melodic construction: No. 13/I is dominated throughout by two rhythmic motifs (♩, ♪♪♪ and ♩ ♪, ♪♪). Let us first examine some of the formal elements in those symphonies preserving the normal sequence of movements, as opposed to those of the church-sonata type, which must be treated separately.

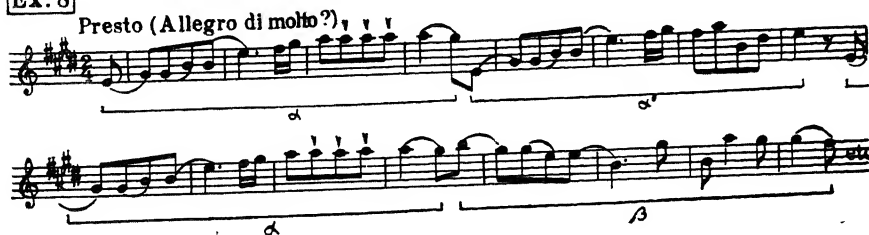
The normal first movements of this period are constructed in sonata form, but as with most of Haydn's contemporaries, in two rather than three sections. The exposition is planned to balance the development and recapitulation together, which explains why Haydn continues, with rare exceptions, to mark the second section with an optional indication of repetition; this continues even to the symphonies of 1771-1774. The second section is usually about half as long again as the first, but in the finales this ratio is decreased so that both sections are almost equal in length. During this period, the middle (development) section begins to assume more and more importance. The gradual shifting of weight towards the centre is brought about not only by working with motifs or through the contrapuntal extension of previous material, but also by a general sharpening of dramatic feeling, as is already evident in the first movement of Nos. 23 and, to an even greater extent, No. 24. In the former, Haydn achieves his effect by using motifs of the first subject contrapuntally, whereas No. 24 places the stress upon the development by an intense concentration upon one

rhythmic and dynamic idea which modulates at a *fortissimo* level directly to the recapitulation. The same movement, however, decentralizes the power of the development by beginning the recapitulation in the tonic minor, giving the impression of further development. By fusing development and recapitulation into one, Haydn still preserves the concept of a binary sonata form. The first movement of No. 31 even omits the opening (*forte*) portion of the first subject in the recapitulation and, like No. 24, enters the *reprise* through the tonic minor, achieving the same fusion of development and recapitulation. Here Haydn uses the inverted recapitulation, so beloved of Johann Stamitz, in which the main subject, or at least the first part of it, is brought in after the second; this, however, is a typical Mannheim device which does not seem to have interested Haydn more than superficially.

It took Haydn a long time before he finally settled on the evenly-spaced phrase of four or eight bars. The first movements are, however, very different from the pre-classical, early Haydn symphonies, where the main themes consist almost wholly of short motifs spun out for several bars, perhaps repeated *piano*, but almost always consisting of several, small rhythmic or melodic fragments placed together. As early as No. 3/I, we have seen a deliberate attempt to organize the first subject into an A-B-A form. At this early stage, Haydn accomplishes contrasts primarily by a solo-tutti relationship; thus, the 'B' section of No. 3/I is differentiated from the 'A' section mainly by the *f-p* effect. It may be that the later practice of introducing the second subject *piano*, as opposed to the usual *forte* of the first subject, has its roots in Haydn's earliest symphonies: being by and large *forte* throughout, they often introduce as a contrast a *piano* passage which is allotted to the first and second violins alone with, perhaps, the addition of the viola; this passage, by no means occupying the position of a real second subject, is probably a throw-back to the old *concerto grosso*. There are, as we have seen in the foregoing chapter, typical examples in the first movements of Nos. 3 (see above), 14, 15, 17, 25, 33 (with violas) and the second movement of No. 5 (in the church-sonata form). In the very earliest symphonies (Nos. 2, 4, etc.), the process is somewhat different, the second subject as a whole being usually played *piano*, but with all the strings eventually entering. But the nearer Haydn approaches a fast movement in which the second subject — practically non-existent during the years 1761-1765

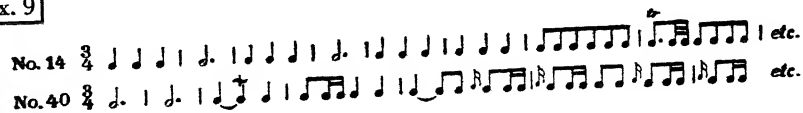
—forms a real contrast to the first, the less he is forced to rely on this solo-tutti kind of dynamic contrast. Of the symphonies discussed in this chapter, perhaps No. 12/III (Finale) most nearly reaches an ideal balance; here the first and second subjects are set apart from each other by dynamic contrast, different phrasings and contrasting rhythms (Ex. 8). No. 12/I follows No. 6/I in a clear eight-measure period of 4 (statement) + 4 (answer), and the finale is even more advanced:

Ex. 8



The second subjects are not yet contrasted in this way and employ sequential patterns (as in No. 12/I) or use a self-accelerating motif, as in No. 12/III, where the second subject can be divided into  $(2 \times 2) + (1) + (\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2})$ . The concluding material of the exposition is very rarely laid out in periods, except where it may use a fragment of the main subject (No. 12/III). Haydn was not as yet inclined to put his whole trust in the symmetrical period type of thematic construction, and most of the first movements use the old baroque type of theme built upon motifs. He now, however, prefers to combine this with the principle of speeding up the component parts, as we have observed in the finale of No. 12. The first movements of Nos. 14 and 40 illustrate the principle:

Ex. 9



No. 23/I contains still another experiment, whereby the concept of a subject-answer is achieved without preserving the evenly-spaced four-measure phrase. To compensate for this loss he balances his two main phrases of the main subject by making some of the measures

hang together through their rhythmic similarity (x), others by melodic repetition (a):

**Ex. 10**

Allegro

x = rhythm  
a = motif  
A, B = structure

No. 24/I shows the same lack of interest in the eight-measure period and attempts to achieve symmetry through an inter-relationship of motifs. This did not satisfy Haydn either, and he turned to yet another method in the finale of No 23, which uses the juxtaposition of *f* and *p* in the Mannheim manner, not the solo-tutti derived from the *concerto grosso*. The difference is perhaps most obvious if we place part of the development of No. 23/IV side by side with No. 7/V:

**Ex. 11** a) No. 7/V (Allegro)

b) No. 23/IV (Presto assai)

Haydn must have seen that the construction of a movement or even a melody of the type of No. 23/IV cannot be used very frequently, since one wearies quickly of any music whose main effect is dynamic contrast — one of the fundamental weaknesses of the Mannheim technique. It is therefore not surprising to find that the symphonies of 1765 partially adopt the symmetrical period. No. 28/I returns to the

method of No. 13/I, and is so preoccupied with the exploitation of its primary motif that the entire first subject is shaped by extending this one idea. But No. 29/I uses the four-measure phrase, made additionally attractive by the alternation of strings for statement and oboes for the answer: 4 (statement/str.)  $\times$  4 (answer/ob.) + 4 (statement/str.) + 6 (extension, also given to oboes and strings alternately). It is characteristic that the second part of the theme should preserve the oboe-strings relationship whilst, at the same time, extending the phrase from four to six ( $5 + \frac{1}{2}$ ) bars. It is also indicative of Haydn's cautious mentality that there is no further example of this period-type of construction in the second and fourth movements. On the other hand, all the movements of No. 30 are built upon four (or eight) measure phrases. The first movement, as we shall see, extends the chorale melody so that it fits into eight measures<sup>10</sup>  $\frac{a+a}{4} + \frac{b+b}{4}$ , and the *Andante* also begins with an eight-measure phrase ( $4+4$ ) and follows the pattern of the first movement in constructing its subsidiary subject out of a phrase which repeats itself literally and then spins itself out, using the same motif:

## Ex. 12

a) Nr. 30/I  *etc.* (cf. Ex. 20 a)

b) Nr. 30/II 

No. 30 is the first Haydn symphony to use eight-measure periods in all its movements; even the finale is a rondo of symmetrical proportions, growing out of a  $4+4$  minuet-like theme. Strangely enough, No. 31/I, though written in the same year (1765), has no such period until the concluding measures of the exposition (and recapitulation), which is made up of an eight-measure phrase ( $4+4$ ); the foregoing thematic material in the movement, however, is all based on the earlier baroque system of a primarily sequential spinning-out of the motifs. The finales of Nos. 31 and 72 are both variation movements which, being derived from the divertimento or suite, employ the expected  $(4 \times 4) + (4 \times 4)$  pattern. No. 72/I unexpectedly employs a  $4+4$  phrase for the main subject as well.

<sup>10</sup> See Ex. 19.

From this point onwards, Haydn steadily lays more and more stress on the organized type of melodic construction; and we shall see how, by 1771/1772, the eight-measure period becomes a regular feature of Haydn's mature style.

The slow movements are more reluctant to accept such innovations, and andantes as late as 1767 (No. 35/II) and afterwards (No. 58/II, No. 59/II) still adhere to the type found in the earliest Haydn symphonies. In a number of second movements of this period, one encounters a hybrid melodic form, in which the initial statement of the melody is laid out in a symmetrical pattern, usually four measures, whereas the melodic line is continued on the baroque principle, or broken off by inserting an episodic measure or two; this latter procedure, exemplified in No. 28/II, was one of the most attractive features of the first theme of No. 8/I; unfortunately, the charm of this organized irregularity is not always achieved in the slow movements of 1761-1765. (This criticism is obviously not meant to refer to those slow movements constructed in the concerto or *concerto grosso* technique, such as in Nos. 13, 24, 31, 36, where the new thematic process could hardly be applied to the baroque form without creating a most incongruous whole.)

The slow movements in the works constructed in the normal order — those of the church-sonata symphonies are in a class by themselves — may be divided into three separate categories; curiously, the basic tempo direction seems to have something to do with the character of the pieces themselves. The first, and most frequently encountered, is the *Andante*, invariably without winds and adhering to the type found in the pre-classical form. It is these movements which show the least progress; an otherwise closely knit symphony, such as No. 23, will suffer a strange lapse of inspiration in the slow movement. This is probably because Haydn was for some reason unwilling to apply the new methods of melodic construction, form and orchestration to these andantes, which, being robbed of the very elements which make the composer's style of this period interesting, fall back on the language which Haydn had completely exhausted by about 1760. Consequently, the andantes of Nos. 14, 23, 29 and 33 employ a rudimentary two-part sonata form, modulating, it is true, to the dominant, but lacking any contrasting subject or real development, and devoid of the rhythmic force which enlivens the quick movements. These andantes really have little more to offer than those of the earliest symphonies, and it is not

surprising to find that of No. 14 using material from one of Haydn's very earliest divertimenti<sup>11</sup>.

The second type of slow movement is marked *Adagio*, and together with the slow tempo goes a more subtle character. Almost all of this species continue the trend established in *Le Matin*, *Le Midi* and *Le Soir* by turning to the concerto for inspiration: the slow movement of No. 13 is an idyllic solo for the 'cello, that of No. 24 for solo flute, that of No. 36 a very baroque exploitation of solo violin and solo 'cello; while that of No. 31 is a cross between divertimento-like scoring (solo horns) and concerto-like form. On the other hand, the *Adagio* of No. 12 seems to have its origin in the emotional world of Italian opera; it is, incidentally, the only movement of this whole period in a minor tonality, interesting to the student of Haydn because it is neither in the light-pathetic language of the Italian *sinfonia* nor the dark-hued tragedy of a few years later. No. 12/II is serious without being pretentious. Formally, it contains two interesting features: (1) the whole movement is dominated by the *siciliano* rhythm established in the very first bar; (2) unlike most movements in a minor key, this one modulates, not to the relative major, but to the dominant minor, in which key elements of the main theme are re-introduced to serve as the second subject. This subordination of the subsidiary subject, achieved by constructing it out of the main theme, is something Haydn liked to do throughout his life.

A third category comprises slow movements which do not fit into either of the other two. Once, in the second movement of No. 40, Haydn treats us to an entirely different *Andante più tosto allegretto*, light, dancing 'Midsummer Night's Dream' music whose subtle, scherzo-like effervescence brings us close to the world of Mendelssohn. The slow movement of No. 30 marks the beginning of a new type which we are to encounter frequently. Helmut Wirth<sup>12</sup> describes the type as having a 'captivating melody and... gravitational rhythm.' Its main features are the use of a dotted upbeat (♩. ♩), the pert, almost prim nature of the melodic line and a predilection for the two-four metre. There are several examples in the years following 1765: the Aria No. 1 from *La Canterina* (1766), the Aria of Eurilda from *Le Pescatrici* (1769), the 'Intermezzo' from Act I of *Il Mondo della Luna*, the *Adagio* from Symphony No. 55.

<sup>11</sup> See p. 182.

<sup>12</sup> Analytical Notes to *Orfeo ed Euridice*, Boston, 1951, p. 32.

*Symphonies of 1761—1765*

The problem of the finale seems to have occupied Haydn's attention very seriously in these years. As if to compensate for the many three-eight prestos of earlier symphonies, he now lays particular emphasis on the final movements. In the symphonies of c. 1763, he often turned either to the strict fugue (No. 40<sup>13</sup>) or (Nos. 13<sup>14</sup> and 14) to a mixture of harmonic and contrapuntal methods. In No. 12 he turns out a delightful, racing *Presto* in strict sonata form. Most of the finales found in the symphonies of 1764 and 1765 are of this type; they are worked out on the same general lines as the first movements, except that the development and second subject are still more compressed, or omitted altogether. They do not, however, always have the same lightness and 'final' character of No. 12/III. Quite new is the finale of No. 23, with its continual alternation of *f* and *p* and the pixie-like conclusion, perhaps the first positive example of Haydn's famous sense of humour:

**Ex. 13**



The crowning movement of No. 29 is its finale. It is a fine example of the nervous energy which begins more and more to characterize Haydn's quick movements. The fury and fire which consume this *Presto* are completely unexpected, coming, as they do, after the almost rustic tranquillity of the preceding parts of the symphony. The *forte* unison opening is an effect which Haydn later used in his first movements in the years 1772-1774.

Two characteristic rhythmic patterns dominate much of the music in the symphonies now under discussion. The first of these is the

<sup>13</sup> See also Symphony No. 3, discussed in Chapter VI.

<sup>14</sup> The main theme of No. 13/IV uses the ancient 'credo-melody' found in Mozart's Mass in F (K. 192), the Symphony in B flat (K. 319), etc.



basic, or ground pulse of a quick movement: Haydn does not leave this to one's subconscious perception; he hammers it into the listener with a nervous rigidity, constantly suggesting a sense of terrific energy. Whole movements are welded together by this hammering bass line. The first example occurs in No. 6/I, where quavers supply the basic pulse of a three-four time; in Nos. 14/I, 40/I, 21/II, 21/IV, 22/II, 23/I, 24/I, 29/IV, 31/I, and to a lesser extent in various other movements, this principle may be found in varying degrees of intensity. Another indispensable adjunct to it is what is often called a 'rhythmic lead', which is in fact the direct descendant of a typical baroque concept. The most characteristic form is a knocking rhythm ( ♩ ♩ ♩ ) to which, especially in three-four time, he likes to add a suspension, usually in the form of one or two crotchets:

**Ex. 14**

a) No. 13/I (Allegro molto)



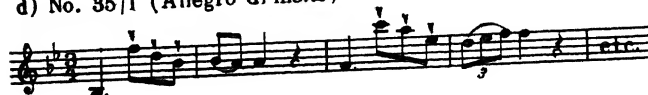
b) No. 21/II (Presto)



c) No. 31/I (Allegro)



d) No. 35/I (Allegro di molto)



Haydn's preoccupation with rhythmic matters produces an amusing experiment in the first movement of No. 28, which he constructs in such a way that the listener cannot, from an auditory impression alone, decide whether the time is three-four or six-eight. Only after the first tutti is reached does the music settle into a steady three-four beat (see Plate XXII).

The most interesting dynamic effects occur in just those symphonies containing other marks of originality. In the average quick

movement, particularly those in which the rhythmic impetus is most pronounced, Haydn is content to allow the music to remain almost without interruption at a *forte* level: in No. 21/II there are only eight measures of *piano*, most of these being echo effects, whilst in No. 23/I there are only seven measures of *p*, four (two in the exposition, two in the recapitulation) being literal ‘baroque echoes’,

Ex. 15

a) Allegro molto

Fl., Ob. I  
Fl.  
2 Ob.  
4 Cor.  
(D)  
Vln. I, II  
Vla., (Fag.)  
Timp., Basso  
(Cemb.)  
Timp.

etc.

b) Allegro

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I, II  
Vla.  
(Fag.)  
Basso  
(Cemb.)

etc.

the other three merely preventive *p*'s given to the strings in order to allow the oboes — not marked *p* — to dominate. In No. 29/IV the only *p* is a brief passage at the beginning of the second part, immediately following the exposition. Similarly, most of the andantes are content to remain within a conservative dynamic range. In No. 24/I occurs one of the first instances of an accent, which Haydn later expressed by *forz.* (*fz.*); as early as 1764, however, he does not seem to have known or wanted to use *fz* and therefore marks repeated *ff*'s instead. The one *mezzoforte* outside of *Le Soir* — this portion is corrupted beyond belief in the *Gesamtausgabe* — may be found in No. 21/I, where the violas, accompanying the oboes and horns, are so marked. Judging from all the authentic MSS., Haydn never used *mf* in a symphony again, although the quartets frequently contain this marking.

Haydn's orchestration shows a great improvement over the earliest symphonies; this is not to say that the fundamental baroque principles are abandoned, for until about 1770 a cembalo is always required to fill in missing harmonies, especially in slow movements. It is mainly in the scoring of wind instruments that his orchestration shows the most progress. In No. 13/I, for example, the wind, with four instead of the customary two horns, is used in an organ-like construction of massed chords which is highly effective (Ex. 15 a) whilst in No. 24/I oboes and horns are allotted the main theme (Ex. 15 b).

In his effort to discover new tonal realms we have seen that Haydn reversed the normal procedure of the symphony and, following the pattern of the church sonata, produced a number of single-key symphonies in which the slow movement was placed first. In the previous chapter, two of these works, No. 5 and No. 11 were discussed. During the years 1761-1765, three more were composed, two (Nos. 21 and 22) in 1764 and one (No. 18) probably a year or two before. All three have certain points in common, apart from their adherence to one tonality throughout and their inverted order. To begin a symphony with a slow movement requires particular concentration on the part of both composer and audience, and Haydn's faculties seem to have sharpened when composing in this form. Whereas in No. 11 the spirit as well as the orchestration had its roots in the divertimento — there are also various examples of this inverted order in early Haydn quartets, trios, etc. — in No. 5 we saw the precursor of the symphonies of 1764. Both Nos. 21 and 22, and to an only slightly

lesser extent No. 18, are so far removed spiritually from their immediate symphonic companions that one wonders if they were actually composed for performance in the church. This suspicion only deepens when one examines the final specimen of this type, No. 49, composed in 1768.

It must have occurred to Haydn that for such special works the customary thematic material was insufficient; in fact, during these years the composer seems to have been preoccupied with ways in which to escape his own lusty, vigorous and forthright style. In searching for more subtle thematic means, he turned to the two most abundant sources at his disposal; that they were spiritually at opposite ends of the pole was only an added incentive to the composer, for both must have fired his imagination. The first of these was the rich legacy of the Roman Catholic Church, viz. (1) the old plain-chant and (2) the chorales and more popular church melodies: the latter were often, in turn, an outgrowth of older Gregorian chants. There is a touching story of the aged Haydn, quoted by Marion Scott<sup>15</sup>, which shows how profoundly the old man was affected by these chorales; he once said to Dies (Miss Scott's translation): 'I am really a living clavier. For many days an old song, in E minor, that I often played in my youth, has played itself in me — "O Herr! wie lieb' ich dich von Herzen."' Despite such hints, it does not seem to have been realized that Haydn actually made use of church melodies in a not inconsiderable number of his compositions.

If this aspect of Haydn's genius may be said to be relatively unknown, the second source from which the composer drew so much inspiration — the folksong — has been rather exhaustively examined, especially in Kuhač's study<sup>16</sup> and later by Hadow<sup>17</sup> and E. F. Schmid<sup>18</sup>. It was precisely during these critical years of formation, and more particularly about the year 1765, that Haydn seems to have become increasingly aware of the vast domain of Slavonic folk-music.

As the former of these two vitally important factors appears for the first time in Haydn's symphonies in connection with one of the

<sup>15</sup> *Haydn and Folk-Song*, Music & Letters, Vol. XXXI, No. 2 (1950), p. 123.

<sup>16</sup> F. Kuhač, *Josip Haydn i Hrvatske Narodne Popievke*, Zagreb, 1880.

<sup>17</sup> W. H. Hadow, *A Croatian Composer*, London, 1897.

<sup>18</sup> *Ein Buch von Vorfahren und Heimat des Meisters*, Kassel, 1934. See also Ludwig Koch, *Joseph Haydn...* [issued in conjunction with the Haydn bicentenary by the State Library, Budapest, 1932].

works in the church-sonata scheme, let us turn to the three symphonies of this sort belonging to this period.

In a sense, Haydn prepares the way for the introduction of a church melody in No. 22 through Nos. 18 and 21. In No. 18, the first two movements are emotionally similar in spirit to Nos. 21 and 22, but the finale, a rondo entitled 'Tempo di Minuetto', reflects the composer's lighter style. The first movement is, significantly, marked *Andante moderato*<sup>19</sup>, the middle point between *Adagio* and *Andante*; the mood of the music wavers between the solemn slow movements of Nos. 21 and 22 and the lighter andante movements spotted throughout this period. Sequential patterns and a profusion of dotted baroque figures give one the impression of a charming but slightly archaic precursor to the opening parts of Nos. 21 and 22. The second movement of No. 18 is, however, very closely related to its successors. This *Allegro molto* is primarily designed to burst upon the scene with great vigour after the concentration of the opening slow movement. While the slow movement places its emphasis upon melodic line, beauty of part-writing and a certain stately gait, the ensuing *Allegro* is tight-fisted, basically rhythmic and extremely terse. The similarities between No. 18 and No. 21 are sufficiently striking to merit quotation:

**Ex. 16**

a) No. 18 / II: *Allegro molto*

The musical score for Ex. 16, a) No. 18 / II: *Allegro molto*, is presented in two systems. The first system begins with a 'bis' marking and a '5)' marking. The instrumentation includes (f) Str. Ob. Cor. and (Cemb.). The second system continues the music with 'bis' and '(f?)' markings. The score ends with 'etc.'.

<sup>19</sup> It must be remarked here that in the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe*, Series I, Vol. 2, this symphony is printed with the first and second movements in the wrong order, with the tempo *Andante molto* instead of *Andante moderato* for the slow movement, and with a number of very serious inaccuracies regarding dynamic marks, phrasing and even actual notes: see Appendix I.

Symphonies of 1761—1765

b) No. 21/II: Presto  
bis 5)

(Str., Ob., Cor.)  
(Cemb.)

bis

etc.

Symphony No. 21 prepares the way still further. Over the first movement extends a curiously veiled restraint, a certain softness quite new in Haydn. The woodwind—and one should not forget that of all the various types only these ‘church-sonata’ works consistently employ them in the slow movement—occupy a prominent position. Together with the strings and alternating with them, they support or carry the melodic and harmonic line; how far Haydn has progressed in his orchestration, so sensitive and imaginative here, compared to the First Symphony!

The first movement of No. 21 is particularly interesting because of its melodic concentration. The one and only theme is constructed in two groups of three measures each, the two overlapping both structurally and textually. The entire material for the movement is contained in these six opening measures (one should notice the unusual *mezzo f*: [orte], so rare that even the faithful Joseph Elssler omitted it when copying the work for transmission to Dr. Stocker at St. Florian):

Ex. 17 No. 21/I: Adagio

a)

Str. (Cemb.)

Ob.

Vla. + Cor.

Vla. + Cor.

mezzo f

etc.

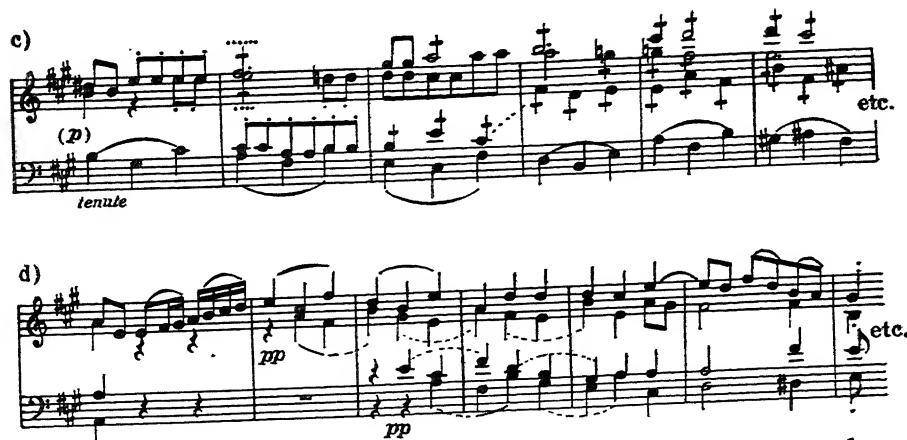
b)

Str. (Cemb.)

etc.

gva

Symphonies of 1761—1765



The movement is worked out in very free form, almost like a fantasia; the melodic periods are invariably uneven, following the 3 + 3 division of the theme itself (Ex. 17 a). Using the even crotchet progression of measures one and two, together with a derivative of the violin figure in measure three, Haydn modulates in smooth sequences (Ex. 17 b). A further use of the first melodic fragment is found in a strangely affecting passage in which the bass becomes the leading voice (Ex. 17 c). Later in the course of the movement this part of the theme is brought in *stretto* and marked *pianissimo* (Ex. 17 d). Some abrupt dynamic changes are introduced before the remarkable movement closes.

By the judicious use of these new dynamic, melodic and orchestral devices, Haydn has succeeded in giving us one of the most original single movements in his symphonies so far examined. The way is now prepared for an even more significant innovation.

Symphony No. 22<sup>20</sup> employs two English horns instead of the customary oboes. As we have observed in Chapter VI, these were instruments peculiarly sympathetic to the composer during the years of development and experiment; but despite his obvious affection for them, only this one symphony is scored for English horns. In the opening *Adagio* the violins are muted; and the soft orchestral sheen pro-

<sup>20</sup> The extraordinary form of the opening first movement is probably the reason why we have a second version of the symphony, in which the second movement was placed first followed by a new slow movement ( $\frac{3}{8}$ , A flat major). The latter is by no means unattractive and it is even possible that the movement, if not its use in this symphony, is authentic. Without the original opening *Adagio*, however, the work loses its character: see Appendix I for further details of this 'second version'.

duced by the combination of English and French horns, muted violins, lower strings, perhaps with a bassoon, in any case with a harpsichord, is indescribably beautiful — amongst the most original instrumental sounds Haydn ever created. Resolving dissonances, 'perpetual seconds' moving to thirds in the Corelli manner, acquire a peculiarly piercing quality through the mutes (Ex. 18 c). The purpose for which Haydn wove this gorgeous orchestral fabric was to glorify, not the entrancing sound of the orchestra *per se*, but an ancient chorale melody, the origin of which, despite constant research in innumerable song books, church primers, old manuscripts, etc., has yet to be determined. The ten-measure (!) theme is announced by *fortissimo* wind choir, accompanied by unison strings, *piano* (Ex. 18 a). Formally, this *Adagio* may best be described as a mixture between sonata form and the chorale

**Ex. 18** a) *Adagio*

2 Cor. ingl.  
2 Cor.  
Str.  
(Vln. I-II  
con sord.)  
sva

Cor.  
Cor. ingl.  
Cor.  
etc.

b) a2

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Basso  
(Cemb.)  
Vla. sva  
Cor.  
Vla.  
Cor.  
etc.

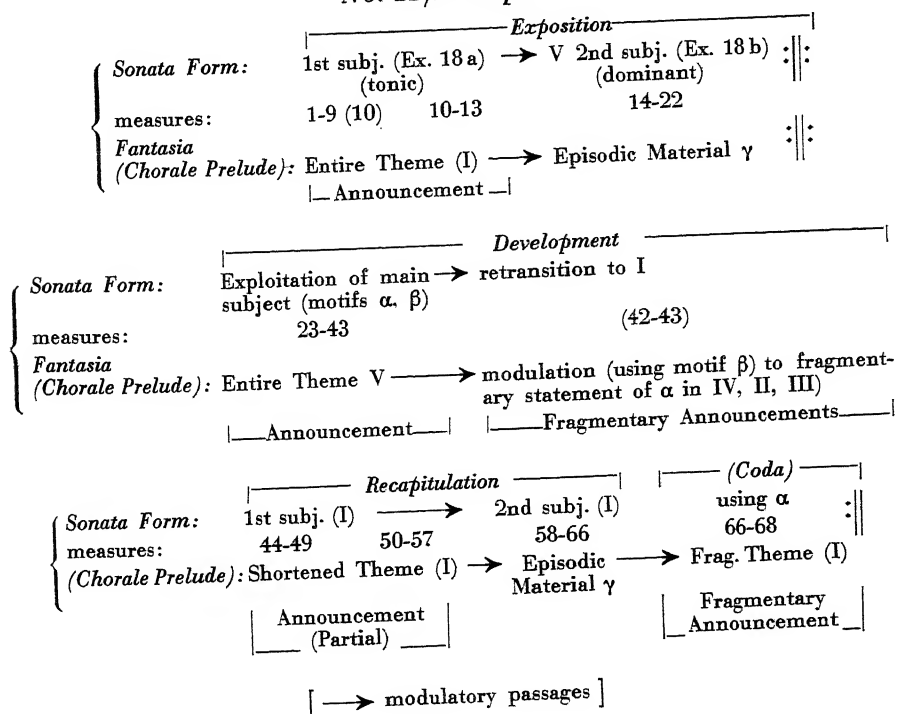
c)

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Basso  
(Cemb.)  
(p)  
Vla. sva  
unis.  
etc.



prelude. Sonata form is adhered to in so far as a kind of second subject (Ex. 18 b) appears both in the closing portion of the exposition and in the identical part of the recapitulation; on the other hand, if we regard this material as episodic — and most of Haydn's second subjects of this period are — the movement may be considered a free fantasia of the chorale prelude type, wherein the chorale is introduced, either as a whole or in fragments in I, V, IV, II, III and I, II and III being preserved in their basic harmonic function as minor keys.

No. 22/I Graph



It is perhaps worthy of note that a steady succession of quavers serves to unite No. 22/I, a device we have observed in the swift movements of this period.

The rest of No. 22 is, however, by no means as original as the first movement. The ensuing *Presto*, it is true, serves well the purpose for which it is intended; like the second movements of Nos. 18 and 21 its primary function is to dissipate the intimate mosaic of sound

created in the *Adagio*; and as such it succeeds. Haydn even creates new tonal delights in his treatment of the English horns: instead of producing the exotic tones of the *Adagio* the English horns are used in a quaint and humorous fashion at the end of the exposition and recapitulation, where, by imitating the violins, they emit sounds not unlike quacking ducks. On the other hand, their use as solos, together with French horns, in the trio of the minuet is scarcely different from the similar orchestration in the Divertimento in F of 1760<sup>21</sup>. Neither the minuet nor the finale—a bouncing little hunting gigue in six-eight time (not, however, without its harmonic surprises)—offers us anything particularly original or significant.

The idea of using church melodies in secular compositions seems to have seized Haydn's imagination; for in the next year (1765)<sup>22</sup> he composed a new symphony in C major (No. 30), which, for once, has received an appropriate subtitle, *Alleluja*. The original Gregorian melody upon which the first movement is based turns out to be the old 'Alleluja', sung during Holy Week; it is not out of the question that this part of the symphony was originally intended for performance on Easter morning. It must be understood that in eighteenth-century Austria the local churches sang all of these old Gregorian chants in versions which are far removed from the original, or at any rate the earliest, forms as found in the 'Liber Usualis'. Modern scholarship returns, of course, to the earliest sources for the definitive

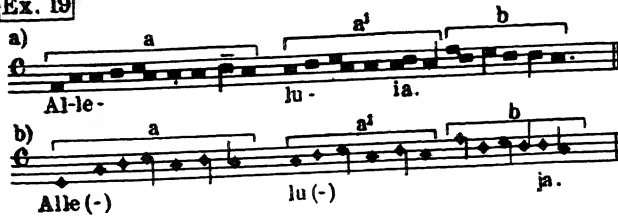
<sup>21</sup> See Chapter VI.

<sup>22</sup> This symphony is also found in an arrangement for baryton, viola and violoncello, No. 64 in HV, transposed into D major. The theme was entered in EK at the very top of page 6. The baryton version is almost certainly the later one: its entry in EK is, judging from the handwriting, somewhat later than that of the symphony on the first page. Furthermore, investigation of the baryton trios has convinced the author that these were the means by which Prince Esterházy could play in privacy the special favourites which Haydn or someone else had composed for the theatre or the academy. Thus, Baryton Trio (HV) No. 5/1 contains an arrangement of 'Che farò senz' Euridice' from Gluck's already famous *Orfeo* (Vienna, 1762); Baryton Trio No. 29/1 is an arrangement of the first scene of Haydn's opera *La Canterina* (1766); while the piece listed as No. 16 under 'Cassations-Stück' in HV — EK, p. 24 is more exact in calling it 'Divertimento' (crossed out and changed, years later, to 'quintetto 2 d [o]') 'per il Pariton con due Corni, una viola e Basso' — turns out to be an arrangement of the lost Divertimento listed on p. 2 of EK as 'a Sei' (crossed out and altered to 'cinqu[e]') 'cioè 2 Clarinetti[,] 2 Corni' [with bassoon(s)?], HV 5. In the case of the latter, there is no question that the work was originally composed for wind band: the entry of the arrangement with baryton is much later. There are other such examples scattered amongst the 150 odd baryton pieces.

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critical text of these ancient church melodies, and quite rightly, but we must seek the later, corrupted texts which were the only ones Haydn could have known. The earliest form (Ex. 19 a) is taken from the 'Liber Usualis'<sup>23</sup>, the corrupted version (Ex. 19 b) from the 'Brixen Compendiosa'<sup>24</sup>. It will be noticed that in the latter, the opening note has been characteristically changed from *la* to *sol*, thus creating a tonal

Ex. 19



c) Haydn: Symphony No. 30/I: Allegro



<sup>23</sup> *Liber Usualis Missae et Officii*, Ex Editione Vaticana Adamussim Excerpto, Parisiis, Tornaci, Romae (1936) (Latin edition), p. 759.

<sup>24</sup> *Cantus | Gregorianus | item | Ritus Sacri | Observandi | Praecipuis Functionibus. | Ad Usus | Dioecesis Brixinensis | ... MDCCCVII* (Inner title: *Compendiosa | ad | Cantum | Gregorianum | Institutio | ... Brixinae | ... 1806*), p. 309. Mozart wrote a delightful little canon on the 'Alleluja' melody (K. 553), which he entered in his *Verzeichnüss [sic] aller meiner Werke von Monath Febrario 1784*... on 2nd September 1788: like Haydn, he used the modernized text with *sol*. One of the finest works to use the melody is the magnificent *Regina Coeli* by Ferdinand Schubert, where the 'Alleluja'—also the *sol* version—enters in syncopation, supported by trumpets and drums.

concept, while pauses have been added, rendering the old, asymmetrical chant symmetrical. Whether the second (b) section was extended by Haydn or whether this, too, may be traced back to some now forgotten text, is not known.

It might be remarked that this symphony is listed in the Kees catalogue as No. 22 'con Oboe, Corni, Clarini, Flauto, Tympani', and that trumpet and drum parts were also noted in Breitkopf's announcement of the work in 1773. Although these are lacking in the autograph and in the MSS. of the Austrian monasteries, the possibility that Haydn may have added them at a later date, or written them — for lack of space — on separate sheets, is by no means unlikely. The whole work breathes the atmosphere of C major pomp which, as observed in Chapter VI, was the tonality reserved for trumpets and kettledrums. The effect of Haydn's new style upon this particular kind of symphony is noteworthy; the difference between the *Alleluja* and Nos. 20, 32 or 37 (all c. 1760) enables one, perhaps better than in any other kind of symphony, to see the strides the young composer has made<sup>25</sup>.

It is characteristic that Haydn should conceal, as it were, this church-melody in the second violins and winds, overlaying it in typical baroque manner with a heavily ornamented line in the first violins; this desire to clothe the old chants with his own melodic raiment may be observed almost every time Haydn uses such a church melody: in Symphonies Nos. 26<sup>26</sup> and 60<sup>27</sup>, in the oratorio *Il Ritorno di Tobia*, in the *Missa Sti. Bernardi* and the *Missa in Angustiis* ('Nelson Mass'), in the magnificent, late (c. 1799) *Te Deum*, the original plain-song is cunningly concealed behind a splendid orchestral and melodic façade.

In No. 30/I Haydn follows the practice inaugurated in No. 22/I, where the church melody was fitted into the frame of the sonata form. But in No. 30/I he carries matters still further in that the second subject (Ex. 20 a) — in No. 22/I wholly episodic — and even the material

<sup>25</sup> A sort of middle point between the *Alleluja* and the very earliest C major symphonies is represented by No. 33; although also without trumpets and drums in the old B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe* (Ser. I, Vol. 3), the oldest and most reliable sources suggest that these parts are authentic. No 25, though also in C, is probably not one of these festival pieces; it is the last work in C major, however, which does not fall into this special category. From this point onwards C major remains the key of princes, of 'Maria Theresia' and 'Laudon'.

<sup>26</sup> See Chapter VIII.

<sup>27</sup> See Chapter IX.

used to close the exposition and recapitulation are based upon the church melody, too. The development, after announcing the theme in its entirety, segregates the first four notes of Ex. 19 (c) and uses them in a stirring sequence (see Ex. 20 b). This selection of a small motif from the main subject, so neatly illustrated here, becomes the most important feature of the developments in Haydn's most mature symphonies<sup>28</sup>. A further device borrowed from No. 22/I is the orchestration of the recapitulation in No. 30/I, where the main theme, shorn of its surrounding ornamentation, is thundered out by the winds alone, the strings discreetly answering, *piano*, with a fragment of the counter-melody in the first violin part of Ex. 19 c.

**Ex. 20**

The musical score for Ex. 20 is divided into three parts: (a), (b), and (c). Part (a) features the Oboe I (Ob. I) playing a melodic line, with strings (Str.) playing a rhythmic pattern, and a Viola (Vla.) playing an octave higher (8va). A Cembalo (Cemb.) part is also indicated. Part (b) shows the Violins I and II (Vln. I-II) playing a melodic line, with Viola (Vla.) and strings (Str.) providing accompaniment. Part (c) continues the development of the theme, with similar instrumentation. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

It was stated above that about 1765 Haydn became conscious of the vast domain of Slavonic folk-music and began to add this dark colour to the bright orchestral fabric of this period. One of the earliest examples<sup>29</sup> of this new and vitally important influence occurs in the *Divertimento a Nove* (HV 17), which we have had occasion to

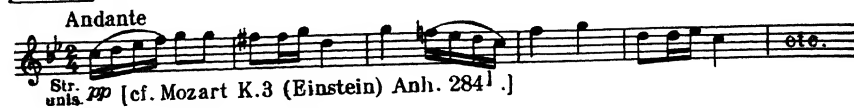
<sup>28</sup> Perhaps the finest example of this is the development of No. 104/I. See Chapter XIII.

<sup>29</sup> The Cassation or Divertimento HV 2 also used a Slavonic melody: see Chapter VI.

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mention in connection with the Recitative in Symphony No. 7<sup>30</sup>. Towards the end of this admirable divertimento, Haydn introduces the following Balkan melody:

**Ex. 21**



That this idea was by no means pleasing to contemporary listeners — who regarded Slavonic and gipsy folk-lore as beneath their dignity — may be gathered from the fact that some copies of the divertimento simply omitted this portion, proceeding to the final, fast movement. But when Haydn transferred his newly-found Balkan spirit into the symphony, the objections were no longer passive, and in 1770 we find the Leipzig critic, J. A. Hiller<sup>31</sup>, commenting on the trio (Ex. 22b) of Symphony No. 28, written five years before, as follows:

[This] Symphony has been put into a bearable form not long ago by one of our [Leipzig] composers and the excrescences [*Auswüchse*] removed; the last movement in six-eight time has been left out of the print altogether; it would have been better to have omitted the silly trio, together with the minuet!

**Ex. 22**

a) Mennet, Allegro molto



b) Trio



Nor is this delightful, spicy trio the only original part of the movement: the minuet itself (Ex. 22a), with the extraordinary tempo

<sup>30</sup> See above, p. 233.

<sup>31</sup> *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen, die Musik betreffend, auf das Jahr 1770*, fifth 'Stück', p. 37. See Pohl I, pp. 314ff.

*Allegro molto*, has much of the gypsy fire in its measures. The switching back and forth from open string to fingered position in order to produce the same note is a device to which Haydn grew much attached (Symphony No. 45/IV, String Quartet Op. 50, No. 6/IV, etc.).

In the same year Symphony No. 29 was written; again its trio takes on the sombre, secret beauty of Slavonic harmonies: characteristic is the abrupt modulation from I to V $\flat$ . The weird atmosphere of the little trio is enhanced by the dark-hued pedal point in the horns and the total absence of any melody whatever:

Ex. 23

The musical score for Ex. 23 consists of two staves. The top staff is for the Horn (2 Cor. (E)) and the bottom staff is for the String (Str. (Cemb.)). The Horn part features a melodic line with many natural harmonics, while the String part provides a dark, sustained accompaniment.

(It might be recalled that, in 1765, Haydn wrote his 'Capriccio' [sic] on the old folk-song 'Acht Sauschneider müssen seyn' [Eng. 'On the Castration of a Boar'], also used in a string quartet of Opus 3.) Speaking of Haydn's use of Croatian folk-songs, W. H. Hadow<sup>32</sup> says:

[Croatian melodies] find their way into everything — hymns, quartets, divertimenti; not, of course, because Haydn had any need to take them, but because he loved them too well to leave them out. It will be remembered that for thirty years, from 1761 to 1790, he worked as Prince Esterházy's Kapellmeister in the very centre of the Croatian colony. He must have heard these songs every day, he must have set his life to their lilt and cadence; they were the melodies of his own people; the echoes of his own thought. No one is surprised that Burns should have gathered the Ayrshire peasant songs and transmuted them into gold by the fire of his genius; it is not more wonderful that Haydn should have enriched the treasures of Eisenstadt with metal from his native mines, and as Heine pertinently puts it, the Temple is built by the Architect, not by the stone-cutters who supply him with his materials.

It is significant that this new melodic treatment should have been first applied to the minuet. In the symphonies of 1763 and 1764, this part of the symphonic form remained very conservative, and even the contrapuntal minuet of No. 23 (1764) does not escape the typical cadential clichés which constrict and confine Haydn's imagination.

<sup>32</sup> *A Croatian Composer*, pp. 39 f.

The vigorous dance of *Le Soir*, far superior to those of the next few years, remains the finest of its *genre* until after the Balkan influence serves to impart to Haydn's minuets a light, winged quality. The results of this abrupt change are felt in the sturdy 'Menuet' of No. 31, the happiest, most infectiously rhythmic dance movement produced so far. During the next years Haydn's charged inspiration was to impart various emotions to his minuets, but only seldom did he revert to the clichés on which he relied so heavily in the years 1763 and 1764.

Two hunting symphonies of this period, Nos. 31 and 72 — the latter grossly out of place in Mandyczewski's list — have been preserved. The former, of which the autograph bears the date 1765, is known under the double name of *Hornsignal* or *Auf dem Anstand* — that moment before the chase where the hunter, lying in wait for his quarry, first sights the long-expected prey. While this work has become almost popular, No. 72 has fallen into complete oblivion. It gives the impression of being a study for the *Hornsignal*, whose delightful instrumental effects and ingenious themes — so suited to the horns — are more mature than in the other work. Both draw heavily upon the suite or divertimento. The orchestration is for a flute, two oboes, four horns, and strings (bassoon, and harpsichord); the slow movement and finale call for solo violin, solo 'cello and, in No. 72, solo *violone* (contrabass). The divertimento-like character of the two works, however, is not only a result of the instrumentation, with its profuse solos for all the winds and particularly, in view of the hunting atmosphere, for the four horns; but also of the finales. These are both slow movements in variation form, concluding with a short presto, a form typical of the divertimento; there are several examples by Haydn himself<sup>33</sup>.

Nor is the 'hunting' orchestration a novelty. A number of composers living before or at the time of Haydn had written works calling for brilliant and difficult horn solos; amongst these is a very attractive *Sinfonia La Caccia* by Leopold Mozart, in which four horns, pitched in G, are expected to execute feats fully as difficult as those in the Haydn symphonies<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> *Inter alia* the Divertimento HV 11, discussed in Chapter VI. Two of the divertimenti from 'Opus XXXI' (Nos. 2 and 6), published by Artaria in 1781, but composed in 1775, also contain this type of finale.

<sup>34</sup> In Leopold Mozart's Symphony (new edition in score by the Universal Edition)



Haydn's horn players at the Esterházy court must have been among the finest virtuosi in Europe. They were obviously accustomed to perform such passages as the following<sup>35</sup>:

Ex. 24 Symphony No. 31/IV (Moderato molto), Var. 4

(See also Ex. 25 [a])

Whereas the winds are silent in the second movement of No. 72, all four horns are used in the *Adagio* of No. 31; by employing two in G and two in D, the horns could execute passages in both tonic and dominant. The last movements, in typical slow tempo (*Moderato molto* in No. 31, *Andante* in No. 72), assign each variation to a different group of instruments (Variation IV of No. 31 is partly quoted above as Ex. 24).

The *Hornsignal* contains one special surprise for the listener: the characteristic horn call which begins the first movement also ends it, being attached to the second subject at the conclusion of the recapitulation. The finale, having gone through seven variations, modulates through the tonic minor to V, at which point the tempo jumps to *Presto*; this little epilogue, similar to that of No. 72, has

the range of the first horn extends to sounding *g''*! The minuet demands this range of the third horn as well. Mozart's delightful orchestration also includes guns, which are expected to go off at points marked in the score.

<sup>35</sup> It is interesting to observe that except for a few scattered notes Haydn makes no effort to employ the 'stopped' notes of the horns; nor does he make much use of the lowest registers; these are effects which first appear in Symphony No. 51, and later with No. 61.

nothing whatever to do with any of the foregoing material, and a new theme is brought in at measure 17 and repeated, the second time with the other pair of horns. We are therefore quite unprepared for the last seven measures: a literal repetition of the horn call which began and ended the first movement. No device could have better cemented the loose construction of the last movement to the rest of the symphony.

Space prohibits an exposition of the many delights to be found in the *Hornsignal*; suffice it to state that ingenuity and charm have seldom been better wedded by Haydn than in this light-hearted, gay music. The symphony represents, in a way, Haydn's farewell to youth; for in the next decades he was never quite able to recapture the deep-seated joy of this period.

Symphony No. 72 presents a difficult textual problem. For the first time in Haydn's symphonic activity we are presented with two separate versions of a work, both of which may be regarded as somehow 'authentic'; the holograph *MS.* has long since disappeared. The two versions differ mainly in the following points: (1) the wind parts and (2) one of the variations of the finale.

In the Kees and Breitkopf catalogues, and in old parts formerly at the Berlin State Library, the (now lost) Frankfurt Collection, the Oettingen-Wallerstein Library at Schloss Harburg, the Thurn und Taxis Archives at Regensburg, the monastery of Kremsmünster, and in the National Library at Vienna as well as the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde<sup>36</sup>, the symphony is scored for 1 flute, 2 oboes, 4 horns and strings (with bassoon). The *MS.* in the Esterházy archives at Budapest, however, is scored for 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 *trumpets* and strings. These trumpet parts are not just the first and second or third and fourth horn parts sounding an octave higher but a combination of all four; sometimes the trumpets have a new part altogether. Moreover, the oboe parts of the Esterházy source are far richer than in the other *MSS.* in which they are, by and large, restricted to filling in the *tuttis*. To replace the horn solos of the majority of sources, the Esterházy source sometimes uses the oboes when the trumpets cannot cope with all of the necessary voices. A passage from the first movement will show the difference between the version at Budapest and the others:

<sup>36</sup> In the GdM *MS.* of this work is found a timpani part: as it is known only from this source its authenticity is open to considerable doubt.

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**Ex. 25** a) Symphony No. 72/I, meas. 8, *ff*, version of MSS. except Esterházy  
(Allegro)

Corn I  
in D II

Corn III  
in D IV

Vln. I-II

Vla., Fag.  
Vcl., Cb.

Ob. 1 acent

(p)

(Cemb.)

(p)

b) idem, version of Esterházy MS.

2 Oboi

2 Clarini  
(D)

Vln. I-II

Vla., Fag.  
Vcl., Cb.

(p)

(Cemb.) (p)

(p)

(Cemb.) (p)

(Cemb.) (p)

The Esterházy trumpet parts scale heights only equalled in Bach's Second Brandenburg Concerto: the *MS.* demands repeated notes (sounding)  $f\sharp'''$ , unsupported by other instruments (Ex. 25 b). The extreme difficulty of these, compared to the almost primitive technical simplicity of Haydn's authentic trumpet parts, render them suspect. At any rate, there were probably no solo trumpeters at the Esterházy court who could cope with the virtuosity here demanded; perhaps the new parts were arranged for some visiting musicians. On the other hand, we know that Haydn had at his disposal four superb horn players.

One of the variations in the finale is different in some of the *MSS.*, being variously assigned to viola, violoncello or bassoon, or violoncello alone; the version designating solo 'cello contains different music from the others.

If the Esterházy version is indeed authentic (and its mere presence in the archives is not sufficient warrant for its authenticity), we may be safe in regarding it as a later arrangement, made under special circumstances<sup>37</sup>. All the other sources adhere to the simpler oboe parts and the use of four<sup>38</sup> horns rather than two trumpets, a strong argument that theirs was in fact the version Haydn sent into the world. Nevertheless, both versions should be printed in the Complete Edition, as was Mandyczewski's intention<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> The paper and watermarks of the Hungarian source suggest the period, 1770-1785, rather than c. 1761-1765, during which the work must have been composed. It is curious that the first record of this piece occurs in the Breitkopf catalogue of 1781.

<sup>38</sup> It should not be disturbing that several sources specify, instead of the third and fourth horn parts, 'Corno o Clarino'; this was dictated by local necessity, and all Haydn's symphonies with four horns, such as No. 13, may be found in *MSS.* in which two of the horns were optionally assigned to trumpets. The notes remained the same. See Appendix I.

<sup>39</sup> The *MS.* score to be used for engraving the Breitkopf *Gesamtausgabe* is at present in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna, cat. XIII, 41540. For further and more explicit details regarding the differences between the two versions, see Appendix I.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SYMPHONIES OF 1766—1770

*Chronology:* For the years 1766-1770, only two symphonies have been preserved in autograph: No. 35 (1767) and No. 49 (1768), the latter being considerably out of place in the chronological catalogue. Besides these two, the following symphonies were placed in this period: Nos. 26, 34, 38, 41, 58, and 59. No. 26 was assigned in Mandyczewski's list a number which is now believed to be too early<sup>1</sup>; the earliest records are the Herzogenburg and Göttsweig sources, both dated 1772. It is not known on what basis Mandyczewski assigned the date 'about 1765'. Nos. 58 and 59 were, on the other hand, given too advanced positions; both were entered in EK on page 1 in 1767 or 1768<sup>2</sup>; No. 59 is dated 1769 on both the Kremsmünster and Göttsweig MSS. The lost D major Symphony, found on page 2 of EK, would also have belonged in this period.

After the enormous symphonic production of the years 1759-1765, it must come as a surprise that only nine symphonies, including the lost work, seem to have been composed during the period 1766-1770. The reasons for this may be attributed to a number of outward circumstances.

In the year 1766 died Gregorius Werner, the musical director of Prince Esterházy's court. Haydn was automatically promoted to the post of *Capellmeister* and his salary promptly increased, but together with these new honours went a number of responsibilities not belonging to the function of Assistant *Capellmeister*. He was now expected to take over the directorship of the operatic company, the musical productions of the marionette theatre and to supervise the music for the church.

In this same year Prince Nikolaus Esterházy moved his court from Eisenstadt to Esterháza (Estoras), a huge castle then being erected near Oedenburg, Hungary, on the grounds formerly occupied by a modest hunting lodge. Although ostensibly planned as a summer retreat, Esterháza soon became an obsession with the Prince, who came to spend more and more of each season on the wild, remote estate. For the next decade or so, however, Haydn kept a house in Eisenstadt which he occupied during the winter when the Prince was not in his Viennese palace.

<sup>1</sup> The work was entered in EK about 1768; see above, p. 66.

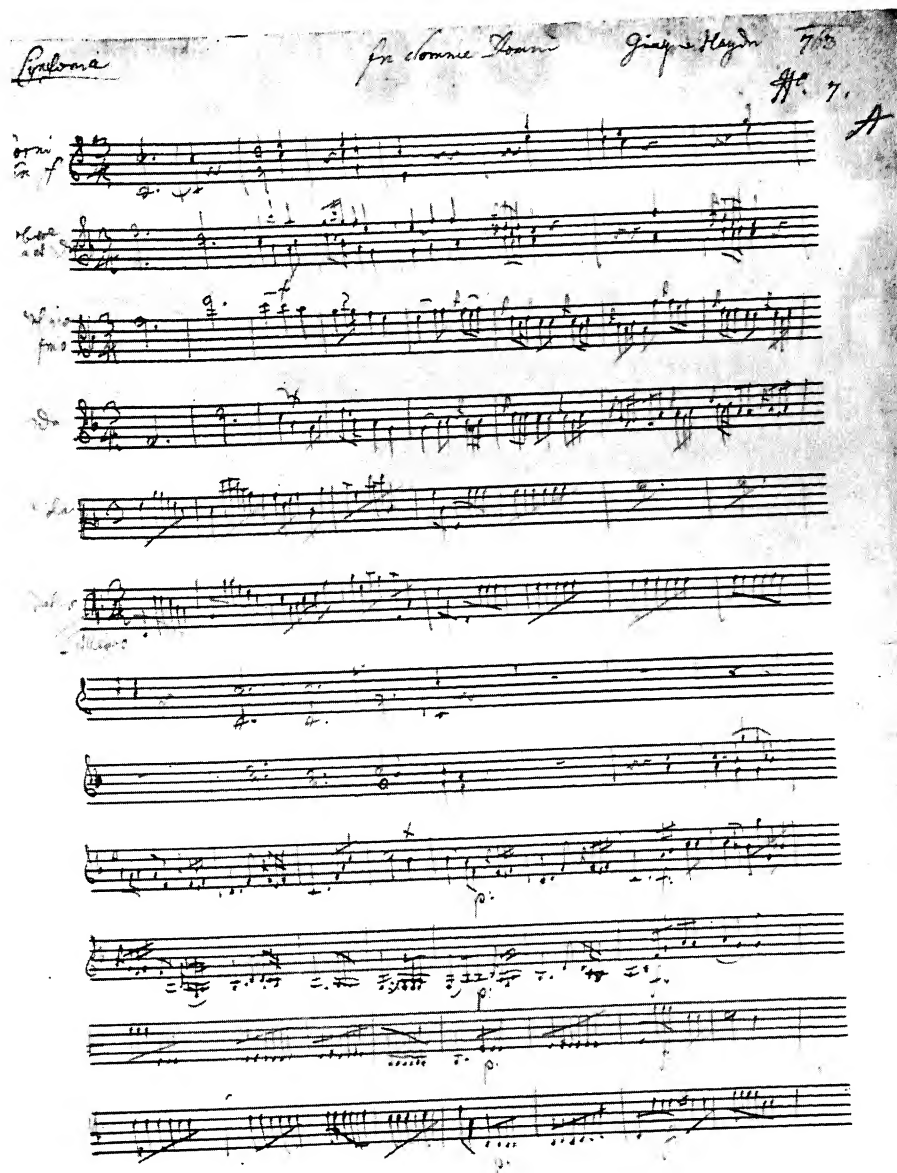
<sup>2</sup> See p. 66.

In Esterháza, the Prince was able to satisfy his passion for operas, which had been previously produced on a temporary stage in Eisenstadt; Haydn was now expected to conduct a regular operatic season. Stage works by Anfossi, Bertoni, Bianchi, Cimarosa, Dittersdorf, Gassmann, Guglielmi, Jommelli, Naumann, Paisiello, Proti, Sacchini, Salieri, Sarti, Traetta and many others were prepared and conducted by Haydn. Not merely content to direct these productions, he carefully worked over the scores, and some of the extant operatic MSS. in the Esterházy archives, such as *La Quakera spiritosa* by Pietro Carlo Guglielmi and *Le Nozze disturbate* by Johann Gottlieb Naumann<sup>3</sup>, were revised by Haydn. Besides conducting works by other composers, Haydn also wrote his own operas; to the period 1766-1770 belong *La Canterina* (1766), *Lo Speciale* (1768) and *Le Pescatrici* (1769).

In the year 1766 he composed the large-scale *Missa in honorem B.V.M.* ('Grosse Orgelmesse'), two years later the big cantata *Applausus*. About the time of the latter, he also wrote the six string quartets of Opus 9. Clavier sonatas, too, began to occupy a more prominent position in the composer's output, and at least Nos. 18, 19, 44, 45, 46 as well as a number of lost works should be assigned to this era. Apart from smaller pieces of church and chamber music, Haydn furnished the insatiable Prince with some eighty pieces for the baryton; one recalls the admonition of 1765, when the composer was ordered to produce more baryton works, 'of which', had said the Prince severely, 'we have seen very few'. That the composer produced relatively few symphonies is, in these circumstances, hardly surprising.

In tracing the total course of Haydn's creative life, the years 1766-1770 may be best described as a period of preparation during which his style began to undergo the far-reaching changes which eventually culminated in the composer's full maturity. In this sense, the period 1766-1770 is one of promise and expectation, that of 1771-1774 one of fulfilment and reward. It is characteristic that as magnificent portals at either end of this period we should find in 1766 the *Missa in Honorem B.V.M.* and about 1772-1774, the *Missa St. Caecilia*. These two masses bear the same relationship to each other as the two periods which they so nobly represent. The former is imbued with a new feeling for sound, with harmonies undreamt of in early Haydn, and

<sup>3</sup> See *Report of the Librarian of Congress* [Washington, D. C.] for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939; Division of Music, pp. 199 f.



XXI Symphony No. 40 (1763). Autograph in the British Museum, London.



XXII Symphony No. 28 (1765). Autograph formerly in the Berlin State Library (now Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen).



a nobility and grandeur scarcely hinted at in the composer's previous output; but the technique is imperfect, the high level of inspiration found in the 'Kyrie' is not maintained throughout, and the whole work has a somewhat tentative aspect. No more dramatic expression of the sweeping change which took place during the intervening years could be found than by comparing this beautiful but imperfect mass with the towering *Missa St. Caecilia*. Here, we feel, Haydn's technique is able to carry, to support, to encourage, every one of his grandest thoughts. Between these two portals lie other choral works which display in varying degrees the growth of Haydn's style: the cantata *Applausus* (1768); the *Stabat Mater* (c. 1771); the *Salve Regina* in G minor (1771); the *Missa Sti. Nicolai* (1772); and undoubtedly the lost *Missa sunt bona mixta malis*, whose thematic beginning<sup>4</sup>, in D minor, is so suggestive of the new contrapuntal strength. Of slightly lesser importance, taking the period as a whole, are the operas; but even here the growth of style is striking. In the quartets and sonatas, a similar change may be observed. It is as if a shadow had passed over Haydn's serene countenance. Anyone even slightly familiar with Haydn's earlier style must be amazed at the profound metamorphosis which began to take place in all fields of his music after 1766. We shall examine, in conjunction with the symphonies of 1771-1774, how this new style manifested itself in other *genres* besides the symphony. It should therefore be borne in mind, as the symphonies of this preparatory period are analysed, that a parallel stylistic revolution was taking place in the other fields of Haydn's creative activity.

Very little is known about Haydn's personal life during these critical years. This almost total absence of concrete facts about his early years as *Capellmeister* of the Esterházy court renders it difficult to explain the extraordinary change which began to take place during the latter half of the 'sixties. We have no evidence that this was the result of any event in his personal life; and it seems more likely that the compositions of this time are the reflection of some inner disturbance of which we can only perceive the result and not the cause. Whatever the reason, the emotional upheaval brought with it the composer's full maturity. The force that generated this new style (which had originated in literature) has often been termed the *Sturm und Drang* (Wyczewa, Geiringer, Wirth, etc.); it collided violently with

<sup>4</sup> EK, p. 2.

the composer's previous style, which was, by 1765, fluid, even brilliant, highly rhythmical, and assured of an easy success. The advent of the *Sturm und Drang* had first and foremost the effect of weakening Haydn's previous confidence, of making his music hesitating and more than ever experimental. While his earlier symphonies usually exude a joyous vitality, these interim works up to 1770 are often filled with a nervous questioning, an unhappy, frustrated dissatisfaction. During the course of the next four years, his music at times reaches an acid bitterness and a depth of despair only approached by certain songs of Schubert and late pieces by Mozart. His earlier adagios, such as the finely-wrought opening of No. 22, always preserve a pleasing aspect despite their solemnity. The composer's interim style, which may be said to culminate with *La Passione* (Symphony No. 49), is often far from gracious: he seemed to care very little for the harmonic structure of his new works, for this is often as bare as in the earliest symphonies, nor is he much interested whether the façade of his tonal structure is pleasing or not; the music gives the impression of being driven by a force which considers beauty *per se* a secondary feature.

Let us examine in more detail the transitional style as it reveals itself in the symphonies.

For the first time in his career, Haydn began to write symphonies in minor keys. Previously, the minor mode had only been used in individual slow movements or as part of a finale in rondo form; its use in no way indicated an emotion different from the typical light Italian sadness which characterized contemporary slow movements in a minor key. After 1761, hardly any symphony by Haydn contained movements in the minor. In his usual, cautious way he now begins the series with a symphony (No. 34<sup>3</sup>) of mixed tonal scheme, opening with a tragic and poignant slow movement in D minor, much in the manner of the church-sonata symphonies of 1764; the remaining three movements are all, however, in D major and become successively more light-hearted, so that the finale leaves one with an entirely cheerful impression. Following this work, though intermixed with a number of symphonies in the major, Haydn wrote

<sup>3</sup> The symphony was announced in the Breitkopf catalogue of 1767; it was probably composed about a year or two beforehand and therefore marks the beginning of the series of Haydn symphonies in minor keys. Symphonies No. 26 and 39 were undoubtedly composed two or three years after No. 34.

Nos. 26, 39 and 49, each of which is written entirely in a minor key and is spiritually far removed from the carefree style of Haydn's earlier years. Speaking of the function of minor keys as used during this period, Rywosch<sup>6</sup> says:

A symphony in the minor means something out of the ordinary for a symphonist of the eighteenth century. The minor, as the tonality of the outer movements, is the vehicle for the expression of passion or grief. This is in contradistinction to a large number of thoroughly festive, joyous concerti of the baroque era (cf. Vivaldi: *Concerti Grossi* in A minor, D minor). Philipp Emanuel Bach, on the other hand, uses minor tonality wholly to serve the expression of passion, perhaps most persuasively in the clavier concerti, for example the Clavier (Cembalo) Concerto in D minor.

We know how assiduously Haydn, during his student years in Vienna, studied and admired the keyboard works of C.P.E. Bach; yet it was many years before we can observe in Haydn's music what he is often quoted as having said; namely, that 'anyone can see how much I have learned from [C.P.E.] Bach.' During the period 1761-1765 — for before 1761 there is not a trace of Bach's serious, earnest style in Haydn's music — it is probably the church-sonata symphonies which approach the spirit of the 'Württemberg' or 'Prussian' sonatas most clearly; but it is not until this new, transitional period that C.P.E. Bach exerted anything but a very indirect and negligible influence on his Austrian admirer. It took nearly a decade for the enthusiasm of student days to become the reality of the *Sturm und Drang*.

It cannot, however, be said that C. P. E. Bach's style manifests itself directly in Haydn's music; rather it was the underlying spiritual beliefs of the former that appear to have exerted such a profound influence on the young composer. Bach's fundamental artistic code was something which artists of the Renaissance had realized long before: that all art should contain a spiritual message and must breathe it forth with an emotion, so immediate and so powerful that the listener, seeing or hearing it, must perforce grasp its real significance. This idea that music might have a deeper meaning, that art was not only to entertain and delight, must have burst over Haydn's ordered scheme of things (in which the summit of his ambition had been to provide the most attractive music he could compose for the amusement of his princely audience) just as Donatello's new

<sup>6</sup> *Beiträge zur Entwicklung in Joseph Haydns Symphonik* (dissertation), Turbenenthal, 1934, p. 65.

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concept of sculpture burst over the beginnings of the Italian Renaissance. In conjunction with this new artistic principle, Haydn's style appears to have come under another influence of far greater importance than has hitherto been realized: the new operatic style of Gluck. It is significant that the latter's *Orfeo* (1762) and *Alceste* (1768) must have reached Haydn's ears just at this crucial stage in his artistic development. The sober, severe classical beauty of Gluck's music is now so obviously reflected in Haydn's works, especially after 1770, that it is strange to observe that none of the writers on either composer has more than touched on this aspect of Gluck's influence. One only needs to recall the following instrumental interlude from Haydn's marionette opera, *Philemon und Baucis* (first produced in 1773):

Intermezzo

Ex. 1

Dolce con espressione

Str.

Str.

Str.

Vla. div.

or to play through the serene, majestic adagios of Haydn's symphonies composed around 1772 to see the tremendous impression made by *Orfeo* and *Alceste* on the fast-maturing Haydn.

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If the four symphonies, Nos. 34, 26, 39 and 49, must be considered the most dramatic expression of Haydn's new style, others of this period, though at first glance more normal, also contain strong elements of the composer's new serious attitude.

There is no change in the outward form or orchestration. In Nos. 38 and 41 — both in C major — the usual pompous orchestration with trumpets and drums characteristic of Haydn's use of the key is employed. Otherwise, he is content to limit himself to oboes, horns, strings and *continuo* (harpsichord and bassoon being added as before).

**Ex. 2**

a) No. 58/III (Trio)

Str.

Cor.

Str.

b) No. 58/IV  
Presto

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Str.  
(Fag.)  
Cemb.  
Vla. gva.  
(f)  
p  
f  
etc.

c) No. 58/IV

Str.

etc.

What makes all these works different is the earnest, sober spirit, which pervades even the bright timbre of the C major pieces. The quick movements, while still possessed of that inexhaustible fund of nervous energy (*cf.* No. 59/I, 59/IV, *etc.*) are no longer entirely gay and cheerful. Only the feathery last movement of No. 35 and the generally insignificant No. 58 seem to be without cares; and yet, the dark, fragrant Balkan scent previously encountered in the trios of Nos. 28 and 29 also delights us in the trio of No. 58 (Ex. 2a), while the finale contains passages of a strange rhythmic (Ex. 2b) and harmonic (Ex. 2c) construction — all this, too, within the three-eight time which, as we have seen, was previously reserved for Haydn's most stereotyped thoughts. The minuet and trio of Symphony No. 58 appear in another work of Haydn, *viz.* the Divertimento No. 52 for baryton, viola and basso (*i. e.* 'cello). This work may be placed with considerable certainty in the year 1767; for Baryton Divertimenti Nos. 42 and 53 are both dated with this year on Haydn's autographs, and the first 53 works in this form are entered in EK one after the other, suggesting a definite chronological numbering: the fact that the little trio may be dated *c.* 1767 is again strong evidence that the symphony was placed at least twenty numbers too high in Mandyczewski's list. The trio is in the key of D minor, and the minuet is in D major: it is entitled 'Alla zoppa', as in the symphony, but the D minor trio bears the designation 'Al contrario', which title does not appear in the symphony. It is not certain, of course, which version of the minuet and trio is the original, but as the baryton divertimenti are, in other cases, arrangements of larger works, it is probable that the symphonic form was the earliest.

The alternation of light and shade deepens and enriches Symphony No. 35. This work, carefully dated 'December 10, 1767' on the autograph, at first reveals to us a Haydn momentarily captivated by the sunny, melodious sounds of Italy, but who was at the same time casting an eye towards the rich orchestral effects of the Mannheim school. In this first movement, the luscious theme, which seemed to be so friendly in the exposition (Ex. 3a), suddenly develops a towering contrapuntal anger in the development (Ex. 3b), while the bracketed portion of Ex. 3a, originally a simple and typically rhythmic transitional figure, becomes turbulently polyphonic in the development (Ex. 3c); in the latter, only a few measures remain in a major mode; the greater part of the section revolves around the minor.

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Ex. 3

a) Allegro di molto

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.

Str.  
(Fag.  
Cemb.)

Vln. 8va

piano  
p

f

Cor. a2

etc.

b)

2 Ob.

Str.  
(Fag.  
Cemb.)

etc.

c)

2 Ob.

Str.  
(Fag.  
Cemb.)

Vln. 8va

(x+y)

etc.

The intense rhythmic strength of some of the symphonies of 1764 and 1765 is now, if anything, increased, but carefully bent to serve Haydn's will. Whereas it was previously observed that many of the earlier swift movements contain practically no dynamic contrasts,

Haydn is now careful not to let anything overpower him; felicitous alternations of *f* and *p* are introduced into his most intense passages, as, for example, in No. 59/I (Ex. 4).



Another aspect of the new style concerns the finales. By this time the composer has left far behind him the trite, three-eight prestos; when he reverts to this metre the result is such as to make us forget its inglorious past (see Ex. 2b, above). In fact, a store of happy surprises awaits us in the finales of the symphonies of this period. Considering for the moment only those in major keys, one notices the variety of expression and the increased weight of the subject matter of these finales as compared with those of the previous half-decade. For example, in No. 35, a work which in many ways sums up the period 1761-1765, at the same time (especially in the first *Allegro*) looking forward to the *Sturm und Drang* era, an entirely new kind of concluding movement is employed: for the first time the rich dynamic effects and orchestral texture of the Mannheim school are combined in a light, airy, almost clownish atmosphere. The finale of No. 59, marked *Allegro assai*, utilizes entirely unsupported wind solos in the manner of the hunting symphonies of 1765 (*cf.* Nos. 31 and 72); this divertimento-like orchestration is, however, set off by a furious energy strongly reminiscent of No. 29/IV, and no trace of the witty humour of No. 35/IV remains. The finale of No. 59, in fact, already bears the traces of Haydn's new artistic purpose (Ex. 5).

A kind of spiritual barometer by which we may observe Haydn's constantly changing personality is given us in the C major festival symphonies, of which we have had occasion to speak before<sup>7</sup>. As was then pointed out, these symphonies seem to have been written for special occasions where an atmosphere of pageantry was required. But whereas up to this point Haydn had occasionally employed C major for a normal symphony, without trumpets and timpani and without the other trappings of pomp with which he usually clothed these festival works, from 1766 onwards this key was—at least as far

<sup>7</sup> See p. 227.



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**Ex. 5**

*Allegro assai* *Ob. Soli*  
*Cor. Soli*

Ob. Soli  
Cor. Soli  
Ob. I  
Ob. II  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Vcl. (Fag.)  
Basso

Ob. col Vln.  
Vln. II  
Vla. 8va

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.

Vln. I  
Vln. II

Vla.

Vcl. (Fag.)  
Basso

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.

Vln. I  
Vln. II

Vla.

Vcl. (Fag.)  
Basso

etc.

as symphonies were concerned — usually reserved for kings, princes and generals.

Notwithstanding the confines which Haydn voluntarily imposes upon himself with regard to this particular tonality, each one of the C major symphonies clearly reflects the characteristic style of the period to which it belongs. Thus, Symphony No. 38 is a typical 'interim' work, partly adhering to the rather trite rhythms and stereotyped form of the earlier species, but also showing by its increased contrapuntal strength and other details that it could not have been written during the early

part of the 'sixties. It is true that the wind instruments are silent in the Andante: a typical feature of the composer's earlier style; but otherwise the character of this little *Andante molto* is far removed from the slow movements of earlier examples of the *genre*, such as Nos. 20, 32, 37, etc. No. 38/II might be likened to one of the humorous optical illusions so beloved by baroque artists, such as the delightful painting in the sacristy of the cathedral at Palencia: this appears to be a meaningless jumble until one looks at it through a tiny hole in the side of the left frame, whereupon the wavy lines suddenly assume their true perspective and a face appears. The *Andante molto* of No. 38 is an aural illusion, achieved through a series of echoes between the first and second violins; in this respect, the movement carries still further a similar idea found in No. 29/II, in which the main theme is constantly divided between the violins so that one is never sure which group has the melody. This sort of harmless aural deception seems to have captured Haydn's fancy, for the trio of No. 35 is based upon a similar device. It is characteristic for this new period that in No. 38/II the harmonic scheme and especially the lay-out of the parts should revert even more closely to the baroque era. As we have seen in the symphonies of 1761, Haydn grew more and more dependent upon baroque rather than pre-classical devices; until after 1774 it is the language of the former which attracts him whenever his inspiration is at its highest.

The first movement of No. 38 (*Allegro molto*) is in one respect similar to that of No. 35: the somewhat uninspired first subject of the former is dissected and one figure extracted for use in the development, where it forms the basis of an eighteen-measure passage at the very outset; in the course of the passage the theme becomes strong and wholly serious where it was weak and frivolous in the exposition.

The second half of the symphony is of particular interest. The trio of the minuet is allotted to the first oboe accompanied only by the strings. This in itself is nothing new, and we have observed countless examples of wind solos in the trios of earlier symphonies; however, Haydn's use of the solo oboe here has a purpose which is only revealed halfway through the finale. The latter is by far the most colourful final movement among the orchestral works so far examined. In it are combined (1) the most highly-developed example of sonata form found in any Haydn finale to date; (2) an interesting and highly

characteristic use of motifs derived from the main subject; (3) Haydn's first full-scale use of contrapuntal devices in a finale written in sonata form; (4) the use of a solo instrument (the oboe) in a concerto-like manner as in *Le Matin*, *Le Midi* and *Le Soir*. Haydn has taken care to prepare us for this extraordinary oboe part by means of the trio, which gives us an inkling of what is to come. What raises this movement over the finales of the three programmatic symphonies of 1761 is the judicious combination of symphonic, polyphonic and *concertante* elements, all of which are neatly worked into sonata form. It is typical of the period 1766-1770 that swift alternations of major and minor should occur (see Ex. 6 d) and that the whole movement should create the impression of a broad canvas.

The main subject (Ex. 6 a) is repeated twice, the two statements being separated from each other by a four-measure unison tutti; the second statement differs from the first in that one bar is added at the end, thus making the subject asymmetrical (nine measures) where it was quite even and regular before. Furthermore, the bass line is also given to oboes and timpani in the second statement, horns and trumpets holding a pedal on the notes *C*; this dualistic approach to the main subject is preserved in the recapitulation, too, except that the orchestration is changed. The transition to the dominant is accomplished by a strict four-part polyphonic passage to which the oboes and horns sometimes add extra parts (Ex. 6 b); after the dominant is reached, the solo oboe soars over the strings with a derivative of the first theme: this is the second subject (Ex. 6 c). The development telescopes the exposition in that the first subject is combined with the second; after a fermata Haydn leads us to the polyphonic passage which appears now in the supertonic and acts as the lead-back to the recapitulation. The latter reverses the order of orchestration used to accompany Ex. 6 a, *i. e.* the orchestration with brass and drums originally used for the nine-measure statement of the main subject is now used for the eight, whereas the nine-measure version is presented only with strings. However, this second, nine-measure statement is now enhanced by the solo oboe, which climbs up the *C* major scale in the one bar interval between the dividing tutti and this second announcement of the theme and holds an inverted pedal on *c'''* over the whole passage, creating an exquisite sound. The polyphonic transition then leads us to the second subject which is now, however, changed by an abrupt swerve into the tonic minor (Ex. 6 d).

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Ex. 6 a) Allegro di molto

Str. *p* *Ob.* *+ Trpt. - Pk* *p* etc.

b) *Ob. I* *as* *Vln. I* *Vln. II* *Vla.* *Vcl. (Fag.)* *Basso (Cemb.)*

*2 Ob.* *2 Cor.* *(C alto)* *Cor. a2* *Vln. I* *Vln. II* *Vla.* *Vcl. (Fag.)* *Basso (Cemb.)* etc.

c) *Ob. I Solo* *Vln. I* *Vln. II* *Vla.* *Vcl. (Fag.)* *Basso (Cemb.)* *Vla. 8va* etc.

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d)

Ob. I Solo

Vln. I  
Vln. II

(Fag.) Vla.  
Vcl. - B.  
(Cemb.)

Vla. 8va

etc.

If one compares this finale, so rich in thematic, colouristic and formal contrasts, with one of the earlier three-eight prestos, it will be obvious how far Haydn's technique and inspiration have advanced over the first two periods.

It is natural that our interest in this new period should be primarily concentrated upon the symphonies in minor keys, for these not only represent the fulfilment of the new artistic principles gradually being evolved by the composer but are also the finest symphonic works produced during the years 1766-1770. The first of these to be analysed here is the *Sinfonia Lamentatione* in D minor (No. 26). Of all the hundred odd Haydn symphonies, none is more telling in its incredibly violent expression, none more deeply tragic, none more fundamentally emotional (and therefore romantic) in conception. The work consists of three movements, the last of which is a minuet. Various writers<sup>8</sup> have suggested that the real last movement may be lacking. This erroneous view was based on a second, false title by which the work seems to have been known: the 'Christmas Symphony'. The idea that 'perhaps a real Pastorale, which should have completed the symphony, is lost' (Geiringer) derives from this spurious 'Christmas' title. Investigation of all the MSS. in Austrian monasteries shows, first, that only three movements were intended, and secondly, that

<sup>8</sup> Kretzschmar, *Die Jugendsinfonien Josef Haydns*, 'Peters Jahrbuch 1908', p. 87; Geiringer, *Joseph Haydn*, Potsdam, 1932, p. 73, etc.

the work was composed for the Easter week and not for the Nativity. The title of the oldest MS., that in the Abbey at Herzogenburg, is 'Passio et Lamentatio', and it was from the remarks penned over the second violin part (see Ex. 7b) in this source that the present writer came to the conclusion that the first and second movements illustrate some drama played during the Holy Week. Happily, it has been possible to discover the origin of the entire symphony through several rare prints, copies of which are found in various monasteries and churches in Austria. The fact that apparently none of the Haydn scholars<sup>9</sup> seems to have known this model (though some of them, including Rywosch, discovered that the second movement of the work was based upon the Gregorian 'Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah') has prevented the true significance of this work from being understood and was also without doubt responsible for the unfortunate 'Christmas' legend.

The model which Haydn took, almost without change, for the first movement of the symphony is an old drama of the Passion, apparently evolved late in the middle ages<sup>10</sup> and repeatedly printed during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The writer was able to secure *inter alia* the edition of 1763<sup>11</sup>, which is preserved in the monastery at St. Florian, and entitled, in gorgeous red and black print:

<sup>9</sup> Arnold Schering seems to have been aware of Haydn's use of such a Passion, cf. *Bemerkungen zu J. Haydns Programmsinfonien*, 'Peters Jahrbuch 1939', p. 24.

<sup>10</sup> Speaking of the origin of the 'Tonus Passionis', U. L. Kirnberger, *Lehr- und Übungsbuch des Gregorianischen Choralgesanges*, 3rd. edition, Freising, 1888, pp. 102 f., says: — 'The Passion of our Lord is sung after the Gospel according to Matthew on Palm Sunday, on Tuesday in Holy Week after Mark, on Ash Wednesday after Luke, and — especially solemnly — on Good Friday after John. The practice of performing the Passion in an epic-dramatic fashion before the Christian congregation is supposed to go back to the 12th century. In the Papal Choir, the Passion Melody was in use as early as the middle of the 13th century. Baini (*Memoire*, vol. II, p. 112, Note 537) thinks that it must have been composed by a Papal singer.'

<sup>11</sup> An older copy (second half of the seventeenth century) in the Pfarrkirche at Efferding (Upper Austria) was compared with the edition of 1763. Three further copies of various dates were found in the monastery of Göttweig, and three more in the monastery at Herzogenburg. The musical text of the four Passions as well as the Lamentations underwent very few changes in the various editions. As that in St. Florian is chronologically the nearest to the symphony, its text has been used for the musical examples above. The music of the 'Passion according to St. Matthew' is also printed in *Compendiosa ad Cantum Gregorianum Institutio* . . . Brixinae Typis Josephi Weger, 1806, pp. 67 ff. A further copy, closely related to the edition of 1763, was printed in Vienna in 1761 'ex officina Krausiana' (see Robert Haas, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, Potsdam, 1933, p. 38).

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Cantus Ecclesiasticus / Sacrae Historiae / Passionis / Domini Nostri / Jesu Christi, / Secundum / Quatuor Evangelistas. / Itemque / Lamentationum, / et / Lectionum / pro Tribus Matutinis / tenebrarum. / Juxta exemplar / Romae editum emendatius. [Etc.] Ex Ducali Campidonensi Typographeo, / Per Andream Stadler, / Anno Domini MDCCCLXIII.

The music of all four Passions is of great simplicity, dignity and beauty. Of particular interest is the fact that all four utilize identical motifs; thus, the rising and falling cadence from *fa* to *si*  $\flat$  given to Christ when He speaks always remains the same; the passage allotted to the chorus is also practically identical throughout, as is the figure 'said unto them:' ('dixit eis'), and so forth. The 'Christus' motif is in turn based upon the ancient Lamentation chant (see Ex. 8a, below). The endless repetitions of the original Passions produce a medieval, veiled beauty akin to the secret, almost fanatic mysticism of the early Christian mosaics at Ravenna. These Passions were well known to Haydn's audience, and the purpose of the symphony must have been immediately apparent to everyone<sup>12</sup>.

The exposition of the first movement, marked *Allegro assai e con spirito*, is organized as follows:

The first subject consists of three parts, (1) a lashing series of syncopations supported by a stable bass line (Ex. 7a) leading to (2) four leaden *piano* measures and then to (3) a varied repetition of the syncopated idea, still *piano*. This three-part theme is the prelude to the Passion Drama, which is in the key of F major (the relative major of D minor), the modern tonal equivalent of the Gregorian original. Haydn does not modulate to the relative major; he jumps into it at the end of the sixteenth measure. The Passion music occurs in the second subject of the sonata form; the old melody is typically hidden, like the 'Alleluja' in No. 30/I, by being assigned to the second violin and first oboe, the first violin covering the whole with a series of constantly moving quavers. (Ex. 7b shows the original Passion[s], or rather the extracts utilized by Haydn, and the form of the melody in No. 26/I with the remarks of the Herzogenburg MS. attached.) The 'Christus' figure as well as the crowd *Tutti* (notice the 'Jud[en]' in Herzogenburg) are quoted in characteristic examples from the original Passions. The end of the 'Jud[en]' passage coincides with a new

<sup>12</sup> Ernst Eberlin († Salzburg, 1762) also used this Passion melody in *Der Blutschwitzende Jesus*; Robert Haas (*Mozart*, p. 38) has quoted the Viennese edition of 1761 and Eberlin's interesting transformation of it.

Ex. 7

a) Allegro assai con spirito

b) (Marcum)

E. Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Marcum. in illo tempore...

(Joannem:)

(dixit) eis Jesus X.E( ) go sum T. Jesum Nazare ( ) num.

E. = Evangelistae, X. = Christus T. = Turbarum (Vox populi)

Evang:

Christ:

Evang:

Jud:

pattern in the first violins, which abandon their quaver figurations and rush up the B flat major scale ('Crucify him, crucify him!'). The exposition ends with a tense, hammering figure in octave unison.

The development turns back to the syncopated opening subject again; the leaden *piano* measures are now given a pathetically expressive appoggiatura and used to modulate from F major to G minor. The syncopation whips this aside and continues to the dominant of A minor, where a fragment of the 'Christus' theme enters. The hammering figure pulls the music round to the recapitulation, which



is regular until the third part of the main subject, at which point the violins drop to low A and continue their syncopations quietly, the oboe twice climbing up a  $1\frac{6}{4}$  arpeggio. Then, the whole music shifts into D major for the second subject (Passion); instead of the triumphant effect that one might expect, the result is quite the contrary, and the wild, bitter mood only becomes more intensified. The first horn now bites into the orchestral texture, doubling the melody with oboe and second violin. The movement ends with half a dozen measures of fanatic concentration on the hammering figure wrenching the music to a close like the *turbae* in one of the J. S. Bach or Schütz Passions. It is to be expected that the second part of the movement contains no indication for repetition: the drama at the Cross cannot be repeated.

The wildness of the first movement is completely altered in the ensuing *Adagio*. Haydn uses as his principal subject one of the 'alphabet Lamentations' found in the same print containing the four Passions — a typical example is quoted as Ex. 8a. The ornaments found in Haydn's adaptation (Ex. 8b) are, Prof. Franz Kosch<sup>13</sup> thinks, valuable examples of the traditional ornaments which the singers added *ad libitum* to the melody during the eighteenth century. As we have seen, the 'Christus' melody of the second subject in the previous movement was based upon a variant of this Lamentation chant; and so it comes about that the two movements are linked together conceptively as well as thematically. If, following the Herzogenburg *MS.*, we may apply titles to the two movements, the first represents the 'Passio' of Our Lord, the second the 'Lamentatio'. As in the first movement, the melody is hidden in the first oboe and second violin, the first violin being given a series of independent figurations which act as a counter-subject. The form of the movement parallels very closely that of No. 22/I, which, as we have seen, was a free adaptation of the chorale prelude. (This idea, incidentally, seems to be entirely original with Haydn, for the form is not like the North or South-German chorale prelude.) In No. 26/II, each entrance of the theme is separated by a series of figurations, during which the second violin

<sup>13</sup> The writer showed the results of his research to Prof. Kosch, one of the leading experts in Gregorian chants and at present Director of the Church Music Department in the Vienna Academy for Music and Related Arts. Prof. Kosch was able to confirm the opinions here advanced in connection with Haydn's use of church melodies. I am most grateful for his friendly advice.

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Ex. 8

a)

A (—) leph In (·) cipit lamentatio Jereml(-)ae Prophe tae: Beth

Ghl mel

b) Adagio

*p* Vla. 8va

(tr?)

tacet etc.

c) a 2

2 Ob.

2 Cor. (F)

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla. Basso (Cemb.)

Vla. Basso (Cemb.)

etc.

and oboe are always silent<sup>14</sup>. In the exposition, when the music reaches the dominant, the chorale again enters, but not with the original counter-subject of the first violin; instead a continuation of the figuration used to separate entrances of the theme is given to the first violin, thereby keeping intact the flowing chorale-prelude character of the movement. Following the double bar, the first three measures of the chorale are introduced but promptly broken off by the interim figurations. After six measures the melody appears in the supertonic (G minor), the first violin continuing, however, its weaving figurations. The passage-work then leads to a sharp *forte*<sup>15</sup> exclamation, the only *f* in the whole movement. From the double bar to this point may be called in terms of sonata form the development, while the ensuing third part may be considered the recapitulation. For the first time the horns and second oboe enter the orchestral picture; the wind instruments now receive the melody, both violins the accompanying part, while the viola glides below in sustained notes, detaching itself for the first time from the bass: Haydn has saved everything as far as orchestral colour is concerned for this moment. Whereas up to this point the theme was given against a very simple harmonic background, remaining within the harmonic boundaries of I, V, and V<sup>7</sup> or their inversions, Haydn now transforms the music by a radiant modulation to the mediant major (Ex. 8 c), *i. e.* a Phrygian half-cadence.

The rather whimsical minuet is something of an anticlimax<sup>16</sup>. Judged on its own merits, however, there are several matters of interest. The opening bars, in D minor, are questioning, almost tragic, while the last eight measures, in the relative major, are pure Schubert; the mood is changed within the time interval of one measure. In the second section there is a fine imitation between violins and the lower strings, strongly foreshadowing the stretto at the end of Mozart's *Adagio and Fugue*, K. 546:

<sup>14</sup> Compare the similar form of No. 22/I. See above, p. 259.

<sup>15</sup> In some MSS. *fortiss[imo]*, in some *forz[ando]*, in others *f*. The rhythm of the first violin has been frequently distorted in the B. & H. G. A., four equal semiquavers being altered to a dotted quaver and three triplet semiquavers. See Appendix I.

<sup>16</sup> The MS. in Melk contains only the first two movements, but the minuet is found at Melk in another collection of Haydn pieces, so that one is led to believe that the copyist simply omitted the minuet on his own initiative.

## Ex. 9

a) Haydn, No. 26 / III (Menuet)



b) Mozart, K. 546 [426]



With this symphony we reach the culmination of Haydn's use of church-melodies in the symphonic *genre*. At the same time we have the most characteristic example of the new symphonic art-form, in which we see the composer attempting to infuse his music with a unifying spiritual and emotional message. His efforts towards this goal led him to choose the Easter drama of Christian antiquity which had fascinated artists for centuries, and which had in music perhaps its finest and most noble expression in the Protestant North German school, especially through the Passions of Schütz and J. S. Bach. Haydn's desire to remove his symphonies from the realms of *Tafelmusik* led him, not to the typical baroque expressions of religious drama, but rather to the sterner, more severe art forms of the medieval and gothic eras; and in taking as his model the old *Volks-passion* he approaches the stirring effects produced by the Reformation upon art in Northern Germany. Thus it was that the Catholic Haydn, living amid an already soft and decaying baroque grandeur, could through his own experiments raise the art of the symphony far beyond anything known to the pre-classical composers of Vienna or Mannheim, much less to the composers of the Italian *sinfonia*. The *Sinfonia Lamentatione* breathes the atmosphere of a Riemenschneider, Grünewald or Adam Krafft, not of an Altomonte, 'Kremser' Schmidt or Prandtauer. Of Haydn's immediate Austrian contemporaries, only Gluck was striving for a reform in the field of opera similar to that which Haydn was effecting in purely instrumental music. But whereas

Gluck returned to classical antiquity for his inspiration, Haydn sought his among the ancient melodies of the church or in the folk-lore of the Balkan nations. His musical technique, however, continued to rely on baroque rather than the newer Italian or Mannheim forms; and the combination of all these diverse elements together with certain others produced the change which led, in a few years, to his full maturity.

It may be pointed out parenthetically that Haydn seems to have been particularly attracted to the ancient Lamentation melody<sup>17</sup>, one form of which was employed in No. 26/II. It is possible that Haydn received an additional impetus to treat the 'Lamentatio' from his predecessor, Gregorius Werner, for there is a number of smaller church pieces by that composer utilizing the 'Tonus Lamentatio', several of which are preserved in the Sándor Wolf Museum at Eisenstadt; it would be rewarding to have a separate study of these and their relationship to Haydn.

Probably the second of the three symphonies in minor keys now under discussion is No. 39, in G minor. This work is in many ways the psychological counterpart of Mozart's Symphony in G minor, K. 183; it is almost certain that Haydn's G minor work was the model used by Mozart, not, as has previously been asserted, Haydn's *Trauersymphonie* (No. 44). The orchestration of both G minor symphonies is nearly identical and somewhat unusual: 2 oboes, 4 horns and strings; in Mozart's little masterpiece two bassoons are used, while Haydn is content to allow that instrument to double the bass. (The presence of the bassoon is not specially required by Haydn.) The softer tone of the flute is banned in both works. It is characteristic of this period in Haydn that in only one symphony (No. 41/II) is the flute used. Its dulcet tones were not judged fitting for the

<sup>17</sup> An earlier use of the 'Tonus Lamentatio' was discussed in Chapter VI; see above, p. 190. Later examples of Haydn's treatment of this melody occur in Symphonies 45/III (Chapter IX), 60/IV (Chapter X) and possibly 80/III (Chapter X). It is not generally known that Mozart, too, used the 'Lamentation', or at least a variant thereof, in the *Maurerische Trauermusik* (K. 477), composed in July, 1785. Mozart's treatment of the melody is strikingly similar to Haydn's: the Gregorian chant is assigned to the oboes and clarinet in unison, the 1st violin overlaying it with figurations and the remaining strings accompanying. The first five measures (25-29) of the chorale in Mozart's version are almost identical with Ex. 8 a if the opening 'alphabet' portion is removed. The connection between the Gregorian melody and the *Maurerische Trauermusik* obviously has a symbolical significance: the 'Lamentatio' of the mourners for the deceased.

sombre orchestral sound which the composer obviously wanted. Nor was the flute used in the larger choral works, such as the *Stabat Mater*, *Missa St. Caecilia* or *Salve Regina*.

Both works also have in common the same restless, gloomy spirit. In Mozart's symphonic career, K. 183 is a major exception to the earlier symphonies, even those immediately preceding, such as K. 133 and 134, or the fine companion work, the Symphony in E flat (K. 184). The G minor symphony is as important to Mozart's subsequent development as are the three symphonies in D minor (No. 26), G minor (No. 39) and F minor (No. 49) to Haydn's mature style.

This is the first and only time that Haydn used four horns in a symphony in the minor; it is also the last symphony in which Haydn uses four rather than two horns (earlier symphonies using four horns were Nos. 13, 31 and 72). As in Mozart's K. 183, two horns are pitched in G and two in B flat *alto*<sup>18</sup>; by using B flat horns, both composers were able to employ these instruments in the relative major of G minor as well as to supply several notes which are impure on the G-horn. Considering for the moment those harmonic notes lying in diatonic progression, we arrive at the following table:

(Horn in B $\flat$ <i>alto</i> )	G minor	(Horn in G)
—	g'	c''
—	a'	d''
c''	b $\flat$ '	—
d''	c''	f'' (impure)
e''	d''	g''
f'' (impure)	e $\flat$ ''	—
g''	f''	b $\flat$ '' (impure)

The first movement of No. 39 is very curious. The main theme is announced and continued *piano*, and the tension inherent in its thematic layout is heightened by the extraordinary use of silence between the various sections (Ex. 10a). (This use of rests to heighten the dramatic effect becomes a very important detail in Haydn's mature style, of which we are now on the threshold; no one knew how to employ the art of silence better than Haydn, and many of his finest

<sup>18</sup> Concerning my reasons for believing that the B flat horns in Mozart's and Haydn's G minor symphonies are *alto* and not *basso*, see p. 125.

effects are derived by the simple expedient of inserting a pause in the right place.) In No. 39/I, the whole character of the movement is changed by the use of a rest in the middle of the main subject. To give the second part of the melody a still more individual twist, Haydn stretches the last phrase with its characteristic octave skip, so that the theme simply dies away to nothing. The structure of the three component parts (4+6+4) is also cleverly veiled by the insertion of rests. Having achieved such a restless, almost frustrated atmosphere, Haydn creates a still more unified tension by employing this one theme throughout the movement. Indeed, Haydn cannot escape the hypnotic effect of his principal subject; he modulates from the tonic to the relative major: and the first subject appears, extending itself contrapuntally (Ex. 10 b). In the development he reaches a superb, five-part tutti (Ex. 10 d) in which the violins, in imitation,

Ex. 10 a) Allegro assai

Cor.  
III-IV  
(G)

Str.  
(Fag.  
Cemb.)

VIa. I  
VIa. II

b)

Ob. II

Ob. I

Ob. II

etc.

c)

y

z

etc.

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d) Ob. a2  $x''$

2 Ob.  
4 Cor.

Vln. I  
Vln. II

Vla.

Vcl. (Fag.  
Cemb.)  
Basso

2 Ob.  
4 Cor.

Vln. I  
Vln. II

Vla.

Vcl. (Fag.  
Cemb.)  
Basso

Cor. 3-4

$\beta$

etc.

sweep through a fine sequence; and again, we see that the oboe part is based upon a tiny fragment of the main theme (see bracketed portion of Ex. 10a), the string parts being derived from a figure found at the end of the exposition (Ex. 10c) which, in turn, developed out of the principal theme. The whole movement is held together by a device which we have come to know well in the previous period: a bass line constantly moving in quavers.

After the dramatic tension of the first movement, the *Andante* is a great disappointment; the wind instruments are omitted, and the bare, primitive instrumentation takes us back to the earliest slow movements in which a harpsichord was necessary to fill in the harmonies. There are passages in which the viola climbs above the violins in a most peculiar manner, as in meas. 23 *ff.*; perhaps the viola should be put down one octave here.

It is only the finale which again reaches the inspiration of the first movement. Here we have, in a symphony in a minor key, the same highly-advanced type of movement discussed in connection with Symphony No. 38. What Haydn was unable (or unwilling) to do for the *Sinfonia Lamentatione*, namely, to provide a finale which does not



appear to be an anticlimax, he now does for No. 39. If the two middle movements were on the same artistic level as the outer allegros, we should have had one of Haydn's finest symphonies; as it is, the symphony is one of the most interesting of this strange interim period. What makes this finale successful is not merely the energetic drive and the nervous semiquavers which carry on the restless spirit of the opening movement, for Haydn has taken care to provide a number of dynamic contrasts; thus, the violins rush down the scale into a *subito piano* (meas. 14 *ff.*), while after the double bar the first and second violins have a long passage by themselves, *piano*; and the rest of the development is characterized by continual alternations of *p* and *f*.

Considering the three symphonies in minor keys discussed thus far, Nos. 34, 26 and 39, it will have been noticed that each of them has something of an unfinished or imperfect character. In No. 34 the church-sonata form was used, and the opening *Adagio* promised one of Haydn's finest works; the ensuing movements, however, by no means lived up to its broad, tragic lines; on the contrary, each of the three other movements was weaker than the last, so that the finale left us with a feeling of great disappointment. In No. 26, the first two movements might well be considered the finest individual symphonic pieces which Haydn had written up to this time; but taken together with the minuet, they cannot be considered to make a perfect whole. However much one must admire the strength and beauty of the *Lamentatione*, it remains at best a magnificent torso. On the other hand, No. 39, although a complete entity in itself, contains relatively weak middle movements which prevent it from being considered a masterpiece. The fourth symphony in the minor which falls into this period, *La Passione* (No. 49), has the one qualification lacking in the other three: four equally inspired movements, each driven by the same unifying emotional and spiritual force.

For this symphony, Haydn chose for the last time the form in which he had produced so many successful works: the church-sonata. Like the symphonies of 1764, *La Passione*, composed four years later, contains an opening *Adagio*, followed by an *Allegro di molto*, a *Menuet* and a *Presto*. The title of the work suggests that it too, like No. 26, was composed for performance during Holy Week; but there are apparently no Gregorian melodies hidden in the work, though the possibility of a later church melody being used as the model for one or the other theme is not out of the question.

During this era of *Sturm und Drang*, F minor seems to have had a special significance for Haydn, much as G minor was to affect the later Mozart. Both *La Passione* and the superb Quartet in F minor from Opus 20 (1772) reach a depth of despair and a bleak emotional outlook never again approached, even during the symphonies of 1771-1774. *La Passione* may be said to sum up the uncertain, hesitating atmosphere of the interim period. Haydn's emotions appear to have been so strong that, as Rosemary Hughes<sup>19</sup> aptly observes, his technique seems to have been unequal to the task of supporting the weight of his feelings. And, though this symphony is by far the finest of the four works in minor keys belonging to the years 1766-1770, its technical hesitation, if we may thus describe such an elusive characteristic, removes it from the highest level reached in the symphonies of 1771-1774. In the latter we seldom if ever have the impression that Haydn's technique is not equal to its task of supporting and encouraging the composer's artistic wishes. The difference between *La Passione* and such a work as the *Trauersymphonie* may be likened to the difference between the *Missa in Honorem B. V. M.* and the *Missa St. Caecilia*.

**Ex. 11** a) (Adagio)

Str. (Cemb.)

(p)

pp

etc.

b) (Adagio)

Str. (Cemb.)

(p)

etc.

<sup>19</sup> Haydn [in: *The Master Musicians*], London, 1950, pp. 176 f.

In another sense, however, it is this very hesitation which contributes to the dark-hued fascination of the F minor Symphony: as we know from the works of many of the Spanish artists, there can be an undeniable strength in something unpolished. The first movement, like all the Haydn symphonies utilizing the reversed order of movements, retains the winds; and the sombre, majestic beauty has indeed something of Goya in it. As in all the orchestral works of this period, Haydn takes great pains to lift the music out of its blackness by means of contrasting dynamic marks (*cf.* I, meas. 65/67). But *La Passione* remains full of an almost pathetic questioning spirit, and even the finely wrought dynamic changes only serve to unsettle the flowing semiquavers (Ex. 11 a). One particular passage recurring throughout the movement has a strange effect that occasionally borders on the sinister (Ex. 11 b). The movement is in Haydn's peculiar two-part sonata form, the exposition being forty-three measures, the middle or development, eighteen, and the recapitulation, thirty-five; reckoned in two parts, the first contains forty-three, the second fifty-three measures.

The *Allegro di molto* shows a considerable advance over the corresponding second movements in the symphonies of 1764. Instead of a motorial, basically rhythmic contrast to the flowing *Adagio*, as was the case in 1764, we now have a fierce *Allegro* which is, however, full of contrasting elements. The wide leaps of the opening theme (*f*), in two-part counterpoint, and its ensuing syncopations — all of which is deliberately intended to create a jagged, heroic impression — are followed by a sinuous, gliding passage (*p*) (Ex. 12 a) in quavers designed to form a contrast with the craggy opening group; this

**Ex. 12** a) (*Allegro di molto*)

The musical score for Ex. 12 a) is written for strings (Str.) and keyboard (Cemb.). It consists of two systems. The first system is marked 'p' (piano) and 'Vla. 8va' (Violoncello 8va). The second system is marked 'loco' and 'etc.'. The music is in 2/4 time and consists of flowing semiquaver passages. The first system is marked 'x' and the second system is marked 'y'.

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b) (x)

Str. (Cemb.) *p*

Vla. Basso

(y) (x)

Str. (Cemb.)

(y) (x)

Str. (Cemb.) etc.

c)

Cor. Str. (Cemb.) *p*

Cor.

Cor. Str. (Cemb.) etc.

transitional section leads to a strong, rhythmic group in three parts (meas. 23/27, 28/33, and 34/37 — all *forte*) partly derived from the opening subject; and this, in turn, brings us to the delightful second subject (Ex. 12 c<sup>20</sup>). It will be noted that counterpoint is now beginning to shape almost all Haydn's thinking, and it is therefore no surprise

<sup>20</sup> Taken from its appearance in the recapitulation.

that this subsidiary subject is constructed in imitative sequence between the two violins and viola. The development is the finest of any Haydn symphony so far. Every element of the exposition is pertinently utilized, if on a small scale. One quotation will suffice to show how the composer is able to take a comparatively light-hearted passage from the exposition (Ex. 12 a) and by a few deft strokes of his pen darken its character so that it becomes (Ex. 12 b) almost as sinister as portions of the first movement.

The minuet and trio are fully on the level of the other movements; the trio, with its exquisite horn writing, is the only really happy moment in the whole symphony<sup>21</sup>.

The finale is fundamentally of the type first encountered in No. 29/IV and firmly established in No. 59/IV. All three have the basic lay-out in common: a strong leading subject, dominated by one characteristic rhythmic pattern; a transition and second subject, up to the double bar, driven forward by swift repeated quavers in the violins (*cf.* Ex. 5, *supra*), the whole movement being welded together by the continuous crotchets of the bass line. (The culmination of this kind of movement occurs during the subsequent period: the finale of Symphony No. 52 in C minor.) The finale of No. 49, like its opening *Adagio*, is in a kind of two-part sonata form; particularly admirable is the lead-back to the recapitulation (meas. 79 *ff.*); by means of the principal figure of the main theme, now played by the oboes in conjunction with a supporting rhythmic lead in the violins, Haydn slides inconspicuously into the recapitulation proper.

*La Passione*, though widely circulated through manuscript copies and even contemporary French and English prints — one of the rare early Haydn symphonies to achieve this distinction during the composer's lifetime — gradually fell into complete neglect; it was rescued from almost total oblivion as a result of the excellent critical edition prepared by Helmut Schultz for the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe*, issued during 1933 in Series I, Vol. 4, and has now received a measure of the popularity it deserves. It might be pointed out that it is one of the last symphonies by Haydn in which a harpsichord is absolutely necessary for a stylistically proper execution. As we shall see, most of the symphonies after 1770 no longer require the presence of a cembalo except in a very few movements, although (like No. 49)

<sup>21</sup> This is also the case in Mozart's Symphonies in G minor (K. 183; K. 550).

they continue to need a bassoon; even No. 41, composed at most some two years after *La Passione*, is so scored that a keyboard *continuo* is almost superfluous.

On the threshold, as it were, of Haydn's full maturity stands one of the trumpet symphonies in C major, No. 41, composed about the year 1770. Although written only two or three years after the last specimen of this particular *genre* (No. 38), No. 41 is by far the most splendid example of its kind so far analysed. The important interim symphonies discussed in this chapter served to clear the way for Haydn's new style, and it is to be expected that such a C major symphony would benefit from the experience gained by the *Lamentatione*, *La Passione*, the G minor No. 39, or the A major No. 59. But how, one might reasonably ask, can a series of tragic or near-tragic works affect a symphony expressly designed to reflect the pomp and pageantry of an eighteenth-century court? The answer is, of course, that the spirit of *La Passione* or the *Lamentatione* cannot directly influence a work which is *per se* supposed to express something emotionally so far removed from these symphonies in minor tonalities; but a revitalized spirit is nevertheless present. The new C major Symphony has a breadth and spaciousness, particularly in its first movement, undreamt of in any of the earlier, festival pieces — even No. 38. The splendour is now enriched and deepened, and all traces of the earlier superficiality noted in connection with these festival works have disappeared. Comparing, for example, the respective first movements of Nos. 38 and 41, one observes:

(1) The increased strength and character of the opening theme in the latter. This is in large measure due to the differences in thematic technique: whereas the main subject of No. 38/I still adheres to the older, primitive type of spun-out thematic texture without much regard for an organized disposition of its various motifs, that of No. 41 is a perfectly balanced eight-measure subject and answer (4 + 4).

(2) The greater size and richness of the transition in No. 41. This is in part because it, too, is broken up into balanced two or four-measure groups (such as a sequence: 4 + 4), and partly because of the carefully worked-out harmonic progression, as contrasted with the rather haphazard procedure found in No. 38/I.

(3) The increased importance and more inspired thematic organization of the second subject in No. 41, designed to contrast with the foregoing material not only by its being *piano* — this is about the

extent to which Haydn goes in No. 38 — but also through its different phrasing: in No. 41, the subsidiary subject has broad *legato* markings and a flowing line, while the previous material is divided into shorter and more abrupt groups with three-in-a-bar accents. Thus, Haydn begins to realize the basic conflict inherent in a fully developed sonata form.

(4) The broader and more impressive lay-out of the development section in No. 41. This marks the beginning of a new technique to which Haydn soon became very attached, the *fausse reprise*. After seventeen measures of real development, Haydn plunges back into what appears to be the recapitulation, but is in fact a 'false recapitulation'; i. e., the theme is broken off and development continues. This device serves the dualistic purpose of lengthening the development and enhancing the dramatic effect of the real recapitulation. Through it, he also broadens the middle section of his sonata-form scheme so that there develops a real ternary form, as opposed to the former tendency towards binary structure in which the development and recapitulation were telescoped together.

(5) The increased sense of orchestral colour in No. 41. Haydn now takes more pains with his instrumentation, and throughout No. 41 we notice pleasing orchestral details. For example, the second subject, originally announced in the exposition by strings alone, is in the recapitulation played by the first oboe *8va* as well. The most radical change concerns the brass and timpani. These are no longer loosely attached to the orchestral texture, as they were in the early C major symphonies; even the timpani in No. 41/I materially contribute to the general forward impetus, as in meas. 165 *ff* and 192 *ff*. Haydn's use of the high horns and trumpets in No. 41/I also reveals a careful hand at work: the harmonic limitations of the C *alto* horns are constantly hidden by clever use of the trumpets, and thus the difficult high G's of the former are wherever possible assigned to the latter, as in meas. 44 *ff.*, 165 *ff.*, etc. All these are fine points not found in the rough-and-ready instrumentation of No. 38/I. In a word, Haydn now takes as much pains with the red and gold pagentry of C major as with the darker-hued symphonies in minor keys.

With the second movement (*Un Poco Andante*) we actually cross the threshold into Haydn's mature style: all the characteristics which will be discussed in connection with the slow movements of the period 1771-1774 are present in No. 41/II: the muted violins; the use of

the woodwind (in No. 41 a flute is added to the previous ensemble, and trumpets and drums are silent); the broken melodic patterns (e.g. meas. 24 *ff.*, 28 *ff.*, 36 *ff.*), a feature already present in No. 49/I and of vital importance in the years 1771-1774<sup>22</sup>; the languid, elegant style, shot through with touches of beauty — all these are typical details found again and again in the coming period. The treatment of the wind instruments is of particular significance in No. 41/II, and it is here that we glimpse the tremendous strides that Haydn's technique has made during the past few years. The dainty charm of the slow movement in No. 38 fades before the rich tapestry of sound woven by the flute and other wind instruments over the discreet accompaniment of the strings in No. 41/II:

**Ex. 13** (Un poco Andante) Solo (p) \*) etc.)

Fl. (p) Solo (p) \*) etc.)

2 Ob.

2 Cor.

C basso

Str.

\*) St. Florian; Esterházy

(In this symphony, a few minor changes in the text of the B. & H. G. A. [Schultz, Ser. I, Vol. 4] should be made; see Appendix I.)

<sup>22</sup> See p. 333.





XXIII Symphony No. 49 (1768). Autograph in the Royal Swedish Musical Academy, Stockholm.

Clarinet  
 Trompete  
 Violoncello  
 Kontrabaß  
 Violine I  
 Violine II  
 Viola  
 Violoncello  
 Kontrabaß

No. 56  
 1774

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top, there are labels for various instruments: Clarinet, Trompete, Violoncello, Kontrabaß, Violine I, Violine II, Viola, and Violoncello/Kontrabaß. Below these labels are several staves of musical notation, including treble and bass clefs, notes, rests, and other musical symbols. The notation is written in ink on aged paper. At the bottom of the page, there is a large, stylized signature or mark.

XXIV Symphony  
 No. 56 (1774). Auto-  
 graph formerly in the  
 Berlin State Library  
 (now Universitätsbi-  
 bliothek, Tübingen).

The finale is the very swift type of presto achieved by writing triplet quavers in two-four time; as such, No. 41/IV is the direct predecessor of No. 56/IV. If this kind of *moto perpetuo* is less subtle than the more varied diet offered to us in the finale of No. 38 — in this respect, the superior of No. 41 — still, it is the first attempt on the part of the composer to provide his C major trumpet symphonies with a rousing, fanfare-like conclusion. It took, however, the more flexible type of final movement developed later in Haydn's career to make a fitting conclusion to such a festival symphony; he seems to have found it difficult to apply to the symphonic form the successful concluding C major movements found in other *genres*, such as the fugal finale in Opus 20, No. 2, or the 'Resurrexit' from the *Missa St. Caecilia*. This is doubly strange in view of the excellent final movements he wrote for other types of symphonies during the next period. It may be that the principal idea in No. 41/IV — the use of swift, repeated notes (Ex. 14) — is Slavonic in origin. The movement is held together by this simple device, which recurs constantly throughout; even the brass and kettledrums contribute to hammer it across. If the spirit of the movement is closely akin to the finale of a later C major festival work (No. 56), the thematic repetition has its parallel in the finale of No. 57; and as this very similar idea is based upon a traditional theme<sup>23</sup>, there are grounds for believing that No. 41/IV might have its origin in some Croatian or Serbian dance.

**Ex. 14**

**Presto**



In the course of these years, we have followed perhaps the most critical period in Haydn's artistic development. Maturity does not arrive unheralded, but is almost always the result of long and arduous preparation. This is particularly true of Haydn, whose experimentation was not the result of an artistic creed, as it was with Gluck and to an even greater extent with Wagner, but the 'outcome of a restless and vivid imagination' (Hadow). Haydn arrived at maturity in an orderly and systematic fashion, and it is possible to

<sup>23</sup> See p. 357.

follow his artistic growth and the improved technique which was its necessary adjunct in a great number of his compositions. For this reason, his development is far easier to perceive than that of an artist who produced less, and whose development is therefore likely to be hidden in sketch books and other meagre and generally unsatisfactory documents. Haydn's gradual approach to maturity is recorded in a large number of symphonies, quartets, sonatas, operas, masses and other, smaller forms. We have devoted considerable space to this important period of preparation in order that the apparently sudden flowering of Haydn's genius, during the years 1771-1774, should not lead one to think that he arrived at maturity simply by closing the door of his youth behind him; nothing could be further from the truth. The symphonic form used so successfully during the previous half-decade was exhausted. For what he wanted to say then, the means were amply sufficient; but his spiritual growth now demanded newer and more flexible forms to meet his changing requirements. We have seen the various new elements which entered his style and the changes which these wrought in the symphonic form. With Haydn, it was the form which underwent the changes necessary to accomodate the new style; not as with Gluck, where the style was the outgrowth of new artistic principles.

Perhaps more than in any other period, the years 1766-1770 bear out the truth of Haydn's words: 'in Esterháza I was forced to become original.'

## CHAPTER IX

### SYMPHONIES OF 1771—1774

#### *Chronology.*

The following symphonies discussed in this chapter are preserved in autograph: Nos. 42 (1771), 45—47 (1772), 50 (1773), 54 (1774) and 56 (1774). There are actually four symphonies dated 1774, of which two (Nos. 55 and 57) are for stylistic reasons placed in the next chapter: while Nos. 54 and 56 clearly have their roots in the period covered by this chapter, these two had to be placed in the succeeding section. In addition to the seven works preserved in holograph *MS.* — Nos. 55 and 57 being omitted from this reckoning — the following symphonies belong chronologically to the period 1771—1774: Nos. 43, 44, 48, 51, 52 and 65, the latter being some twenty numbers too advanced in Mandyczewski's list. Of these, Nos. 43 and 44 were composed about 1771; No. 48, performed in 1773 before the Empress Maria Theresia, and announced in Breitkopf's catalogue of that year, was probably composed in 1772. Nos. 51, 52, and 65, all three of which are too advanced in the B. & H. list, were assigned their present position partly (Nos. 52, 65) as a result of their respective positions in EK (see p. 66) and partly through examination of their style, which suggests the period 1771-1773. To these was added No. 64, a work which is in any case too high in Mandyczewski's list, and which is probably a little earlier than the date c. 1775 assigned to it in the Haydn Society's catalogue. If one feels that the date c. 1773-4 suits its overall style and lay-out better, it must be stressed that this is only a conjecture, neither confirmed nor denied by any authentic evidence. (It might be mentioned in this connection that No. 50, dated 1773, is missing from EK altogether.) Placing the fourteen works included in this chapter in their respective positions as found in the B. & H. list, we have: Nos. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 54, 56, 64, 65.

With the year 1771 we reach Haydn's full maturity. As this newly found strength manifests itself in every one of the larger forms employed by the composer, it is perhaps desirable, before examining the symphonies themselves, to cast a brief glance at the more important compositions of other kinds written during the years 1766-1774. A discussion of those works properly falling into the previous chapter has been, with the exception of the *Missa in Honorem B.V.M.*<sup>1</sup>, postponed until this point to make it possible to sketch briefly, and at one time, the growth of Haydn's quartets, masses, church music, sonatas and operas from the critical years 1766-1770 to the miraculous flowering of genius in the period 1771-1774.

Between c. 1768 and 1769, Haydn completed the six string quartets of Opus 9 (so called after the first, Paris edition). The various

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 272.

quartets of Opera 1 and 2 were not composed in sets of six, and although it is possible that Opus 3 was composed as a set for a (French?) publisher, those comprising Opus 9 are the first which on the basis of its entry in EK can be considered a real series. Opus 9 is to Opus 3 what the symphonies of 1766-1770 are to those of the first part of the 'sixties: uneven but highly talented music as against a more unified but also more superficial brilliance. The uneven spiritual characteristics of Opus 9 even led Pohl to assert that the A major (Op. 9/6) 'seems... to belong to an earlier period'<sup>2</sup>. This mixture of old and new has been observed in many of the symphonies examined in the previous chapter. In Opus 9 the conflict between Haydn's earlier, smooth quartet writing and his strivings towards something more profound may be observed if we place the light, airy manner of the first movement of Opus 9/6 besides the rather bleak, 'Lamentatione' spirit of the *Adagio* introduction to the slow movement of Opus 9/2; or the sunny C major writing of Opus 9/1 next to the dark, polyphonic style of Opus 9/4. A further parallel between the relation of the earlier symphonies to those of 1766-1770, and that of the quartets of Opera 1-3 to those of Opus 9, concerns the use of minor tonality. We have seen that minor keys in the symphonies first appeared in quantity in connection with the emotional upheavals occurring during the late 'sixties, and so it is with the quartets. None of the earlier works is in the minor, probably because the spirit which produced minor tonalities (and we must remember that in the mid-eighteenth century minor keys represented a very special emotional mood) had never until then entered Haydn's head. Now, in Opus 9, we are given a fine D minor quartet, and this work points the way which will eventually lead to the masterpieces of Opus 20, of Opera 76 and 77. It is not doing Haydn an injustice to say that the sum total of his earlier works in this form is of little significance; for Haydn himself asked his publishers Artaria to begin the 'complete' edition of his quartets with Opus 9, omitting Opera 1-3.

With Opus 17, composed in 1771, the uneven style of Opus 9 has changed into near-maturity. There is renewed strength in the opening movements, more subtlety in the adagios, and a concentrated effort to purge the minuets — which in these quartets generally come after

<sup>2</sup> II, p. 291.

the first movements — and finales of incompatible stylistic elements. Sondheimer<sup>3</sup> says:

Haydn's youthful countenance is now lined with the experience of manhood. Between the composition of Op. 9 and the quartets of Op. 17... there is an outward difference, observable in the 4th movement. Its impetus is still given a free rein, but the outright nonchalance which had obtained... in the finale of Op. 9, No. 6, is now discarded as incompatible with the more serious aim of the other movements.

The new quartet form which Haydn had been seeking for so long is finally presented to us in the magnificent six quartets of Opus 20 (1772). All the inspiration of which we have had a foretaste during the past half decade seems to surge into and fill up the quartets of this set. The structure of the outer movements is enriched by vast contrapuntal schemes; and how monumental this polyphonic texture can be in the hands of the energetic forty-year-old Haydn may be seen in the development of the first movement of the C major (Opus 20/2) or the finales of Nos. 2, 5 and 6, all three of which are strict fugues. Haydn seems to throw off the shackles of his earlier method of composition. The four strings are now equal partners engaging in spirited conversation: the 'cello soars over the other instruments in the first subject of Opus 20/2/1; the viola steers its own course, separate from the bass. Inner voices enrich and broaden the musical texture, and with this new-found technical freedom come new dynamic marks and carefully indicated phrasings to help the performer with the new difficulties of interpretation, such as *crescendo*, *mezza voce*, *sotto voce*, *mezzo forte*, *mezzo piano*, *per Figuram Retardationis*<sup>4</sup>. From Opus 20 come sombre, dark-hued quartets such as those in G minor and F minor, which have their corresponding symphonic partners in the *Trauer*, *Farewell* and C minor symphonies (Nos. 44, 45, 52); while Opus 20/4 (D major), with its radiant, happy freedom of thought, has a direct parallel in Symphony No. 42 which, as we shall see, sweeps away the last harmonic and structural cobwebs of earlier symphonies. Both works also have in common a lightning-swift, almost mercurial *Presto e Scherzando* as finale wherein 'a richly alternating rhythm is continually spurred on to fresh undertakings by the kinetic power of the motif which sets it in motion. This rhythmical ebullience, which whirls round like a fly-wheel, filled the listener with astonishment and led him to

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> For a contemporary reference to this kind of suspension, see Leopold Mozart, *op. cit.*, p. 170, esp. footnote.

regard the Haydn style as something unsurpassable' (Sondheimer<sup>5</sup>). It is an interesting phenomenon that this whole period gains its peculiar significance from a combination of structural and rhythmical virtuosity — indeed, virtuosity in all matters — on the one hand, together with an often desperate bleakness on the other: sombre movements such as the opening of the F minor quartet (Opus 20/5) gain a Beethovenian strength and energy through a brilliant virtuoso treatment of the individual elements. It was undoubtedly this unlikely combination that swiftly pushed Haydn to the front rank of his contemporaries at the beginning of the 'seventies. Considering the quartets of 1772 in relation to those preceding them, Sondheimer<sup>6</sup> is correct in saying that Opus 20 'represents the sum total of what [Haydn] had striven after'.

Unfortunately, we cannot trace all the interim stages occurring between the *Missa in Honorem B.V.M.* (1766) and the *Missa St. Caecilia* (c. 1772/74). The D minor *Missa sunt bona mixta malis* (c. 1768) is lost, and the *Missa Sti. Nicolai* of 1772 does not seem to fit into the pattern. It is probably correct to regard this latter work as something very hastily<sup>7</sup> tossed off for the Name Day of Prince Nikolaus Esterházy, on December 6. The sweet, pastoral character of the *Nicolaimesse*, as it is called in Austria, has no relation to the sweeping changes observable in all fields of Haydn's creative activity; it is almost the only weak work among the large-scale choral compositions of the time, the only real disappointment. On its own merits, the work is by no means insignificant; it is just that one would have expected something far more monumental. Our disappointment is of short duration, however, for following<sup>8</sup> the *Nicolaimesse* comes the

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>7</sup> The autograph (Bst) shows traces of extreme haste; and the 'Dona nobis pacem' was avoided by the frequently employed expedient of writing 'sopra il Kyrie', i. e., the text of the 'Dona' was to be set to the music of the 'Kyrie'.

<sup>8</sup> Concerning the date of the *Missa St. Caecilia*, experts have long been in disagreement. It was previously thought that the work should be placed in the 'eighties, but Larsen's examination of the watermarks of the fragmentary autograph (EH) convinced him that the date c. 1769—1773 was more accurate. Brand thought it might be placed in the late 'sixties. An old legend, quoted by Pohl, describes the work as composed to restore the honour damaged by the hastily-written *Nicolaimesse*; and this seems very plausible. As the year 1773 is significantly empty of smaller works it may be that the new mass should be given this rather precise date (which would not be possible upon a stylistic examination alone). See also my preface to the practical edition of the score and parts, Universal Edition (1954).



*Missa St. Caecilia*, certainly the most important composition yet to come from Haydn's pen.

The new work is a so-called 'Cantata Mass', written on a broad scale so that each small section of the individual parts of the liturgy is given a whole movement; in this respect we have a famous precursor<sup>9</sup> in the B minor Mass by J. S. Bach, which work, incidentally, was found in full score amongst the music catalogued in Haydn's legacy. What immediately strikes the listener upon hearing the *Missa St. Caecilia* is the enormous contrapuntal power amassed in the choruses and the splendid, ecstatic joy permeating the quick movements. Scarcely less impressive are the contrasting slow sections, pulsating with carefully leashed power. Nothing in Haydn's previous choral output prepares us for the hushed, other-worldly introduction to the 'Kyrie' with its imperceptible change into the six-four chord of the tonic minor, as if a veil had gently been drawn over the music. Another glorious inspiration is the 'Gratias' fugue, returning wholly to earlier polyphony and intoning the text in sonorous, ancient language. In abrupt contrast is the wild ecstasy of the 'in Gloria Dei Patris' fugue which tears through the text in a burst of flaming passion: 'Glory to God, the Father.' But no words can possibly describe the shattering drama of the 'Et vitam venturi' fugue. Here is the culmination of the C major style; trumpets sound forth the gripping theme in brazen majesty, and the vivid passage work of the violins in constant semiquavers with the bass moving in inflexible quavers (that rock of energy so often found in the previous instrumental works) pass before us like a mighty medieval pageant; at the end the first trumpet, rising to the highest register, flashes like a shining sword across the horizon. It is one of the greatest movements in all Haydn, not equalled until the late masses produced after the second London sojourn.

<sup>9</sup> Mozart's magnificent unfinished Mass in C minor (K. 427) would have been a 'Cantata Mass' had it been completed. Erich Schenk (*Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Jahrgang 1953, Nr. 8) records two other, earlier 'Cantata Masses' which Haydn must have known, viz. the *Missa St. Caecilia* by Florian Gassmann (1729—1774) and especially the *Missa S. Caroli* by Georg Reutter, Jr. (1708—1772), the former dated 1765 and the latter 1734. Schenk believes Reutter's work served as Haydn's model; I believe that Haydn's own *Missa in Honorem B. V. M.* was the direct model for much of the musical material — if not the form — of the *Missa St. Caecilia*. The three-eight movements, the 'Et Incarnatus' settings and the treatment of the 'Et Resurrexit' are strikingly similar.

Foremost among Haydn's smaller church music are the *Salve Regina* of 1771 (G minor, with *concertante* organ) and the *Stabat Mater* in G minor (c. 1771). The former might be described as a study for the latter, for the same stylistic tendencies prevail in both works. What the *Salve Regina* is only able to suggest, because of its smaller scale, is brought to fruition in the *Stabat Mater*. Although not attaining the almost unbroken thread of inspiration found in the mass just described, the *Stabat Mater* is filled with the spirit of the new era, particularly in the sorrowful 'bridge of sighs' which is the opening chorus, in some of the arias, particularly those for the alto, and in the stirring final 'Paradise' fugue, in G major. In analysing these new choral works one should not forget the rôle played by the vast cantata *Applausus*, composed in 1768. Although this work contains certain conventionalities, such as the use of an *obbligato* cembalo (found in all of Haydn's earlier cantatas), rather florid vocal lines, and recitatives of the customary formality, yet the powerful choruses with their high trumpet parts — especially in the final number — prepare the ground for the *Missa St. Caecilia*; and some of the arias, particularly one with a romantic solo violin part, are saturated with the expressive character of the interim period. The cantata has suffered the neglect accorded to all Haydn's works in that form, none of them ever having been printed.

During the middle 'sixties, Haydn's clavier sonatas underwent a far-reaching stylistic change which raised them from the category of light and pleasing divertimenti to the more serious level of the contemporary symphony. This change was wrought primarily as a result of the influence which the theories of C. P. E. Bach were beginning to exert on Haydn; but whereas it is difficult to observe a trace of the 'Hamburg' Bach in Haydn's instrumental and choral pieces, the way to the clavier sonata was direct and the elder master's style is discernible in some of the interim works produced during the 'sixties. In Sonata No. 19, the influence becomes much more than discernible, and the slow movement of that work, with its predominantly languid, two-part construction, is very obviously the result of C. P. E. Bach's clavier writing. This new style is carried over into several sonatas of the 'sixties, such as the melancholy G minor (No. 44), which presumably dates from this period. About 1768, the new elements become assimilated into Haydn's piano style, and we get

the magnificent A flat Sonata (No. 46)<sup>10</sup>, by far the most powerful of its group. The development of its first movement already shows that brilliant combination of serious and virtuoso elements which was to be decisive a few years later, and the second movement, a noble *Adagio*, is very characteristic of the interim symphonies. The influence of Haydn's symphonies upon his clavier sonatas reaches its height in the grim C minor sonata (No. 20, 1771). With this one work, Haydn places himself among the foremost composers of keyboard music; the C minor Sonata, together with those in G minor (No. 44) and A flat (No. 46) create a monument worthy to stand beside the *Caecilia Mass*, the quartets of Opus 20, or the symphonies of 1771-1774.

This significant change can also be traced in Haydn's operatic compositions<sup>11</sup>. Overlooking *Acide*<sup>12</sup>, which is incomplete and would, in any case, not throw any light on present problems, we leave the domain of *opera seria* and enter the field of parody, from which the next operas draw their inspiration. It is no accident that Haydn's operatic career began in 1766<sup>13</sup>. With the completion of new facilities for the production of operas, Haydn was obliged to turn out some specimens of his own. The first of these, *La Canterina* (1766), is entitled 'Intermezzo' and, as Wirth says, 'not only makes fun of the *opera seria* but... mocks [Haydn's] own beginnings with *Acide*. The work begins in the style of the *opera buffa* without an overture... The melodies hardly distinguish themselves from the imported Italian manner. The second scene, however, shows essentially new moments. It is an *accompagnato* recitative with much music and few words... in the forceful style of the young symphonist, Haydn.' (This recitative is doubly interesting because it also recalls the introductions to Haydn's own cantatas.) It is typical that the composer's orchestration of *La Canterina* should include four vigorous

<sup>10</sup> The writer was formerly under the impression that this sonata stood in its correct place in Päsler's chronological catalogue of Haydn's sonatas in Series XIV of the B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe*. Prof. Larsen was kind enough to point out the significance of its entry in EK as well as various stylistic traits which place it many years earlier, approximately in the year 1768.

<sup>11</sup> See Helmut Wirth's valuable notes on Haydn's operas in the programme notes to the Haydn Society's recording of *Orfeo ed Euridice* (*L'Anima del filosofo*), Boston, 1950; also his dissertation, *Joseph Haydn als Dramatiker* in the *Kieler Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, Heft 7, Wolfenbüttel, 1940.

<sup>12</sup> Some small comedies also date from the same year: see p. 225. Between 1762 and 1766 there seem to be no operatic compositions whatever.

<sup>13</sup> See above, pp. 272 f.

horn parts, used *concertante* in their highest registers, much in the manner of the 'Hornsignal' Symphony No. 31 (1765). The symphony exerted its influence on the operatic world of Esterháza as well as on quartets and sonatas.

Both in this opera as well as the succeeding *Lo Speciale* (1768), Haydn employs passionate arias in the minor with typical 'storm and stress' accompaniments, and though intended primarily as parodies of the Neapolitan 'vengeance aria' one often has the impression that the parody verges on something serious and close to Haydn's heart. In both works there are numerous examples of the broken horizontal line which we shall have occasion to discuss in connection with the symphonies<sup>14</sup>; a typical example is the Aria, 'Colla presente scrittura' from *Lo Speciale*. As a whole, 'The Apothecary' shows a tremendous improvement in technique over its predecessor. The action is clearly defined, the characters are more than the stock-in-trade figures of *La Canterina* (the music teacher, the spoiled singer, *etc.*); the finale of the second act is as concentrated in its musical and dramatic form as the first movement of a contemporary Haydn symphony and prepares the way for the finales of later operas, such as *Il Mondo della Luna*, *La Vera Costanza* or *Orlando Paladino*.

Commenting on the next opera, Wirth says:<sup>15</sup>

The matter is a totally different one in the case of the succeeding opera, *Le Pescatrici* (1769), which likewise goes back to Carlo Goldoni<sup>16</sup>. The musical language becomes more characteristic and the structure more independent of the Italian pattern. For the first time the 'parte serie' appear in the *opera buffa* by Haydn. These are serious parts which belong to the achievements... of the second part of the 18th century... An important change has taken place in the whole constellation. With Goldoni the criticism practised on society has no important part. Haydn, however, emphasizes the difference with his music. The serious partners are no longer dolls, the originals of which can be found in the *opera seria*, but real persons whom one feels are alive, and who influence the course of the action... The period... of 'storm and stress'... was beginning to throw its first shadow.

In both this work and *La Canterina*, Haydn gives important parts to the English horns, whose warm, mellow tones lend a subtle beauty to Haydn's use of E flat major (*ombra* scene in *Le Pescatrici*). We are reminded of the mysterious, silken sound of Symphony No. 22.

<sup>14</sup> See below, p. 333.

<sup>15</sup> Haydn Society programme notes, pp. 21 f.

<sup>16</sup> Goldoni wrote the book for *Lo Speciale*.

The climax of this trend may be seen in Haydn's newly-discovered *Singspiel*, *Philemon und Baucis*, which Larsen found in the Paris Conservatory (1950). The operetta was originally written for marionettes and was performed by the Esterházy marionette troupe before the Empress in 1773. It is in this work that Gluck's influence upon Haydn is most apparent. An example from *Philemon und Baucis* was previously cited in this connection<sup>17</sup> and an even more striking tribute to the reformer of opera now occurs in connection with the finale. The performance before Maria Theresia ended with a chorus glorifying the Hapsburg dynasty, as we are able to see from the printed libretto. In the Paris MS. just discovered, this chorus was dropped and a ballet substituted, the music for which is taken from Gluck's *Paride ed Elena*, written in 1769. As everyone was thoroughly familiar with Gluck's new ballet, it may be assumed that Haydn added it for some special performance as a modest tribute to the older composer, perhaps when Gluck was present in the audience. (Any idea that the ballet was added in Paris to gratify the French taste for concluding ballets is dispelled by the MS. itself, which is written by Viennese copyists on Italian paper with the characteristic three-moon watermark.)

Of more immediate interest is the rest of the music in the little opera. The Overture, as well as the first storm chorus ('Cortine auf Donnerwetter', says the Paris MS.), is as dark and impetuous as the *Trauersymphonie*. Such music cannot be found in any of the composer's earlier operas. More than *L'Infedeltà delusa*, performed the same year, *Philemon und Baucis* is the Haydn opera which shows most clearly the increased sensitivity of the instrumental works written during the period; and like them it is full of a strange, new dynamic vocabulary. At the end of the storm chorus Haydn writes *calando sempre più piano*; elsewhere we find *sotto voce*, *dolce e piano*, *forz[ato] e dolce*, and so on; the Overture itself is only marked *con espressione* without further indication of tempo. These expression marks are by no means superficial and external matters: they represent the outward manifestation of Haydn's new style, his groping for the fundamental matters of life. Another expression of this new attitude is the lovely Aria, 'Ein Tag, der Allen Freude bringt', in which is related Philemon's bitter story of the death of his only son. Haydn's

<sup>17</sup> See above, p. 276.

musical description of the old man, recalling in his feeble way the stroke of lightning that destroyed all his hopes, is masterly; and the tired and pathetic manner in which the music fades to its end as the old man finishes his lament is truly touching. The whole piece, in fact, is filled with that depth of expression and masculine sweetness so characteristic of the best pages of this period.

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Together with the string quartets of 1771 and 1772, the symphonies represent the most consistently inspired category of Haydn's art during this period. In no other symphonies, except in the twelve composed for the British capital, did Haydn reach the high artistic standard achieved in the dozen or so written within this small space of time. There are even some who maintain that he never surpassed the strength and beauty of the *Trauersymphonie*, the *Farewell*, the G major No. 47, or the C major No. 56. And when he was an old man, with literally hundreds of compositions to choose from, it is reported that Haydn asked to have the slow movement of the *Trauersymphonie* played at his funeral; he must have preserved a special affection for this fine work and remembered it all through the years.

Considering the symphonies of this period as a group, the characteristic which outshines all others is the enormous variety displayed from work to work. Haydn no longer writes in any one formal pattern, in any one particular style; these symphonies offer us every mood imaginable: from the depths of sorrow to angry passion; from the sweetness and infinite wisdom of the adagios to the humorous, flying finales: from whimsical, gentle slow movements to the overwhelming majesty and splendour of the C major symphonies standing in the shadow of the *Missa St. Caecilia*. The description given by Mozart to a set of piano concerti might apply to these symphonies of Haydn; for there are parts for the connoisseur, the *Kenner und Liebhaber*, and parts for Everyman, who will be stirred and uplifted by what he hears without knowing how or why. Because of this very variety, however, one cannot easily lay bare the structure of Haydn's thought by merely pointing out formal characteristics common to all the symphonies concerned, as was often possible in the earlier symphonic efforts. Such a movement as No. 47/I, with its terrace-like construction of the march theme and the brilliant

inspiration of the recapitulation<sup>18</sup> is unique among Haydn's symphonies. Faced with such material, the analyst can easily approach a *cul-de-sac*; for to point out only those matters common to all the symphonies or to limit oneself to a discussion of the basic language involved would be to omit countless significant details; and to proceed from work to work, as recent writers have attempted to do with Mozart's piano concerti, would be to leave the reader confused and bewildered, knowing a mass of details but missing the essential points which cannot possibly stand out in such a welter of material. (For this reason there have never been satisfactory full-length treatises on Mozart's operas, symphonies or piano concerti: their grandeur and depth seems to elude all but a very few writers, and the patient explorer is confused by Mozart's brilliant invention.) We shall attempt to steer a middle course between these two possibilities; for although this is a method likely to fail completely in both directions, *i. e.* in perceiving the general points of significance as well as the details which fill the listener with joy, it seemed the only approach possible in dealing with such a large number of works.

The greatly increased breadth and scope of Haydn's new style, often reaching true monumentality in the quick movements, is assisted by a number of technical devices which warrant our attention; some of these devices are derived from earlier symphonies, some are essentially new. The most important are:

*1. Formal Characteristics of the First Movements.*

(a) *The use of unison forte opening subjects combined with sharp dynamic contrasts within the main theme.* This is not the first time that unison opening themes have been found in Haydn's symphonies, and it will be remembered that No. 12 employed unison principal subjects both for the first and last movements. At that time, however, there was no desire for monumentality, and the passages in question were used without any particular emotional intention. A further step in the development of the unison theme is taken by the finale of Symphony No. 29, where the whole movement is urged on its way by the enormous energy and impetus derived from the unison opening. Even at this comparatively early date it was realized that the broad effect of the *unisono* must be set off by contrasting material, and

<sup>18</sup> See below, p. 326.

so the unison is reserved for large note values which fan out into the nervous motorical continuation so characteristic of that period. Earlier, in No. 21/II, the strong unison main theme of the second movement was designed to offset the tranquil opening *Adagio*. During the years 1771-1774, this device is frequently employed at the outset of a symphony, as in Nos. 44/I, 46/I, 51/I, 52/I and 56/I. In examining all these principal subjects, it will be observed that every one of the strong openings is matched by a *piano* contrast, usually within a short space of time; sometimes this *p* passage continues the unison (No. 44), occasionally the unison swerves into the *p* with a simultaneous employment of harmonized parts, thus creating a double contrast (e. g. No. 56, see Plate XXIV). In the finale of No. 44, the unison opening is also used, much in the manner of an opening movement; here, the eight-bar subject is announced *f*, the subsequent ten measures being *p* and provided with a harmonic background.

(b) *The wide range of the thematic material.* One of the typical devices which crept into Haydn's language in the late 'sixties was the use of wide leaps in the melodic line, sometimes in the leading motifs, as in Nos. 34/II, 39/IV or 49/II, and sometimes within the main body of the movement, as in meas. 71 *ff.* of No. 49/IV. Haydn now emphasizes these leaps by longer note-values, and so imparts to them a new momentousness and weight, as one example from the development of No. 52/I will show:

**Ex. 1**

(Allegro assai [e] con brio)

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Fag.  
Basso

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Fag.  
Basso

Cor. I  
Cor. II  
Vla. 8va  
Vla. loco  
Vla. 8va  
a2  
etc.



In this period such a wide melodic gap is often extended over a whole theme, as in the main subjects of Nos. 45/I and 56/I (in the latter the music traverses a range of two octaves). Thus, Haydn chooses a small detail from an earlier period and reshapes it to suit his new artistic designs.

(c) *The double announcement of the main subject.* This is essentially a new feature, although traces of it may be found in earlier works (e. g. No. 39/I). Haydn employs several methods: either the two entrances of the theme are divided by a substantial contrast in dynamic texture, as in Nos. 44/I or 48/I; or the subject is simply twice repeated, as in No. 42/I, or only slightly altered, as in Nos. 51/I and 56/I; or the repetition is *p*, the original having been *f*, as in Nos. 45/I, and 52/I. The double announcement of the main subject in opening movements is a typical feature of J. C. Bach's symphonies (e. g. Overture to *Lucio Silla*, 1776), but it is doubtful if Haydn learned the idea from Bach, whose style is much nearer Mozart's than Haydn's; rather, Haydn's use of the feature seems to grow out of his own earlier style: to spring from inner necessity and not from outward stimulus.

(d) *The adoption of the regular period.* By this time, Haydn has consciously accepted the eight-measure period, which is capable of being broken down to four or combined to make sixteen measures, as required. This unifies and concentrates his thematic material, imposing a sense of symmetry on the symphonic form. Having mastered this important principle, he is free to alter it as the occasion arises; his frequently uneven structures are by now no longer the outgrowth of the baroque 'spinning-out' principle but a deliberate and carefully thought-out refinement of the basic period technique. Haydn's whole musical language is strengthened by this adoption of equal strophes.

(e) *The second subject.* Haydn had long struggled with the problem of the second subject; and during this period he is still uncertain as to how this unwelcome child should be treated. In No. 52/I he hastens to make up for past neglects and allows the second subject to enter twice in the exposition; in others, such as No. 54, there is no real second subject at all, that portion of the exposition merely introducing variants of the principal theme. There are several works in which a perfect balance is effected between first and second subject, such as No. 48/I and No. 56/I; but the transitional material separating the

rest of the exposition from the charming subsidiary theme in No. 42/I is prolonged to such a degree that when finally introduced, the second subject occupies the position of a sort of happy afterthought, not to be taken seriously at all. The formal scheme of No. 45/I is completely Haydn's own, having only a nodding acquaintance with strict sonata form. The exposition has no second subject at all, and Haydn manages to avoid this unpleasant duty until the middle of the development section, at which point his conscience overwhelms him: the second subject appears for the first time in D major, where it has no business to be since the main key is F sharp minor, and the development is interrupted for a considerable time. There then appears a *fausse reprise* which turns out to be the real recapitulation after all; or one can say there is no recapitulation. In any case, the second subject disappears after its single announcement in the development, never to reappear again. The complete freedom of form which characterizes the first movement of No. 45 was evidently considered too radical an experiment, for it was never repeated.

(f) *The use of the fausse reprise or sham recapitulation.* This device is now utilized in order to broaden the development section. In the earliest symphonies, we have observed<sup>19</sup> a tendency to begin the development with a statement of the principal theme and then to modulate from V back to I, at which point the principal theme was again brought in; it was only after this that the development got under way. By lengthening the time between V and I and by omitting the announcement of the principal subject in V, Haydn is able to create the erroneous impression that the recapitulation is at hand. This *fausse reprise* occurs for the first time in its present form in No. 41/I<sup>20</sup> and immediately becomes a regular feature of Haydn's new style. It may be further traced through the first movements of Nos. 42, 43, 46, 65 and later in 55. Out of this tendency grew still another, closely related to the surprise element inherent in the sham recapitulation; namely, the introduction of the main subject not in the tonic but in a remote key, often preceded by a fermata to heighten the suspense. This offshoot of the *fausse reprise* may be observed in its most elementary form in No. 51/I, where the main subject enters in the middle of the development on the subdominant, and in a more advanced

<sup>19</sup> See above, pp. 206 ff.

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 303.

stage in No. 54/I, where the development introduces the first theme in the submediant major, after a long pause; here the effect is dramatic and unexpected. It is this, rather than the *fausse reprise*, that Haydn will adopt and perfect in the forthcoming decades.

(g) *Slow introduction*. Although chronologically this section should properly belong at the head of the list dealing with formal details of the first movements, it has been placed here to avoid giving a false idea of its relative importance. A twelve-bar *Adagio e maestoso* is used to open the first movement of Symphony No. 50. This procedure was repeated in two symphonies of the year 1774; however, the *Adagio* which opens No. 54 was added later and is missing in the composer's autograph; the other work, No. 57, is treated in the next chapter.

One should remember that Haydn had tried the slow introduction in several early symphonies and rejected it, turning to the church-sonata scheme instead. It is not without significance that the last symphony<sup>21</sup> to employ a complete opening slow movement was written in 1768, and that the return to the rejected slow introduction follows this symphony by five years. The consequence is obvious: the slow introduction now takes the place of the previous church-sonata *Adagio*, which Haydn must have considered too lengthy or too ponderous to begin a symphony; the *Adagio* introduction is his compromise. From this point onwards, he constantly has recourse to the opening slow introduction, eventually adopting it as an almost (*cf.* No. 95) permanent feature. During the period under discussion, however, the idea is still tentative and was applied with great caution.

## 2. *The Character of the Slow Movements.*

The biggest improvement in the revised symphonic form concerns the new kind of *Adagio* which Haydn now perfects. For some reason, every single slow movement of the present period employs muted violins, a sound which so captivated the composer that he could not bring himself to change it. Wind instruments are now accepted in the adagios, a practice hitherto confined — with very few exceptions — to the church-sonata symphonies. The oboes, horns, and occasional *obbligato* bassoon which Haydn now allows to speak in his slow movements are used very sparingly, to provide an additional colouristic attraction to the nasal violins (muted) and lower strings, though the wood-wind instruments in No. 51/I are allowed more freedom. Formally,

<sup>21</sup> No. 49: see above, p. 297.

these adagios follow the vague sonata-form used in slow movements of earlier symphonies. Emotionally, they require tremendous concentration on the part of player and audience, and probably for this reason they were abandoned in the next period. Full of delicate emotion and intricate passage work for the violins, they are often of great length, leaving the listener exhausted. Haydn lavished his attention on these movements, which are full of extraordinary depth and feeling; it is characteristic that he should almost always adopt the slow *Adagio* of the church-sonata scheme rather than the more superficial *Andante* of earlier symphonies. Of the slow movements of the new period, perhaps the most beautiful are those in Nos. 43, 44, 45, 54 and 56. Only in the *Andante* of No. 50 does he slip into the earlier, superficial vein. Not until many years after the stylistic break of 1774 is Haydn able to summon up the tender, heartfelt beauty of these adagios.

### 3. *The Character of the Minuets.*

Next to the slow movements, the minuet is perhaps the part of the symphony which is most improved. Here Haydn preserves his direct contact with the dancing Austrian people; but the melodies which he pours forth are infinitely more inspired than his earlier dance movements. Such movements as the minuets to Nos. 42, 43 or 56 are so compelling, their rhythm so infectious and their joy so positive that only a jaded musical palette indeed can resist their charm. We shall only cite the violins' coy imitation of D-trumpets in the trio of No. 42; the wide harmonic vistas that open before us in the second part of the minuet in No. 50, and the brilliant inspiration of connecting the trio with the minuet (notice particularly the delightful solo-oboe passage that leads back into the minuet); the warm E major trio of No. 44, with the rich, luxuriant sound of the horn, sounding doubly effective after the gaunt E minor minuet; the stamping vivacity of the minuet in No. 51 with its rollicking solo horns in the second trio — again, one should not overlook the thematic inter-connection between the first trio and the minuet proper<sup>22</sup>; the thrilling fanfares of trumpets and drums in the minuet of No. 48, and its contrasting trio of darker-hued colours — the list could be continued indefinitely. Before leaving this section, we must point out another

<sup>22</sup> Another example of this occurs in the minuet of No. 52, where the trio uses the dynamic patterns of the minuet.

highly effective invention concerning the minuet. In the finale of No. 46 the music is sharply broken off to bring in—in three-four time as opposed to *alla breve*—the minuet again; after a long quotation of the latter, the movement gets under way and comes, after much hesitation, to a most amusing close.

#### 4. *The Character of the Finales.*

Two definite types emerge during the course of the period. The first may be described as the perfected form of dashing final movement often found in the symphonies of 1766-1770: a strongly rhythmic *alla breve*, constructed in sonata form; usually there is no distinct second subject at all. The finest example of this type is probably the finale of No. 44, in which the development achieves a wild pitch of excitement through a long, slowly-rising sequence built upon the leading motif of the first subject, this being constantly repeated until the tension is relieved by the music hurling itself into a rush of semi-quavers. Side by side with this type appears a new and quite different finale: the variation rondo, first used in No. 42 and probably derived from the rondo of No. 30. The new finale may be called a rondo inasmuch as the structure follows the pattern: A-B-A'-C-A-Coda; since the A section is constantly varied, one might also class it as a kind of variation. Even the fifth section, although similar enough to warrant the designation A rather than A', is altered to the extent that the winds are added. The coda utilizes material not only from A but from C as well. A second appearance of the form is the finale of No. 51, where the form is A-B-C-A (with altered dynamics and added wind parts) -D-A'-Coda.

The use of the coda is not alone restricted to this latter *genre* but also takes its place in the finales written in sonata form. In No. 43/IV, the coda is allotted an entire section to itself, after the second double bar, that is, after the second section has been repeated. The coda is also used, if not on this broad scale, in many other finales of the period<sup>23</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> It is a curious reflection on Haydn's effort to create a serious symphonic finale that he never again turned to the fugue (cf. Nos. 3/IV, 40/IV), as he did in the neighbouring quartets of Opus 20. As late as 1774, he is not yet certain which type of finale should be accepted; on the one hand, we have that of No. 54, which has so little of a concluding character that it might easily be mistaken for an opening movement, and on the other, the variation-rondo of Symphony No. 55, exactly patterned after No. 42, even to the section for solo winds. See below, p. 355.

### 5. General Stylistic Characteristics.

(a) *The increased harmonic breadth.* By stretching a modulation over a number of measures, Haydn seeks to give the impression of a vast harmonic canvas. One immediately thinks of two significant passages, one from the recapitulation of the languid *Adagio* from No. 45 (Ex. 2 a) and one from the coda of No. 52/I (Ex. 2 b), both of which gain their great breadth and flowing line by taking many measures to reach the new key. In No. 52/I, we have for the first time in Haydn's symphonies a deliberate slowing-down of pace, accomplished by means of longer note-values (a similar, much more extended passage occurs in the finale of No. 104); in no case must the conductor slow his beat even for a second, for the *ritardando* is composed.

**Ex. 2** a) No. 45/II (*Adagio*)

Str. Vln. con p sord.

etc.

b) No. 52/I (*Allegro assai [e] con brio*)

Str. (p) pp

Vla. & Bass

Tutti (+Ob., Cor., Fag.)

etc.

This broadening of Haydn's harmonic horizon strikes us with full force in the *Moderato e Maestoso* which opens Symphony No. 42 in D. As this whole movement is altogether on a broader scale than any symphonic movement of the past era, one is likely to overlook the startling transitional passage (meas. 26 *ff.*) which modulates sequentially through B major on the way from the dominant to the dominant. Having arrived at meas. 26 in V, sufficiently prepared by a *g*<sup>#</sup> occurring in five previous measures, the second subject would be normally introduced; but Haydn now allows himself the luxury of more than three dozen measures before he finally reaches his subsidiary subject. After meas. 45 of the slow movement he had originally sketched a continuation of the first violin part which reads:

Ex. 3



He was so engrossed in new harmonic vistas that he had to discipline himself with the stern words: 'This was for much too learned ears'<sup>21</sup>.

Considering this new harmonic interest in a broader context, one's attention is again drawn to Symphony No. 45. The tonal scheme of this symphony is most original:

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 1st movement: | F sharp minor  |
| 2nd           | " A major  |
| 3rd           | " F sharp major  |
| 4th           | " F sharp minor ( <i>Presto</i> )                      |
|               | A major ( <i>Adagio</i> , pt. 1)                       |
|               | F sharp major ( <i>Adagio</i> , pt. 2 — from meas. 68) |

Within this novel scheme Haydn presents us with the widest tonal range he knows; one example was quoted above (Ex. 2 a). The concluding, 'Farewell' portion is also filled with harmonic delights, and the transition from A major to the dominant of F sharp by means of a strange contrabasso solo (meas. 55 *ff.*) is so engrossing that one scarcely realizes that the whole tonal basis of the movement has changed from A major to its submediant major.

<sup>21</sup> The original remark, on the autograph in the Esterházy archives, reads: 'Dieses war vor gar zu gelehrte Ohren'. See *Gesamtausgabe*, Series I, Vol. 4 (Schultz), p. V of the *Revisionsbericht*.

## Ex. 4

## Menuet. Allegretto

The alternation of major and minor, noticed in connection with symphonies of the previous years (*cf.* No. 35/I, *etc.*), is even more frequently encountered in the new period. It lends a half-humorous twist to the beginning of the minuet in the *Farewell* (Ex. 4); here, the use of  $D\flat$  rather than  $D\sharp$  in the bass part of the third bar suggests that the ensuing V chord will lead to F sharp minor, which is, of course, not the case. This device may be seen on a much larger scale in the first movement of Symphony No. 47 in G, a masterly work in every way. The first subject is a gay, march-like tune beginning in the second horn and piling up strength harmonically and orchestrally as it dances along (see Ex. 5a). At the close of the beautifully planned development section, we arrive at a dominant cadence, and after a pause the recapitulation sets in. But how great is our astonishment to find that the whole is now placed in the tonic *minor*, by which process the theme undergoes a new and frightening transformation; the 'terraced' wind chords now assume an eerie, terrifying power, as if a pleasing figure had torn off its mask, revealing for the first time a twisted and horrible aspect. At the end of the theme the winds continue to hold their dominant seventh chord after the strings drop out; and when the strings enter again, the tall and fateful shadow is driven away by the dancing, sunny triplets of the second subject (see Ex. 5b).

Still other aspects of Haydn's increased harmonic horizon are found in the second movement of Symphony No. 54, a work which Pohl rightly considered one of the finest of the period. The most important of these new elements is that of harmonic surprise. Haydn assists this by various devices at his disposal. For example, at the end of the first section, the tonality of G major — the dominant of the key in which the movement is written — has been thoroughly im-



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Ex. 5

a) (Allegro)

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Fag.  
Vcl.-Cb.

Cor. I  
Cor. II  
Vln. II a2  
Vla. 8va  
Ob. II  
Ob. I  
etc.

*f* *p* *f*

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Fag.  
Vcl.-Cb.

Cor. II  
Cor. II a2  
Vla. 8va  
p loco  
b  
b

*p*

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Fag.  
Vcl.-Cb.

Ob. I  
8va  
b  
b

2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Str.

Vln. 8va  
Vln. 8va  
B. 1  
etc.

*p*

### *Symphonies of 1771—1774*

pressed upon our consciousness. Without any preparation the music moves into unison B flat, the mysterious and surprising character of the harmonic change being supported by the rare seventh harmonic of the horns; and in the next two measures Haydn seems to prepare us for the key of D minor, only to slip back into the imponderable and somehow vastly significant B flat unison. By allowing a *g*<sup>#</sup> to enter the picture (meas.55) and by gravely moving the viola up to *f*, so that it can fill in the six and five of the six-four to five-three progression, we eventually land in the supertonic (D minor) (see Ex. 6a).

**Ex. 6** No. 54/II

a) (Adagio assai)

a) (Adagio assai)

Vln. I + Cor. pp Vln. I

Vln. con sord. (p) - Cor. - Cor. etc.

b)

c) No. 64/Π (Largo)

Later in the movement occurs another remarkable harmonic passage, beginning at meas. 106 (Ex. 6b). In the exposition this was treated differently, the diminished chord of meas. 107 being carried into the next measure and directly followed by the cadenza. Consequently the  $I_4^6$  tonic minor chord of meas. 108 is a distinct surprise, carefully nurtured by the *subito p* and the pedal point of the horns. The subsequent piling up of a diminished chord over a pedal point is something which seems to have fascinated Haydn at this time; we find still another moving and beautiful instance at the end of the slow movement in Symphony No. 64; and again Haydn calls on the horn to complete the harmonic surprise which he has prepared for us (see Ex. 6c). In this latter symphony, Haydn seems to have been momentarily enthralled by new harmonic vistas; for the first movement is full of strangely affecting harmonic passages sometimes possessed of the same hesitating, dream-like beauty found in the *Adagio assai* in No. 54.

Space prevents our going into further detail concerning the rich store of harmonic effects found in these symphonies. Almost every work penetrates some new aspect of the harmonic world which Haydn has now discovered. Apparently all his musical senses were more highly awakened than ever before, but of all the innovations found during these few years none is more impressive than those concerning harmony.

(b) *The increased dynamic range.* This has been mentioned in connection with several of the points enumerated above, but deserves further attention. We have pointed out the new dynamic language employed in the quartets of Opus 20 and the operetta, *Philemon und Baucis*. In the symphonies Haydn remains far more conservative, but there is one really significant addition: the crescendo. This was found only very occasionally in earlier symphonies and first becomes a regular feature of Haydn's style during this period. In No. 39 it was employed in the slow movement, and Haydn is content, with one exception, to let it remain within these boundaries throughout the period under discussion. It must appear obvious that Haydn, who had used the crescendo in his First Symphony, was deliberately avoiding the language of the Mannheim school, with its grossly exaggerated dynamic marks. When he does finally accept it into his scheme of things, the crescendo becomes as personal as his love for strong accents. Almost every slow movement contains slight dynamic swellings, per-

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haps most effectively used in the slow movement of No. 56, where the music surges forward in the dominant of the relative minor in a striking crescendo:

Ex. 7 (Adagio)

2 Ob. *p* (*cresc.*) *f*

Fag. (*cresc.*) (*f*)

2 Cor. (F) *p* con sord. *cresc.* *f* etc.

Vln. I *p* con sord. *cresc.* *f*

Vln. II *p* con sord. *cresc.* *f*

Vla. *p* *cresc.* *f* a2

Vcl.-Cb. *p* *cresc.* *f*

The one example of a swell in a quick movement occurs in the development of Symphony No. 48/I, where its use is doubly effective in view of its almost total absence in allegros of this period.

The second dynamic mark which assumes far greater importance than hitherto is the *forzato*, usually abbreviated in this period as *forz.*. From this point until the end of his life Haydn makes frequent use of this accent, which often means simply > or ^, these signs not being in common use during the eighteenth century. One of the more elaborate uses of *fz* occurs in the minuet of Symphony No. 65, where by inserting *fz* simultaneously with the ornament + Haydn achieves the extraordinary effect of four-four within three-four; this is perhaps the most novel and bizarre effect in the entire literature of the period:

Ex. 8

Menuet

2 Ob. a2

2 Cor. a2

Str. (Fag.) (*f*)

Vla. 8va

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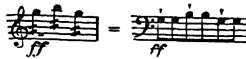
2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
+ Cor. I  
Str.  
(Fag.)

[ 4/4 | *forz* | *forz* | *forz* | *forz* ]

Another important factor in Haydn's dynamic language is his careful use of *ff* and *pp*; in this period he takes great pains to assist the performer to achieve the intended effect; no longer are whole movements without any dynamic markings, as many earlier symphonic movements were. As characteristic of the new trend, No. 44/III may be cited. In this slow movement, which is incidentally in the wrong place in the *Gesamtausgabe* and should precede the minuet, we find *cresc.*, *poco f.*, *forz.*, sudden *p*'s and *f*'s; altogether a wealth of expression which enables Haydn to write a very long and intricate movement without exhausting his listeners.

A survival from previous baroque tendencies is the direct echo-effect, much beloved by the composer and frequently encountered even at this late date. Often a whole strain will be directly echoed, as in meas. 42-49 of No. 43/I, meas. 35-38 of No. 44/I, meas. 56-59 of No. 45/I, meas. 109-114 of No. 48/I, and so on.

(c) *The assimilation of contrapuntal devices into Haydn's style.* This is of great importance in the development of the composer's musical personality. Until this assimilation takes place, there is a constant war between *concertante*, contrapuntal and harmonic elements, the results of which have been observed in previous chapters; now, there is no longer the impression that contrapuntal devices are affixed to a fundamentally harmonic structure; they are part and parcel of his language, growing out of the musical structure in a natural and convincing way. How easily Haydn slips into polyphonic writing may be seen in countless examples throughout the symphonies discussed in this chapter. Unconsciously, small figures are inverted (as in No. 52/I), bass and soprano lines are written in double counterpoint (as in No. 47/II: violins and bass in double counterpoint at the octave), sequences in sevenths automatically seem to introduce imitation be-

tween the upper voices (No. 44/I, meas. 28 *ff.*), strettos arise naturally (e. g. Nos. 44/I, meas. 141 *ff.*, No. 46/I, meas. 60 *ff.*), or the music will fall into expert part-writing which only later reveals further contrapuntal possibilities. Thus, meas. 29 *ff.* of No. 56/I — the beginning of the transitional passage to the dominant — are laid out in neat part-writing, the trumpet contributing an extra voice, and the oboes sometimes following their own course, sometimes doubling the violins or viola at the octave. After the second subject, the concluding material of the exposition again utilizes the transitional passage by placing the violins' part in the bass, in quavers, each alternate quaver being given a marcato (i. e. ); the two passages are eventually placed side by side in the development. (As before, Haydn calls upon other devices to assist him in communicating this to the audience, and the violins are marked *ff* against the *f* of the other instruments, the *ff* being transferred to the bass in the later passage.)

It is therefore not surprising to find an entire movement worked out as a canon between violins and bass at the interval of one bar, as is the case with the minuet in Symphony No. 44. Unfortunately, the *Gesamtausgabe* completely misplaced some of the dynamic marks which Haydn so arranged that they should accentuate the canon still further (see comments to meas. 8/12 of No. 44/II in Appendix I). Further contrapuntal tricks are found in two other minuets; in the first of these (No. 47/III) both minuet and trio are 'al Roverso', i. e., one plays through the minuet twice forwards and then twice backwards, the same procedure being applied to the trio; in the second (No. 51/III) there is a canonic spiral: the bass part is only written out once and alternately played in several clefs, indicated in the Esterházy parts as follows:<sup>25</sup>

## Ex. 9



One of the attractive features of Haydn's new contrapuntal skill is his grasp of its humorous possibilities: both the minuets just cited are for the amusement of his orchestral players. It is perhaps significant that the listener was considered a secondary partner in

<sup>25</sup> See Complete Edition, Series I, Vol. 5, p. 297.

Haydn's musical games; if he was clever enough to hear the 'al Roverso' he certainly could not perceive the joke of the spiral canon.

(d) *The development of syncopated patterns.* There are two basic types of syncopation used in this period, of which the first is the typical pattern used for accompaniments at that time (♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ etc.) and much beloved by Mozart. Having used it for the first time on a large scale in No. 26/I, No. 38/I and others, Haydn now finds that it contributes to the feeling of unrest so often cultivated in the present symphonies. Examples are frequent and only a few need be cited: the development of No. 44/IV, the beginning of No. 45/I, the transition to the dominant in No. 46/I, the 'Hungarian' snap in No. 47/IV (meas. 45 *ff.*). A second use of syncopation is more involved and may best be described as a 'broken melodic line'. Typical patterns of this are:

- (a)  (Symph. No. 34/I)
- (b)  (Symph. No. 49/I)
- (c)  (*Missa St. Caecilia*/'Qui Tollis')

Very often the bass part is marked staccato (or marcato) to accentuate the underlying syncopation; it is also characteristic for these patterns to appear in two-part harmony. This peculiar type of syncopation is very often used in slow movements, both in symphonies as well as vocal works of the period (e. g. *Stabat Mater*, *Missa St. Caecilia*, etc.). In the symphonies under discussion, the patterns and their derivations appear *inter alia* in the following: No. 42/II, meas. 57/61, 85 *ff.*; 43/II, meas. 34/35, 59/61; 45/II, meas. 44 *ff.*; No. 46/II, meas. 16/17, 28 *ff.*; 48/II, meas. 23 *ff.*, etc., etc.

(e) *Orchestration.* Symphony No. 41 brought us to the threshold of the present period as far as Haydn's orchestration is concerned. Except for a few passages in slow movements — and it may be that these are deliberately put into archaic two-part harmony — the harpsichord is no longer necessary for the proper execution of these symphonies.

However, a bassoon must be added to all movements even where it is not specifically mentioned by the composer. Otherwise, it may be said that the type of orchestration developed during the previous decade is now perfected; it is essentially the one which Haydn was to employ for the rest of his life with one exception; namely, the flute. Apart from No. 54 — where two flutes are used<sup>26</sup> — this instrument has no place in Haydn's orchestral language of the period; it was taken up again by the composer a few years later.

Haydn is too occupied with the inner workings of his new style to experiment orchestrally along the lines of the earlier symphonies. Having tried for years all sorts of instrumental effects, he is now content to let the instruments fall into place naturally, as it were. The one major exception concerns his old favourites, the French horns; even in this busy period of high inspiration Haydn has time to experiment with his beloved instrument. The vehicle which he chose was not, as one might expect, another horn concerto — he seems to have lost interest in that form from this point in his life onwards — but Symphony No. 51. In the second movement of that symphony, the first horn is made to play the sounded note *a<sub>b</sub>*" on an E flat horn (Ex. 10 a), a difficult feat even for the Esterházy virtuosi, while the second horn now plumbs the depths of his harmonic scale, having recourse to stopped and overblown notes (Ex. 10 b). Until Symphony No. 51, Haydn

**Ex. 10** a) No. 51/II (Adagio)

Solo  
Cor. I  
in E<sup>b</sup>  
*sostenuto*

b) Solo  
Cor. II  
in E<sup>b</sup>

c)  
2 Cor.  
B<sup>b</sup>  
(alto)  
etc.

<sup>26</sup> Possibly a later addition to the autograph. The flute parts were placed at the bottom of the paper along with the trumpets.



seems to have concentrated exclusively on the brilliant high register of the horn; he now continues his experiments in the lowest range that the instrument possesses. This preoccupation with the horn continues in the trio of the minuet (Ex. 10c).

Another innovation of great importance concerns the trumpets and timpani. So far, these had always been connected with the tonality of C major and their use restricted to symphonies of this very special kind. Now, in Symphony No. 54, Haydn uses these instruments for a work in G major; the trumpets are crooked in C, the drums tuned to low G and D. His entire treatment of the trumpets changes concurrently with this significant innovation; instead of being restricted to fanfares and primarily rhythmic reinforcements, they are now allowed to contribute towards the general harmonic structure on the same terms as any other instrument. The freer handling of this noble member of the brass family had an immediate effect on Haydn's scoring for trumpets in the C major symphonies, and No. 56 already benefits from the experience of its G major predecessor. The timpani now penetrate other tonalities besides C major. Symphony No. 57 has in some sources (not the autograph) a timpani part in D which may have been added later by the composer, as was the case with various symphonies of the 'seventies and 'eighties. No. 61 in D has an authentic timpani part, found at the top of the holograph *MS.*

From the standpoint of orchestral texture, No. 54 is the most advanced of its period. It is scored, incidentally, for the largest orchestra found in any Haydn symphony before the London period: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani and strings; and the first movement, especially, has a richer sonority than that of any earlier work. No. 54 marks an important turning-point in the composer's orchestration.

Of the symphonies composed between 1771 and 1774, the three in minor keys (Nos. 44, 45, 52) may be placed in a category by themselves, summing up, as they do, the best elements of the new style in the most dramatic and compelling form. These, together with Nos. 26, 39 and 49, the three earlier symphonies in the minor with which Nos. 44, 45 and 52 can be favourably compared, form an

unbroken chain of thought extending, as it were, from about 1768 to 1772; the series was never continued, but we have in these six<sup>27</sup> works a unique document of Haydn's *Sturm und Drang* style. This small but significant nucleus forms, as far as the symphonies are concerned, the core of the artistic renaissance taking place during these years; for these symphonies contain the quintessence of all the passion, the seeking for new spiritual values and the struggle for maturity that characterize Haydn's late thirties. Of the three falling into the present period, No. 52 in C minor is the most brutal in the stark power of its outer movements; but like No. 39 it fails in its *Andante* and minuet. The slow movement, especially, seems somewhat insipid after the violent *Allegro assai (e) con brio*. This and the *Presto* finale, however, carry to its furthest stage the drama of the first movement of No. 26. The sweeping contrasts of the latter were provided by the juxtaposition of the stormy first subject with the long episode of the Passion drama; the peculiarly stark force of No. 52/I derives largely from particular stress upon the second subject, while the power of No. 52/IV is achieved by the dualistic dynamic construction. In the exposition of the finale there are only two dynamic gradations, the first half being *p* and the second *f*, although in the second part of the movement the dynamic and formal unity of the exposition is dispersed. The development is relatively short and the recapitulation much varied; in omitting a large segment of the material used in the exposition and by considerable variation of the main subject proper, Haydn is obviously adhering to the peculiar two-part sonata-form which he favoured for the construction of finales in the previous period. The welding together of the development and recapitulation is accomplished by decentralizing the power of the latter: the last *p* part of the exposition and the ensuing tutti are reversed in the recapitulation, thus breaking up the earlier dynamic unity. The finale also has a harsh coda, consisting of a few chords flung out in true Beethovenian spirit followed by a brisk *ff* passage based on material from the tutti of the exposition as transposed in the recapitulation — *i. e.*, in the tonic minor, instead of the relative major.

In its adherence to two-part sonata form, the finale of No. 52

<sup>27</sup> No. 34 is deliberately omitted from this list; although in its first movement it definitely foreshadows the others, the rest of the symphony is too insignificant to allow it to be placed in the same category.

shows its formal dependence upon the earlier style, as does the weakness of its slow movement (*cf.* No. 39). And while we no longer have the impression that Haydn's technique is unequal to the task of expressing his emotions, the uneven quality of the work, its inability to maintain the passionate intensity through four movements, renders it less perfect in its way than the earlier No. 49. This may be partly the result of transferring emotions which had previously found their perfect expression in the church-sonata form into the normal symphonic structure; for such a movement as the opening *Adagio* of No. 49 could not occupy a different place without destroying the effect of the symphony as a whole. The difficulty of finding a new type of slow movement having the strength and unity of the opening adagios to the symphonies in church-sonata style, and at the same time being able to take its place after the opening *Allegro* instead of before it, must have been considerable. At first Haydn reverted to the earlier Italian *Andante*, which he had frequently used during the early 'sixties; but this type of movement had no place in the sterner language of the *Sturm und Drang*, and he must have seen the weakness of the slow movement of No. 39, modelled on this earlier type. Nor did he wish to adopt the chorale prelude so successfully employed in No. 26/II. No. 52 represents a step forward in his efforts to unify the symphony in a minor tonality; but the slow movement is too close to that of No. 39 to be wholly successful. However, in Symphony No. 44, the so-called *Trauer* (Mourning) Symphony, Haydn reached the perfect form that he had so long sought, for the emotional world of the church sonata was successfully transferred to the almost normal symphonic structure as he later adopted it. In this work he placed the slow movement after the minuet and before the finale, so that the ground plan was: fast-minuet-slow-fast. (As said above, the *Gesamtausgabe* did not preserve this order, which is vouched for by almost every *MS.* in the whole of Germany and Austria.) All four movements are equally fine. The passion is no less effective than in No. 52 but far more evenly distributed throughout the work, so that even the trio of the minuet — easily an anticlimax — is as sublime as the wonderful *Adagio*. The finale, still cast in that highly individual two-part form so beloved by the composer, is far more unified than before. Although there is no real recapitulation at all, this very fact, coupled with the tremendous climax achieved at the outset of the second part, contrives to give the movement a self-sufficiency

not found in No. 52/IV, which is in essence a compromise between binary and ternary construction.

A further experiment along this line is the last symphony in the minor which Haydn was to write for many years: No. 45, the *Farewell*. Like No. 26, this symphony had a purpose, which explains its extraordinary form. Briefly, the story, as found in the authentic biographies<sup>28</sup>, is this: the Prince, so attracted by Esterháza, that splendid palace erected on a wild and remote Hungarian marsh, tarried there longer and longer each year. The musicians, not being allowed—with the exception of Haydn—to have their families with them, were restless after a long season and naturally wished to rejoin their wives and children. Towards the end of the season in 1772, the musicians became desperate and went to their beloved *Capellmeister* for help. The result was the *Farewell* symphony, in which the regular *Presto* finale was broken off and a long *Adagio* began. During the course of this movement, one player after the other blew out his candle and departed, leaving at the end two violins, presumably Tomasini and Haydn himself. As these were about to leave, the Prince, having grasped the idea, is supposed to have said: 'Well, if they all leave we might as well leave, too.' And the whole court departed the next day.

Apart from the obvious programmatic connotations, No. 45 is interesting in the light of Haydn's later symphonies in minor keys. For with this work he established a tonal precedent to which he would revert when composing symphonies in the minor much later; namely, the dispersal of the tonic minor through the relative major and tonic major. The tonal scheme of this symphony has been discussed above<sup>29</sup>. The reasons for it are only partly to be attributed to the *Farewell* character; Haydn was in fact attempting to avoid the concentration of No. 44 by introducing into symphonies in the minor whole movements in the major besides the *Adagio*. In No. 49 all the movements were in one tonality: F minor; in Nos. 52 and 44 three of the movements were in the tonic minor, the slow movements and trios in the tonic major; in No. 45 only the first and beginning of the last move-

<sup>28</sup> The story is not without its conflicting elements. Neukomm, Haydn's pupil, wrote a version which is quite different, and was transcribed by Pohl, a copy of which I have been fortunate enough to secure. The important fact is that the symphony was written to express some programmatic thought.

<sup>29</sup> See p. 325.

ment are in the tonic minor, everything else being in related major keys. This is a conscious effort to escape the consistent use of the minor — not because he wished to avoid the emotional responsibility of the minor but because it seemed more prudent to mix various emotions. A perfect drama is generally one in which various conflicting emotions are presented; even *Hamlet* and *King Lear* are now and again relieved by emotions less violent and forbidding than those dominating their dramatic structures. During the rest of this period, Haydn attempts to enrich his symphonies in the major with elements taken from those in the minor. One such example is the first movement of Symphony No. 47, in which the juxtaposition of major and minor in the treatment of the first subject has been mentioned<sup>30</sup>. It should be added that almost the whole development section of No. 47/I revolves around minor tonalities, much in the manner of No. 35/I. For this reason, the contrast with the quacking bass and dancing violin triplets of the second subject (or that part of the symphony which takes its place) is especially effective.

This preoccupation with formal matters led Haydn to reject momentarily his previous interest in external melodic influences such as the Gregorian chant or Slavonic folk-songs, and among the symphonies under discussion only No. 45/III has a trio based on the Lamentation chant<sup>31</sup>, while Hungarian twists are limited to the trio of No. 46 and the finale of No. 47. Gregorian influences in later symphonies by Haydn are in fact almost nonexistent; only in the slow movement of No. 60 and the trio of No. 80 have such melodies so far been discovered.

As typical representatives of the period, one naturally turns to the C major species, whose previous history has been traced from its earliest stages to the vast improvements made during the 'sixties. During the years 1771-1774, this particular type of symphony reaches a standard that remains unsurpassed until No. 97 of the London years. There are three C major symphonies falling into the present period: Nos. 48, 50 and 56. No. 50 (1773) is somewhat disappointing, and the attempt to merge the grace and light-stepping charm of the older type of *Andante* with the newer energy and brilliance of the quick movements does not result in a homogeneous conception, for the

<sup>30</sup> See above, p. 326.

<sup>31</sup> See above, p. 293.

two styles are fundamentally antagonistic and will not coalesce. Consequently, the *Andante Moderato* of No. 50 seems out of place in its surroundings. On the other hand, the minuet<sup>32</sup> is one of the most attractive of the period, while the finale is in many ways superior to those of Nos. 48 and 56. No. 48, supposedly composed for the visit of the Empress to Esterháza in 1773, reaches in its opening *Allegro* (first thirteen bars quoted as Ex. 4 of the next chapter) a brilliance and pageantry even superior to that of No. 41. The ensuing *Adagio* is not up to the standard of the really splendid opening movement. In his desire to sustain the interest, wind solos are occasionally used, but not with the beauty and originality of No. 41/II; nor does the movement have that intimate, filigreed beauty so often encountered in adagios of this period. The restless little dissonances produced by the second violin only half conceal the placid and somewhat threadbare pattern. The minuet, however, is superb and a worthy companion to the first movement; and for the first time in the symphony serious elements enter in the trio. The finale avoids any strong thematic material and concentrates on dashing runs of quavers which are passed from one instrument to another but are generally confined to the strings; its bustling energy, however, seems slightly forced and the form rather unpremeditated, so that one has the impression of an improvised *perpetuum mobile*.

With No. 56 all these small imperfections disappear. Whereas the C *alto* horns and trumpets played almost identical notes throughout the *Maria Theresia* and in all except one of the fast movements in No. 50, they are again given separate parts in No. 56, as in No. 41. The different timbres of the high horns and trumpets in No. 56 are in themselves intoxicating, and towards the end of the first movement (meas. 263 *ff.*) Haydn introduces a fanfare for winds, brass and kettle-drums which is positively barbaric in its power. No. 56 also gains through the introduction of serious elements: both the first and second movements contain passages of that sober, bitter-sweet beauty which is the hallmark of Haydn's style at this stage. While the minuet is fully the equal of that in No. 48 — both have the same joyous zest for life — the slow movement and finale of No. 56 are much superior. A near-tragic passage of mysterious, Bruckner-like intensity (meas. 37 *ff.*) creeps into the slow movement; and we have noticed before

<sup>32</sup> See above p. 322.

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the sweeping crescendo that ennobles and transfigures the middle section of this *Adagio*<sup>33</sup>. The finale, too, has a controlled sense of form quite absent in No. 48's dashing conclusion. It is also a *perpetuum mobile*, but without the improvisatory character of the earlier piece. Considering the work as a whole, No. 56 represents the C major type at its highest and most inspired, a miraculous fusion of various elements within the realm of festive pomp and splendour.

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In the course of this chapter, we have attempted to point out some of the leading characteristics which helped to form, or were the result of, this important crisis in Haydn's creative life. If he had allowed himself to continue the trends established during this brief period, we might have had symphony after symphony on the same level as those written in the early 'seventies, each work forging a path into the future. It is with profound regret that we leave one of the brightest periods of Haydn's long and varied career to enter a decade which, taken as a whole, reflects little credit upon the composer.

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<sup>33</sup> See above, Ex. 7.

## CHAPTER X

### SYMPHONIES OF 1774—1784

*Chronology.* The symphonies treated in this chapter fall into two distinct groups: (1) those written between 1774-1780 and (2) those written between c. 1780 and 1784. In the first group belong Nos. 55, 57, 53, 60-63 and 66-71; in the second, Nos. 73-81. It should be remarked that Nos. 71, 74 and 75 cannot be dated exactly; it was felt, however, that No. 71 should be grouped with the earlier symphonies, and Nos. 74 and 75 with the later. All three were composed about the year 1780.

(i)

Haydn was able to exist for years in an isolated artistic world of his own without losing contact with his audience (*i. e.* reality), this contact being continually and effortlessly kept alive through the medium of his compositions. How easily the enlightened audience of eighteenth-century Austria kept up with Haydn's growing modernity may be seen by the collections in the smaller monasteries: it is precisely those symphonies which are the most passionate, the most revolutionary in character that are found in quantity, *e. g.* Nos. 39 in G minor, 49 in F minor, 26 in D minor, 44 in E minor, 45 in F sharp minor, 52 in C minor. The abbots knew what Haydn was doing. Apparently, however, Prince Nikolaus Esterházy, 'The Magnificent', did not. (A French critic, writing in the *Mercur de France* of 24th April 1784, found the first part of No. 45/IV 'un morceau bruyant & sans caractère'; and there must have been many more who found Haydn's new style strange and dissonant.)

The tragic division between art and reality or, in Haydn's case, between symphonies and Prince Esterházy's audience, began on a small scale about 1774. Expressed on its most elementary level, Haydn was, in the words of Larsen, 'on the way to becoming a sort of Beethoven'; and we know what happened to the contact between audience and artists in Beethoven's case. In 1774, the breadth, the monumentality, the soaring freedom of thought which many of Haydn's compositions had been displaying seems not to have pleased the Prince at all. We may imagine him saying to Haydn, as another Prince Esterházy was to say to Beethoven many years later, on the occasion of the latter's Mass in C major being produced in Eisenstadt: 'what has he done now?' (Haydn was addressed like a lackey, in the impersonal third person;



only after he returned from England did he object to this menial form of address; 'I am a Doctor of Music from Oxford', he protested. Beethoven, however, furious at this reaction to his mass, stormed back to Vienna; one wonders what would have happened if Haydn had refused to change his course in 1774.)

What were the stylistic traits in the *Sturm und Drang* period to which Esterházy and his circle objected? One can only find an answer to this question by observing the changes which Haydn swiftly introduced into his new symphonies. Starting with outward criteria, the first noticeable change concerns tonality. Instead of remote keys such as F sharp minor, G minor, F minor, B major, E minor or C minor, Haydn returns to the restricted range of 1761-1765. The symphonies immediately following 1774 are in fact even more conservative than those of the 'sixties. Most of them are in D major (Nos. 53, 57, 61, 62, 70, 73, 75). On the sharp side, Haydn only goes as far as D (and later to A) major; on the flat, as far as E flat major. Minor keys are almost entirely abolished and when, many years later, he again composes in the minor (No. 78, No. 80, No. 83), the spirit is no different than that found in a bright major tonality; after 1774, any symphony in the minor ends, if not with an entire movement, at least with a long passage, in the tonic major. In No. 83, for example, only the first movement is in the minor; all the rest rush back to the protective cloak of the major. How pathetic is this fear of stormy minor keys if we think of the glorious symphonies in the minor produced in the early 'seventies.

The monumental character of the symphonies is also rapidly altered. Instead of the powerful thematic material, the thunderous unison passages, the fiery contrapuntal developments and the breathless fermatas, Haydn now substitutes neat, cheerful themes, stretched out by varied repetition, while the developments tend to rely upon clever harmonic effects and amusing surprises. He is now so little concerned with his melodic stuff that he is quite willing to lift whole movements from operatic overtures (see No. 53 and its connection with No. 62), and to make a pastiche of various separate pieces (No. 63). The slow movements gradually level out into dainty, tuneful andantes or allegrettos, constructed in variation form around a catchy melody. The use of the theme-and-variation form is in itself typical<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The second and final movement of No. 55 are in variation form.

of the new style; for while intense concentration was required for the finely-wrought adagios of the *Sturm und Drang* era, with their long, luxuriant figurations and broad lay-out, the pert andantes and allegrettos that are soon to be our steady fare keep our interest by much simpler means. Haydn, not forcing his listeners to concentrate, has no need for the alert and rigorous self-discipline which was necessary in writing the earlier adagios. He can now afford to relax. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that his inspiration gradually fades. The finales, too, follow the one outlet left to them from the earlier style; namely, the witty variation-rondo, first seen in its present form in No. 42. But once Haydn has perfected this in itself admirable structural concept, he allows his fancy to rest on its laurels and turns out rondo finales in mass production. The composition of a symphony is no longer a struggle, a supreme effort; Haydn's superb technique is now used as a substitute for inspiration, and we shall eventually encounter symphonies that are structurally perfect but almost totally devoid of any spark of life. The art of the symphony in Haydn's hands now begins to suffer that long and sad deterioration which will reach a low point in the symphonies of about 1780. But it was, unfortunately, just this very period of Haydn's artistic life that made him famous, that spread his name throughout Europe, that brought him riches, glory, and honour. So Prince Esterházy's reprimand turned out to ensure his worldly success; and the change in style, which must have broken his heart in 1774, and was certainly accomplished only with great difficulty, was now willingly accepted by Haydn. From 1774 to 1780 we can still trace a conflict between the old and new style; but in the ensuing years he, of his own free will, adopted and perfected the new emotional concept of the symphony, having seen the material advantages to be derived from pursuing such a course. The slick symphonic productions of 1781-1785 are direct results of this commercial attitude. Haydn must have heard of the tremendous success achieved, especially in England, by Symphony No. 53, a work that is a pastiche, without much real emotion, and employs a slow movement consisting of a theme and variations in Haydn's best rococo style. If, Haydn must have thought, one can reach spectacular success with such a mediocre piece, composed — or rather pasted together — with so little effort, then further symphonies can be fashioned in a similar manner. There developed as a result two distinct types of composition, one intended for export, with all and

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even more of the characteristics contained in No. 53, and the other for private consumption. It is in these works, never meant to be heard outside the limited circle for which they were written, that we still find the true Haydn; and so it comes about that the operas, the two masses written in this period (*Missa Sti. Joannis de Deo*, *Missa Cellensis*), and to a certain extent various smaller forms (such as the 'insertion arias' for operas by other composers) continue to show us the real personality of the composer. All those works primarily designed for the printer, such as sonatas, trios, songs, etc., follow the example of Symphony No. 53. Only the string quartets combine the cleverness of the sym-

**Ex. 1**

a)  $2 \times$

The musical score for Example 1, part a, consists of two systems of music. The first system is marked '2x' and the second system is marked 'etc.'. The instruments are Flute (Fl.), 2 Oboes (2 Ob.), 2 Bassoons (2 Fag.), Violins I-II (Vln. I-II), Viola (Vla.), and Violoncello/Double Bass (Vcl.-Cb.). The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 2/4. The first system shows the Flute and Oboes playing a melodic line, while the Bassoons, Violins, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass play a rhythmic accompaniment. The second system continues the same musical material, with the Flute and Oboes playing a melodic line and the other instruments providing a rhythmic accompaniment.

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(Notice the pedal notes of the horn, patterned after Symphony No. 51.)

phonic wares which Haydn was able to sell so easily with the more refined spiritual atmosphere of the music for private consumption; and yet even the quartets of Opus 33, written 'in an entirely new manner' and so much admired by Mozart, do not contain the urgency, the drama and the depth of Opus 20, composed nearly a decade before<sup>2</sup>.

As only a very mediocre artist is able to switch his emotions on and off at will, the sharp division occurring in the year 1774 cannot obliterate all the tendencies shown in the previous compositions. Although Haydn but seldom allowed himself any of the outward manifestations of the *Sturm und Drang* period, we often find elements of restless beauty hidden in the milder symphonies of 1774-1780. Typical of these is the daring harmonic construction found in the second movement of No. 61 (1776) with its curious alternations between major and minor, and a Schubertian breadth of modulation (Ex. 1a). And the docile opening movement, for all its endless repetition of the first subject, contains further experiment in orchestral sound, as in the enchanting orchestration used to accompany the second subject (Ex. 1b). Even the finale, laid out in the racy rondo form which soon becomes standard practice, is too near the glories of the past era entirely to succumb to the superficialities of Haydn's later rondos. It is a genuinely witty and amusing movement.

This period is full of symphonies containing new and interesting features combined with whole movements which are at best uninspired

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 382.

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Ex. 2

a) Vivace

b)

Fl.  
2 Ob.  
Fag.

Vln. I-II

Vla.  
Vcl.

Ob. II

Fag. col B.

(= X)

(Tutti)

Cb. tacent

Vla.

Vcl.

Ob. I

Fag.

Fl.

Vln. I-II

Vla.  
Vcl.

fetc.

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c) (Mannetto)

Fl.  
2 Ob.  
2 Cor.  
Vln. I-II  
Vla.  
Vcl.-Fag.  
Cb.  
Timp.  
Ob. I-II  
Fl.  
Vln. I-II  
Vla.  
Vcl.-Fag.  
Cb.  
+ Cor. *mp*

concessions to popular taste. A typical case in point is No. 63, discussed below. Haydn's constant experimentation, which neither Esterházy's opinion nor popular taste could alter, led him to introduce passages of striking and unexpected beauty even into works which are otherwise undistinguished. Characteristic of this mixed inspiration is No. 53. Whatever else the first movement may lack, it is a remarkable example of thematic concentration. The main theme is quoted as Ex. 2a. The first two strains (*a* and *b*) of this subject dominate the whole movement, and probably because of this, a considerably contrasted second subject is introduced. The first strain (*a*) is used in the transition to the dominant and appears, after the second subject, in inverted form as the beginning of the codetta to the exposition. The continuous juxtaposition of *a* and *b* dominates the development, except for a brief quotation of the second subject; and even this turns into a variation on the third strain of the first subject (*c*). The lead-back to the recapitulation suddenly reveals that, after all, a great genius was still behind Haydn's adopted mask (see Ex. 2b). The harmonic beauty of the passage rests upon the suspension in the first bar of the third strain of the first subject (marked *x* in Ex. 2a), which is now prolonged in order to create a long sequence from the mediant to the tonic. The winds cast a romantic shadow over the whole.

The minuet contains a similarly striking passage. After reaching what would normally have been the end of the second part, Haydn deftly leads us into a deceptive cadence in which the second inversion of the dominant seventh of V is substituted for the tonic. This is followed by a long and breathtakingly beautiful pedal point with a chromaticism that one usually associates with late Mozart (Ex. 2c). These inspired moments occur in a symphony which seldom rises above the mediocre. The circumstances surrounding its composition are described later in this chapter.

On 6th January 1776, the Kärnthnerthor Theatre in Vienna performed the five-act comedy *Der Zerstreute*, a translation of *Le Distrait* by Jean François Regnard (1655-1709). The *Privilegierte Realzeitung*<sup>3</sup> (p. 107) reports:

... Before the comedy and between each act was performed a new, appropriate symphony, especially written for this piece by the famous Jos. Haiden [*sic*], *Kapellmeister* in the service of Prince Esterházy.

This curious and delightful piece of programme music is entitled, on both sets of parts in the Esterházy archives, *Sinfonia per la Com-[m]edia intitolata il Distrat[t]o*. The second MS., in the clear, firm handwriting of Johann Elssler, owes its existence to the Empress Marie Therese, wife of the Emperor Franz; in a letter of 5th June 1803, Haydn wrote to Elssler in Eisenstadt, asking him to send 'den alten Schmarn' (the silly old thing) to Vienna, since the Empress wished to hear it again<sup>4</sup>. Haydn's comment notwithstanding, *Il Distratto* follows the tradition of the fine C major works of 1772-1774, and has little in common with the new period. This would seem to support the theory that Haydn's new artistic course was in fact the result of outward circumstances rather than inner conviction: the first opportunity he is given to write for an outside audience, he happily reverts to his old style and gives us one of the finest examples of his bold C major symphonies.

Scored for the customary C major orchestra of oboes, C *alto* horns,

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pohl II, pp. 76 f; Schering, *op. cit.*, pp. 17 f. In the new Haydn catalogue of Grove's *Dictionary* (5th edition, London, 1954, prepared by Marion Scott and K. Dale) the first performance of No. 60 is listed as Pressburg, 22nd November 1774. While this date is entirely possible from a stylistic standpoint, Misses Scott and Dale give no source for the information, and we must await further proof.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 131.

trumpets<sup>5</sup>, drums and strings, *Il Distratto* is laid out in six movements. As might be expected, Haydn turns to his beloved melodic source, the folk-song; the symphony contains more traditional melodies than any other of his works in the form. His idea of a 'distracted' symphony was to pile folk-tunes one on top of the other without any connection, and (in view of the play for which the music was intended) he takes special pains to create an uproariously mad tonal picture. The first movement, with a majestic slow introduction very similar to that of Symphony No. 50, is perfectly serious, and was undoubtedly intended as the overture to the evening's entertainment. In the midst of the exposition, however, occurs a remarkable dynamic effect, showing us that we may expect all sorts of surprises later in the evening: the score is marked *perdendosi* (dying-away), and the strings sink to near inaudibility, followed by a *subito forte*; in the recapitulation, kettle-drums are added to the surprise.

The second movement is already saturated with the spirit of the evening. The decorous opening theme is broken off by rude fanfares, given to the oboe, horns and divided violas — the first instance of the latter in a Haydn symphony. The fanfare instruments do not otherwise contribute to the movement, any more than the instruments carrying the chorale melody in No. 26/II mix into the figurations dividing the various entrances of the themes. This dualistic, *zerstreute* principle is continued throughout the movement; once the horns forget their rôle and enter the thematic texture with a fanfare of their own. In the middle of the second section, there appears a new melody which is simply announced and promptly dropped; in the Sieber edition of this work, entitled '*Sinfonie* / *La distraite* / *de Haydn*' (Paris Conservatoire, cat. X 697), the first violin part contains the note, printed under this theme, '*Ancien chant françois*' (see Ex. 3a). The origin of the melody has yet to be identified, but Arnold Schering<sup>6</sup> thinks that it represents the Bacchus song entitled, in the German translation, '*Im Wirtshaus weiß ich Trost und Rat*'.

The trio of the ensuing minuet turns to the Balkans for its melodic inspiration, with Hungarian alternations of tonic and dominant minor (Ex. 3b). But it is the next movement where everything happens.

<sup>5</sup> The original score called for horns in *C alto* or trumpets, but many of the MSS., including the Elssler copy of 1803, employ trumpet parts which double the horn parts in the quick movements.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 18.



Symphonies of 1774—1784

Ex. 3

a) Andante (Adagio?)  
Ancien chant français



b) Trio



c) Presto



d) ibid.



e) ibid.



f) Adagio (di Lamentatione)



g) Finale: Prestissimo



This *Presto*, in C minor, seems at first to be constructed along the lines of the rushing finales of Nos. 49, 59 or 52; a highly rhythmic first subject leads, upon its entry into the relative major, to furious repeated semiquavers in the violins with a marching bass line in quavers. In the second part, however, Haydn begins to hurl Balkan melodies at us (see Exx. 3c and 3d), and in the middle of the second of these (Ex. 3d), the music jumps from F minor to E flat major, making simultaneous parallel fifths and octaves, and the stamping, peasant dance is continued without interruption in the new key. Instead of a recapitulation, Haydn turns to the tonic major, and horns, trumpets and timpani enter, supporting a new Slavonic melody. This is perhaps the most characteristic Balkan tune of all, with its repeated notes at the end of the periods (see Ex. 3e), and with it Haydn rushes headlong to a close.

The beautiful F major *Adagio* bears the subtitle *di Lamentatione* in the source at the monastery of Melk. It has not, however, been possible to identify the Gregorian (?) melody which Haydn used as the basis for this movement; it is not identical with that found in the early Divertimento for Wind Band and the *Sinfonia Lamentatione*, though it is in the same key (F major) as No. 26/II, and is similarly orchestrated — oboe and violin intoning the sweet, grave melody (Ex. 3f). In the midst of this visit to gothic cloisters, horns, trumpets and drums, previously silent in the movement, charge into the sequestered calm with a frightful, war-like fanfare, dragging the rest of the orchestra with them. Schering<sup>7</sup> thinks that this represents the entrance of the fake courier in the last scene of the play. After a short pause, and some wry, *pizzicato* effects, the movement recovers its gentle, religious course. At the end, Haydn takes a small motif and repeats it eight times, placing the word *Allegro* after the fourth entry, so that there is no doubt that we are witnessing on paper one of the first attempts at an *accelerando*. The effect is delightfully bizarre: nothing could be more in keeping with the title of the work. The finale, however, has new and even more insane tricks in store for us. Starting out like the *moto perpetuo* of Nos. 41/IV or 56/IV — *Prestissimo*, with triplet quavers in two-four time — the music barely gets under way before everything stops dead in order that the violinists may tune their instruments, their G-strings being found to be F-strings! The music proceeds, and again

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Sinfonia  
 M. M. M. S. autogr. Jos. Haydn 20  
 Corni  
 Trombe  
 Oboi  
 Fagotti  
 Violini  
 Violoncelli  
 Contrabbassi  
 Piano

XXV Overture in D major (1777) (B. & H. II, 7). Autograph formerly in the Berlin State Library (now Universitätsbibliothek, Tübingen).

*Flute* *Andante*

XXXVI (Left)  
Symphony No. 62  
(c. 1780). Flute  
part in Haydn's  
handwriting.  
Formerly in the  
Archives of Prince  
Esterházy (now  
National  
Museum, Buda-  
pest).

XXXVII (Right)  
Symphony No. 70  
(December  
18th, 1779).  
Timpani part in  
Haydn's hand-  
writing. Former-  
ly in the Archives  
of Prince  
Esterházy (now  
National  
Museum, Buda-  
pest).

*Timpani*

breaks off, this time to allow what must have been a favourite Slavonic melody to be quoted (Ex. 3g); Haydn had used this tune before, in the *Divertimento à Nove* (see Chapter VII, Ex. 21), where it probably created a similarly startling effect. At the end of the movement the drums are used in grotesque harmonic combinations with the rest of the orchestra; and with this last wrench, *Il Distratto* concludes its merry pranks. Despite its often obvious humour, the symphony, by using many of the devices from the previous period, reaches an artistic level fully the equal of the more serious works of 1771–1774, if on different emotional terms; the material used is, however, of the same kind, and the result no less admirable. It must have been with a heavy heart that Haydn returned to the decorous symphonies for the princely court. How this repression affected his music may be seen in a grim example: a similar C major symphony, No. 69 (*Laudon*), composed three or four years after *Il Distratto*.

The *Laudon* represents the worst of the new period. Speaking of it to his publishers, Artaria<sup>8</sup> (with whom the composer entered into successful negotiations in the 'eighties), Haydn himself suggested the title, a compliment to the famous Austrian Field Marshal, General Laudon, to increase the sale. The work itself is a pale reflection of the great C major tradition which Haydn had by now firmly established, and which Mozart was to continue in three superb symphonies, K. 338, K. 425 and K. 551. The spiritual deficiency of the *Laudon* is only magnified by the thematic allusion of the first movement to that of the *Maria Theresia* (No. 48). *Laudon* accepts only the bare skeleton and leaves behind all the stirring, majestic trappings that clothed the theme in the earlier masterpiece; instead of the nervous semiquavers which constantly pursued the crashing brass entries in No. 48, *Laudon* introduces a decorous, curving melodic turn, nullifying the effect of the opening phrase; and where the *Maria Theresia* divided its double entry of the theme by a pulsing, constantly-moving passage in the strings, with sombre harmonic turns to balance the bright C major colour, the *Laudon* has a pointless and empty series of notes in the strings, providing no real contrast with

<sup>8</sup> Artaria-Botstiber, pp. 27 f. Haydn also arranged the work for piano. In this letter (8th April 1783) he writes: 'I am sending you the symphony [No. 69], which was so full of mistakes that one ought to box the ears of the fellow who wrote it. The fourth and last movement of this symphony is not practicable for the clavier: I don't think it necessary to print it: the word Laudon will do more towards selling the work than any ten finales...'

the beginning. The second entry of the theme in No. 48 was preceded by a fermata which grew out of the major-minor alternations of the dividing passage and thus made the new entry of the main theme a dramatic event; in No. 69, there is only the bare fact of the double entry, not the structural and harmonic necessity for it. The development of *Maria Theresia*, with its sweeping crescendos and the dramatic echo effects, also becomes diluted and dispersed in that of *Laudon*. This unfavourable comparison continues throughout the rest of the symphony, and by the time the minuet of No. 69 is reached the discrepancy is almost pathetic. The joyous baroque strength of the minuet in No. 48, with its superb contrasting trio, turns into superficial,

Ex. 4

a) No. 48/I: Allegro

2 Ob.  
 { 2 Cor.  
 { 2 Trbe.

Vln. I  
 Vln. II

Vla.  
 Vcl.-Cb.  
 Timp.

Soli

Ob. a2

etc

Timp.

- Timp.

*Symphonies of 1774—1784*

b) No. 69/I: Vivace

prettified rococo. And in the finale of the *Laudon* no amount of trumpeting and drumming can relieve the threadbare structure with its poverty of imagination and lack of inspiration.

We have compared the *Laudon* with the *Maria Theresia* since this was obviously the model, but spiritually its inferiority to *Il Distratto* is no less obvious.

Preceding the *Laudon* is a number of symphonies in which this spiritual deterioration may be further examined. It might be well to begin with the two symphonies of 1774 belonging to this new era: Nos. 55 and 57. In comparing these two with Nos. 54 and 56, we are permitted a further glance into the new approach. The differences are easily laid bare because all four works were written in the same year and use essentially the same musical language. Rosemary Hughes has touched on one important aspect of the matter when she describes how, in No. 55, Haydn's craftsmanship carries him along when his inspiration is at a 'low emotional voltage'.<sup>9</sup> And Haydn's craftsmanship is already highly developed. The finale of No. 55, though a direct copy of that used in No. 42 and making no improvement on the

<sup>9</sup> *Haydn*, p. 182.

original, is as neatly orchestrated, and as cleverly disposed, as one could wish; only it says nothing we have not heard before. The first movement of No. 57 is just as admirably worked out, making the most of its uninspired thematic material. An interesting comparison suggests itself in connection with the slow introduction of this symphony. As observed in the previous chapter, the opening adagios of Nos. 50 and 54 are the spiritual successors of the church-sonata form, which had employed an opening slow movement; in order to compensate for the enforced brevity of the *Adagio* introduction, Haydn had filled them with portentous, dramatic accents, approaching on a small scale the monumentality of his other movements; particular that of No. 54, added after the rest of the symphony was finished, was a magnificent preparation for the following movement. Now, in No. 57/I, the opening slow introduction attempts to reduce the emotional tension, comparable with that prevailing in the rest of the symphony; and yet, towards the end (meas. 25 *ff.*) some of the old spirit creeps in, especially with the angry downward scale in meas. 26. In No. 53, Haydn succeeds better in his new purpose. For the introduction is now supposed to set the stage for an evening of entertainment, to act as a 'curtain-raiser', a short space in which the audience may become comfortable and prepare itself for twenty-five minutes of intellectual amusement, undisturbed by anything more ambitious.

As a substitute for more emotional expression, Haydn, as we have observed in connection with No. 61, interested himself in other matters. Symphony No. 57 is therefore concerned with new details of orchestration and dynamic gradations. The *Adagio* occupies itself with an interesting contrast between *pizzicato* and *col'arco*, this effect being alternated throughout the movement; but for all its evident and captivating charm, the *Adagio* is temperamentally worlds away from the slow movements of its companion symphonies of that year, Nos. 54 and 56. It never steps over a certain line of decorum, and nothing like the surging *crescendo* in the middle of No. 56/II or the heart-rending harmonic beauty of No. 54/II is heard. The fine minuet grasps at a device found in No. 50/III, viz. the attempt to weld minuet and trio together; he later endeavoured to do the same in the string quartets, especially in those of Opus 50. It is indeed a characteristic of this period that the minuets receive special attention. Haydn seems to have lavished his frustrated artistic affection on these dance movements; thus, the minuet of No. 53 is its most attractive movement, and also

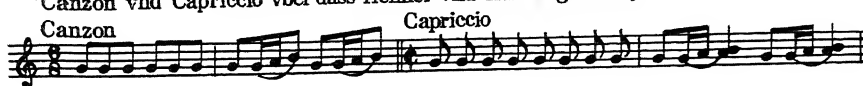


the most original and inspired<sup>10</sup>. The finale of No. 57, marked *Prestissimo*, is scarcely below the high level attained in the minuet. Using a traditional theme (Ex. 5 a), Haydn creates a rollicking close in the manner of some of the movements used to complete the C major symphonies (cf. Nos. 41, 56, 60). A new dynamic effect is created by the use of *marcando* (see Ex. 5 c); and Haydn can still give us a delicious example of his humour, which hovers over the development section of this finale and appears at its wittiest towards the end of the lead-back to the recapitulation (meas. 77 *ff.*).

**Ex. 5**

a) Alessandro Poglietti (? - 1683):

'Canzon vnd Capriccio vber dass Henner vnd Hannereschrey.'



b) Haydn, No. 57 /IV: Prestissimo



c) *ibid.*



This was the decade in which Haydn's thoughts were dominated by the opera. In the years treated in the first section of this chapter, he produced four of his own works, viz. *L'Incontro Improvviso*, *La Vera Costanza*, *Il Mondo della Luna* and *L'Isola Disabitata*, besides conducting and arranging many more by other composers<sup>11</sup>. Without allowing a full-scale digression into the four works listed above, we may permit ourselves to say a few words about the middle period of Haydn's operas. For lack of space, we shall confine ourselves purely to the music contained in one of these works: of the four, *Il Mondo della Luna* is unquestionably the finest. Anyone who takes the trouble to study the complete score will be rewarded for his pains; it immediately becomes apparent that we are dealing with music of far greater value than might be guessed from hearing

<sup>10</sup> See above, Ex. 2 c.

<sup>11</sup> See above, p. 272. Some marionette operas, now lost, were also composed and produced during the 'seventies; a list of these is given above, on p. 18.

the wretched arrangement still going the rounds of German-speaking theatres, or than the symphonies of the same era. Haydn's music to Goldoni's witty book is written from the heart; the arias are full of exquisite details of harmony and instrumentation; the book encourages all sorts of humorous effects, such as an aria in which the *buffo* whistles and sings alternately. The finales are, as might be expected, the high-points of the work. Anticipating those in *Figaro* years later — *Il Mondo* was composed in 1777 — Haydn works his ensemble numbers through a steady succession of keys<sup>12</sup>, always gathering momentum and increasing the tempo, constantly tautening the music until the proud concluding section. This is particularly the case with the finale of Act II. Compared with the symphonies produced at the same time, the music of Haydn's operas is vastly superior; one has the impression that he devoted all his energy to these stage pieces, tossing off symphonies in between without much attention. Why should he bother to write in a form in which his imagination could not have its fullest expression?

Haydn must have regretted that all the beautiful music which he now poured into his operas was restricted to the circle at Esterháza, and about this time he began to devise ways in which his operatic productions could continue to live in other, more popular forms. It is significant that of all the Haydn operas, none should have served so many different pieces as *Il Mondo della Luna*<sup>13</sup>. A striking aria became the 'Benedictus' of the *Mariazellermesse*, composed five years afterwards; some smaller instrumental selections were used for a set of trios for the English publisher, Forster<sup>14</sup>; the grand C major *coloratura* aria was used as the model for the C major aria of the Genio in *L'Anima del filosofo* ('Orfeo'), written in 1791; and, finally, the overture was utilized in a symphony. The music suffered greatly *en route* to its new destination as the first movement of Symphony

<sup>12</sup> One of the fascinating matters in this opera is Haydn's identification of persons and places with tonalities. Thus, the earth is portrayed by sharps or naturals (C major), the moon by flat keys; the comic character, Cecco, is given the 'earthy' key of G major; and a reference to Cecco is likely to be accompanied by a modulation to G major. As the moon is being viewed through a telescope, its approach is signified by the repetition of a figure which gravitates towards the flat tonalities as the moon appears in the lens of the telescope — the actual view of the moon is couched in D flat major! All this is, of course, distorted in the new German version.

<sup>13</sup> One of the best arias was borrowed from *Philemon und Baucis* (1773).

<sup>14</sup> Printed as Op. 38.

No. 63, and in the process of transformation we are able to watch the deterioration of Haydn's symphonic form.

The history of No. 63 is one of the most involved and complicated. As we are able to piece together the facts only from manuscripts at our disposal, certain points will probably never be solved; nor is the matter worth much time or effort, except in so far as it throws light on the various original texts, and on Haydn's new attitude.

The overture, of which we possess a fragmentary autograph (Esterházy archives) and at least one authentic copy (Nationalbibliothek, Vienna), was scored for oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, drums and strings. This is important to remember in view of what happened to the orchestration in the process described below. Mandyczewski and Weingartner, the editors of the B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe*<sup>15</sup>, misreading information left by C. F. Pohl, considered the fragmentary autograph to be the original *MS.* of the symphony itself; and consequently they were rather puzzled to see that the orchestration of the overture differed considerably from that of the symphony. What Haydn did was to take the overture, remove the second bassoon part (out of practical considerations for the average orchestras of the day) and transfer it to the viola, add a flute part, and omit the trumpets and drums. With a reduced orchestra of 1 flute, 2 oboes, 1 bassoon, 2 horns and strings, Haydn obviously thought of a larger circle of prospective purchasers. To this he added variations on the charming *La Roxelane*, (sometimes called *Roxolane*), apparently an old French melody<sup>16</sup>. For the third and fourth movements Haydn used either a symphony or part of a symphony, of which only the minuet and finale have survived in a copy of the score in the Berlin library<sup>17</sup>. This fragment was partly written by a copyist whose handwriting does not,

<sup>15</sup> A copy for engraving of No. 63 is in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, cat. XIII, 19063.

<sup>16</sup> *Roxelane* is the leading female part in *Les trois sultanes*, a play by Charles Simon Favart (1710-1792). A German translation was given at Vienna in 1770 by Karl Wahr with his players. Wahr was invited to Esterháza in the year 1777, where his troupe gave, *inter alia*, *Soliman II, oder Die drei Sultaninnen*. Probably Haydn composed his new symphony as incidental music for this play; the second movement is intended to portray the character of *La Roxelane*. The Wahr players were at Eisenstadt in July, 1777, so the earliest version of the symphony may date from the first half of that year. Cf. Schering, *op. cit.*, p. 19, and Franz Probst, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des deutschsprachigen Theaterwesens in Eisenstadt: Das Wirken der Wandertruppen von 1716 bis 1837* (Burgenländische Forschungen, Heft 18), Eisenstadt, 1952, p. 32.

<sup>17</sup> See above, p. 56.

to my knowledge, appear in the Esterházy MSS., and partly by Haydn himself. The score suggests that it was prepared from parts rather than another score; there are several instances in which one or the other part was at first entered too soon or too late, an error easy to make when transferring parts to a score. The fragment is scored for the typical C major orchestration of oboes, C-horns (*alto?*), trumpets, drums and strings, *i. e.* without separate bassoon parts.

Haydn could have made a fine symphony by leaving the orchestration of the overture intact, or by adding a flute to it and combining the movement with the charming *Roxelane*, followed by the minuet and finale of the Berlin fragment. Instead, he left out the trumpets and drums of the Berlin finale and composed a new minuet in the popular style, vastly inferior to the original dance movement in the Berlin MS. This is his second concession to popular demand, the first having been to reduce the orchestration of the overture and finale. The confusion in which the individual parts now stood may be seen by two old sources, one in the Esterházy archives, and one in the monastery of St. Florian<sup>18</sup>. As far as we can tell, the next state of the symphony was as follows:

- 1st movement (Overture) 1 fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor. in C *basso*, str.
- 2nd movement (*Roxelane*) 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 cor. in C *basso*, str.
- 3rd movement (new minuet) 2 ob., 2 cor. in C *alto*, str.
- 4th movement (Berlin MS.) 2 ob., 2 cor. in C (no further designation), str.

Haydn then added a bassoon part to the second movement: this is found in the Esterházy source which, however, never contained a bassoon part for the minuet or finale. He wrote a flute part for the minuet, preserved in this source but not in the St. Florian MS. The finale never seems to have had a flute part. Whether the horns were supposed to play *alto* or *basso* in the finale is not made clear by any of the sources.

Having arrived at this stage, Haydn proceeded to discard the fine Berlin movement altogether and substituted a new finale in his newest, raciest and most easily marketable style. The new movement, added to the Esterházy MS. by Joseph Elssler (the earlier version is

<sup>18</sup> The early French edition by Sieber (Paris Conservatoire, cat. H. 50) has parts only 'A deux Violons Alto Et Basse / Deux Hautbois Deux Cors.' For differences in the string parts to the first movement, see Ex. 6 b.

cancelled), is the one Haydn sent into the world. With it he was assured of a quick success. Compared with the old finale, and with the splendid first movement, this new movement represents a low point in sacrifice to popular taste scarcely reached even in the *Laudon*. The tune is bright, witty and completely superficial, and there is scarcely a single inspired note in the whole piece. The old finale, in Haydn's most majestic style, would have been a far better companion to the overture, and it is hoped that present-day performances of the symphony will use it rather than the composers's unfortunate afterthought. It is in fact possible to retain the original orchestration of the overture as well as that of the Berlin finale, by which the music gains immeasurably in dignity and beauty.

Many of the sources have in the second movement a slightly altered flute part, rendered easier of execution by dropping the part an octave when it reaches a high range ( $g'''$ ). It is probable that this was a later adaptation by the composer. More problematical is the timpani part, of which there are at least three different versions: (1) in one

**Ex. 6** a) Overture 'Il Mondo della Luna': Allegro

The musical score for the Overture 'Il Mondo della Luna' by Haydn is presented in two systems. The first system includes staves for 2 Ob., 2 Fag., 2 Cor., C basso, (2 Trbe.), and Str. The second system includes staves for 2 Ob., 2 Fag., 2 Cor., C basso, (2 Trbe.), and Str. The score includes markings for 'I Solo', 'Soli', 'Corni Soli', 'Tutti', and '(unis.)'. The tempo is marked 'Allegro'.

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b) No. 63/I

Fl. Solo *p*

2 Ob. Solo *p*

1 Fag. Solo *p*

2 Cor. (C) *p*

Vln. I *p*

Vln. II *p*

Vla. (St. Florian: Viola col Vel.) *p*

Vcl.-Cb. (St. Florian: Violoncello 8va<sup>†</sup> Contrabasso tacet.) *p*

(Esterházy, Melk II: Vcl.-Cb. tacet.)

Fl. Tutti *f*

2 Ob. *f* a2

1 Fag. *f* *p* etc.

2 Cor. (C) *f* *p*

Vln. I *f* a2

Vln. II *f* a2

Vla. *f*

Vcl.-Cb. *f* *p*

(For purposes of orientation, it should be explained that this was preceded by an eight-measure tutti for strings alone, announcing the main subject, which is further extended in the above example.)

of the two *MSS.* in Melk, (2) in one of the three *MS.* parts in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, and (3) in an *MS.* in the monastery of Stams, near Innsbruck. None of these is identical with the far superior, authentic drum part in the original version of the overture; and

though the possibility exists that one or the other of these was quickly composed by Haydn for performance at a place where he had no access to the original part, they are all three to be treated with great circumspection. Judging from external evidence, the source at Melk has the best claim; it is in the handwriting of a copyist who also prepared duplicate violin parts to Symphony No. 92 in the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection at Schloss Harburg, these violin parts bearing corrections in Haydn's handwriting. As we have an authentic kettle-drum part for the overture and Berlin finale, Melk can at most provide us with one for the new minuet and finale. (In all sources the drums are silent in the second movement.)

In the course of its alteration, the first movement of No. 63 lost much valuable detail. The original version of the overture contained, for instance, some beautiful woodwind writing which had to disappear when the *obbligato* second bassoon was dropped; Haydn seems to have thought it prudent to add string support to the daring unsupported wind parts; these were unique in Haydn's symphonies up to this date. There had been, it is true, several examples of unsupported wind parts in earlier works, but never of the length and intricacy of these. How much the overture suffered may be gathered from the foregoing example, in which meas. 9 *ff.* of the original and adapted versions are placed side by side.

The movement called *La Roxelane* is a preliminary study for Haydn's double-variation form. In its present, embryonic stage, the alternation of the original C minor theme with contrasting C major sections does not qualify the movement as a double-variation, inasmuch as the C major section is derived from the main (C minor) melody. In tonality and feeling however, it is closely related to such movements as No. 53/II or No. 70/II. *La Roxelane* is charming because it is the first of its species; when Haydn begins to issue such movements in mass production the charm becomes a little frozen. The formal construction of the movement — in which the section in the major, as might be expected, wins the day — is preoccupied with the problem of variation *versus* rondo. Previously, this had been restricted to finales (*cf.* Nos. 42 and 55 — the latter an almost direct copy of the former); but in an effort to find a new type of slow movement less emotional than the adagios of the early 'seventies, Haydn tried out this type of major-minor variation and found it very successful. The reverse of this procedure, with a theme in the major with contrasting

sections in the minor is employed in No. 53/II. He later used this idea in finales as well (*cf.* No. 78/IV).

The remaining two movements are, as music, scarcely worth any detailed consideration. Their deficiencies have been mentioned above. It goes without saying that, from a practical standpoint, Haydn's changes were completely justified, and *La Roxelane* had an enormous success, second only to that of *L'impériale*, a symphony whose birth and development are just as chequered as the work now under consideration. The history of *La Roxelane* is a typical and significant manifestation of the composer's attitude during the present period; in this brief summary, we have seen how artistic principles were sacrificed in order to achieve popular success, how orchestration was simplified and changed from a business standpoint rather than on artistic grounds, and how a much inferior but more popular finale took the place of one possibly more difficult of comprehension but of greater worth.

During the late 'seventies and early 'eighties, Haydn began to seek contacts with various European publishers. Many of these reacted favourably to the composer's offers, and Haydn began to think in terms of publishers as well as of his audience at Esterháza and a possible remuneration through the sale of manuscript copies. In itself, this is a perfectly respectable attempt on the part of a composer to reap some of the benefits which publishers had been gathering from pirated editions of his music, and no one can blame Haydn for wanting to bring to an end the widespread piracy of his works. But in his business dealings he soon became as unscrupulous as the publishers themselves, violating contracts, selling one piece to several different persons or publishers at once, and so on. All this may be regarded as an outgrowth of the tendency, now observable in Haydn's symphonies, to put practical financial considerations ahead of artistic values.

A history similar to that of *La Roxelane* is the much-discussed and greatly overrated *Symphonie L'impériale*, No. 53, the whole story of which might without exaggeration be entitled 'Much Ado about Nothing'. (Two fine passages of great harmonic skill and beauty have been discussed above: see Ex. 2.) The work demands our attention because, together with No. 63, it gives us another glimpse into Haydn's fast-changing aims.

The introduction to the first movement may have been added after



the symphony had been completed, perhaps even after Haydn had already substituted a second finale. Although this is not borne out by the entry in EK, where the first bars of the introduction are cited, the Kees catalogue and various other contemporary sources omit this *Largo maestoso*. In examining the work, one's attention is drawn to the curious timpani part of the minuet and original finale. This is found only in the Esterházy MS., in which the second violin and 'Timpano' were copied by the elder Elssler. (The timpani in the Hummel print are obviously an addition by the publisher, as are the trumpet and drum parts in the Simrock print.) All the earliest sources have the Esterházy kettledrum part for the first movement, but mark the drum part for the rest of the symphony 'Tacet'. The Esterházy 'Timpano' in the minuet is so crude and contains so many harmonic impossibilities that one is tempted to think that it was added for a quick performance by one of Haydn's composition pupils, of which he now had several. Persons interested in pursuing this question are referred to meas. 3/4, 6, 19/20, 22 and 39/41 of the minuet and meas. 146 and 158/159 of the finale. Proceeding further, we come to the very strange original finale, marked 'Capriccio: Moderato'. This is so contrary to every other symphonic movement of the period that one is seriously inclined to doubt its authenticity altogether. It may be that we are dealing with another hasty makeshift by one of Haydn's pupils, corrected here and there by the master himself. Attention is drawn, for example, to Ex. 7b, which in its whole harmonic and melodic character is completely unlike Haydn:

**Ex. 7**

a) No. 53/IV, 'Version A': Capriccio: Moderato



b) *ibid.*



(For purposes of orientation, the passage appears in the first part of the D minor middle section in this three-part movement.)

The bassoon is silent for 42 measures (111/152) in the Esterházy

*MS.* towards the middle of the movement. One of the rare sources to include this version of the finale comes from the Erzherzog Rudolf Collection, now in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde at Vienna. This *MS.* puts in the missing bassoon part but changes the basic melody of the theme throughout the whole movement. Instead of the note *a* marked in Ex. 7a with an arrow, the Viennese source has *b*, thus increasing our mystification.

The history of No. 53 is also complicated by the fact that no one has been able to state exactly when it was composed. A London performance is supposed to have taken place in 1774, but as all Haydn symphonies were merely designated 'Favourite Overture' or 'Grand Overture', the chances are that we are dealing with another work. Proof of this is (1) the entry in EK, which suggests *c.* 1780 as a more plausible date and (2) the second finale. As it was only this second finale which was circulated in England and as the first finale was never printed at all, we can only be dealing with a work composed *after* 1777, which date is clearly marked on Haydn's autograph<sup>19</sup> of the movement in question (See Plate XXV).

Examination of this new and far better finale only adds to our confusion: this *Presto* was originally a first movement, and was almost certainly the overture to an opera<sup>20</sup>. As far as we can determine, Haydn was so pleased with this sprightly little movement that he decided to make use of it in two symphonies. First, he left out the concluding modulation to the dominant of C major (this portion occupies p. 140 of the Complete Edition, Series I, Vol. 5) and drew in a double bar at the end of meas. 167, adding this movement to the first three of Symphony No. 53. The fact that the new movement had two bassoons instead of the previous one, and contained no flute and no drum part did not bother him a whit at this stage; and so the *MSS.* mark the flute after the minuet: 'Tacet'. Hummel added flute and kettledrum parts to the movement, but both are very doubtful and almost certainly not by the composer.

The French publisher Sieber issued the symphony with a third finale, which was also used for the subsequent Simrock and Le Duc editions. That anyone could have seriously thought that this movement

<sup>19</sup> There are actually two autographs of the movement. Both are dated 1777, one by Haydn (in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek) and one by an unknown person (in the Vienna Stadtbibliothek).

<sup>20</sup> See my comments on pp. 320 *ff.* of the Complete Edition, Series I, Vol. 5. The new finale is listed amongst the overtures in the B. & H. catalogue (II, 7).

had anything whatever to do with Haydn (except for the dubious honour of its being published under his name) seems incredible, in view of the crudity of the orchestration, harmonic structure, thematic material, and disposition of parts, not to speak of the strange use of fermatas; but Edvard Fendler published a new version of the symphony shortly after World War II, using this finale, and Antony van Hoboken is sure that the piece is by Haydn. It is in fact doubtful if even Haydn's pupils concocted this impoverished *Presto*.

In Italy there is a source which uses the infectiously gay D major Overture (II, 4) as finale. This very clever idea is unfortunately not warranted by any authentic evidence, and its connection with No. 53 must for the moment be regarded as spurious.

Musically, *L'impériale* is a step downwards in the gradual disintegration of Haydn's artistic conscience. It is true that there are fine moments<sup>21</sup>, and that the second finale is vastly superior to the original; but the first movement has nothing of the genius found in that of No. 63, its predecessor in the present list of pastiches; nor does the *Andante* of No. 53 rank with the sprightly *Roxelane*, its spiritual model. Similar to the latter, No. 53/II is also built upon an old French song; a copy of the original *Chanson* is included in the *Wahl-Katalog*, a list of Haydn sources drawn up before World War I for Breitkopf & Härtel by Dr. Wahl. The scheme is like that of *La Roxelane* except that the melody is in the major, but in No. 53 the inspiration has waned, and the result is not on the same level as *La Roxelane*.

Symphony No. 62 contains the third version of the Overture in D, II, 7. Haydn seems to have experimented along several lines, for the two autographs of the overture itself differ from each other considerably in the treatment of the wind instruments; it is not possible to determine which of the two is the original. It may even be that 62/I<sup>22</sup> is the first draft, but it is more likely that we are dealing with a later revision. One reason for this assertion is found in the authentic parts in the Esterházy archives. As we have seen, II, 7 originally contained no flute part; nor did the adaptation of this movement as No. 62/I. The part in EH is marked: 'Primo All[egr]o Tacet'. Haydn crossed this out and wrote a flute part to the first movement on the last folio;

<sup>21</sup> See above, Ex. 2.

<sup>22</sup> The symphony was printed in c. 1782 by Hummel. An edition supposedly published by Le Duc, Paris, in 1779 or 1780 seems not to exist: see Appendix I, No. 62, source 18.

over the deleted remark he made a gentle, whimsical note such as must have endeared him to his players: 'Friend, look for the first Allegro'. The first page of the added part is reproduced as Plate XXVI.

A comparison with No. 53, which because of the identical material employed is inevitable, shows that No. 62 is by far the more homogeneous piece; this is in large measure due to the use of II, 7 as the opening rather than the closing movement. Both autographs as well as No. 62/I suggest that this was its original function. The alterations which are now introduced into II, 7 are designed to render the movement more suitable for a symphony: the typical theatrical fanfares of the opening subject are removed: the D major chord at the beginning made more powerful by removing the rests in between the notes: and the typically operatic repetition of the main subject in II, 7 is in No. 62/I reduced to the double announcement perfected during the previous period. This transmutation of function is to Haydn's credit, for it reflects a more artistic responsibility than the alterations of Nos. 63 and 53, where the originals — such as are extant — suffered in the process.

No. 62/II experiments along the lines of crescendos and — for the first time on such a large scale — decrescendos. (The latter had been tentatively applied to the slow movement of No. 61.) In No. 62/II the decrescendo is exploited to its fullest capacity and, after this, practically rejected from widespread use in the symphonic form. To Haydn, the decrescendo represented a special effect to be employed with great fastidiousness. It is probable that the very strong dynamic character of this movement had its origin in, or was intended to portray, some part of the drama to which it was attached, and which perhaps lies buried among the thousands of pages of contemporary operas in the Esterházy archives. The finale, too, in its rejection of the superficial rondo form and return to the principles of the symphonies written in 1771-1774, seems to benefit from the sobering and enlightened effects of the stage. It is a curious fact that the stage, far from exerting — as one might expect — an influence detrimental to Haydn's music, seems to have encouraged him to write his most serious and inspired work; again, one does not have to consider the question of whether Haydn's operas are great operas in order to discover that he was, during the present decade, writing his best music for the stage. Every time he allowed its atmosphere to pervade a symphony, the effect was entirely beneficial to its form and character.

Haydn's uncertainty with regard to the future course of the symphonic form may be further seen in the three symphonies, Nos. 66, 67 and 68, published by Hummel in 1779, possibly on the basis of authentic texts furnished by the composer. The two B flat major works, Nos. 66 and 68, are thoroughly insipid, following the popular taste and contributing nothing of significance to the art of the symphony. The first movement of No. 66 even borrows the main subject of the Overture II, 7 — by this time a little threadbare from constant use — transposes it into B flat major, and with a few swift manipulations turns it into the first subject. The course of the movement as a whole accords with that unfortunate misnomer, 'Papa' Haydn: the music is pretty, that is, immediately attractive upon first hearing: there is delicate strength in the development, and harmonic invention coupled with great thematic resourcefulness — but no inspiration at all. The slow movements of both Nos. 66 and 68 never rise above mediocrity, unless one is prepared to accept immense technical skill as a substitute for real genius. The figurations that wind through the theme-and-variation form take the place of inventiveness, creating an effect markedly different from those used in the adagios of 1771-1774, in which the finely woven semiquavers of the violins always contributed to the emotional content; here, the intricacies of the strings are laid over the structure much as the trumpets and drums were attached to the baroque facades of the earlier C major symphonies. The minuets are the bright, cheerful tunes which Haydn now turns out with an appalling regularity, the finales are sprightly rondos in the manner of the second finale of No. 63; and these, too, are now manufactured like clothes of one pattern, issued to the customers in a variety of entrancing colours that successfully hide the dullness of their design. Nos. 66 and 68 are in fact works singularly depressing to the student who has conscientiously endeavoured to follow the course of Haydn's symphonies. The sight of a great master sacrificing his art for the sake of public acclaim can hardly be an inspiring one. A few lone critics in North Germany bitterly objected; but then, they had objected to Haydn from the very beginning and their opinions are even less valid, if this is possible, than those who sang his praises so indiscriminately.

On the other hand, No. 67, having nothing to do with its two companions, is a work for connoisseurs, not for the general public; the symphony seems to have been for the composer and his friendly

orchestra. The opening movement which, incidentally, has the character of a finale rather than of a beginning, is powerful and incisive. Written in the curious metre of six-eight—something Haydn did only very rarely in an opening movement—we again feel all the rhythmic strength and the strongly personal quality of the *Sturm und Drang*; this is particularly true of the fiery development. And the *Adagio*, full of sweetness and invention, is not far away from the enchanted world of the slow movements composed during the previous period. At the end there is a delightful and bizzare effect: the violins are directed to play *col'legno* (with the wooden backs of their bows). This *Adagio*, if not heavy with the tragedy and portent of the early 'seventies, is pervaded by strength, wisdom—and humour. The trio of the minuet introduces another bizzare idea: the second violins, muted, are instructed to tune their G-strings down to F, upon which they grind out a hurdy-gurdy drone. But the trio is in the best of taste, showing that there are ways to enchant the public without sacrificing one's artistic standards. The finale is also highly original, developing in a three-part form: *Allegro di molto*—*Adagio*—*1mo Tempo*. This idea may possibly derive from the *Farewell*, but more likely the inspiration was provided by the contemporary operatic overture, such as Haydn's own Overture to *L'Isola Disabitata* (1779), a work nearly contemporary with Symphony No. 67. The middle section is fully worked out and is not just a slow interlude. The folk-song character of the second subject in the *Allegro di molto* (see Ex. 8) is typical of the melodies employed in Haydn's better finales; Pohl has stressed their importance, and wonders if they were actually folk-tunes. The theory is probably correct, in view of Haydn's love of Hungarian, Croatian, French, Austrian, Russian,—in fact all—folk-songs; without doubt, future research into Haydn's use of folk-songs—a field which was just opened but by no means exhausted by Kuhač during the past century—will discover that the vast majority of these infectious gay melodies were in fact folk-tunes known and admired by peasant and aristocrat alike. This is another admirable aspect of Haydn's desire to make his symphonies popular.

## Ex. 8

(Allegro di molto)



Just before Christmas of the year 1779<sup>23</sup> Haydn completed, or at any rate performed, a new Symphony in D major, a work which stands out among its predecessors and contemporaries like a Hercules. Obviously discontent with the number of mediocre symphonies which, as someone unkindly pointed out, were produced with the regularity and efficiency of postage stamps coming out of a slot-machine, Haydn set himself to do something different. As was the case many years before, when the pre-classical symphony was in danger of stagnation, the composer turned to contrapuntal means in order to rid his symphonic form of its dangerous tendencies. Strict fugues or canons, however, were not considered sufficient in themselves to effect this change; they had to be combined with the newer stylistic elements to form a homogeneous whole. And this is what he did in Symphony No. 70. The first movement does not reveal the new purpose except in the canonic imitation which is applied to the first subject during the development section. This *Vivace con brio* may have first served its purpose as the overture to some stage piece; for it closely resembles in form and character the Overture II, 7, except that it is more condensed, more powerful in its expression. In the second movement, the new contrapuntal principles are set to work. The title on the Esterházy parts tells the story: *Specie d'un Canone in Contrapunto doppio*, species of a canon in double counterpoint. This recondite contrapuntal scheme is now applied to the most mundane of Haydn's forms, the double variation. The movement is in D minor and the main theme is the canon; the contrasting section, in D major, is of the kind employed as a foil to the main variation in *La Roxelane*. As a result of this combination, the movement gains immeasurably in dignity and character. For the minuet, which returns to the tonic major, another formal surprise is prepared for us: the use of a coda. The form employed is Minuet—Trio—Minuet da Capo—Coda.

The crown of the work, however, is its unusual and impressive finale. First, we are surprised by the tonality, D minor, which makes its second appearance (it was used as the main key of the second movement); secondly, by the emergence of a formidable triple-fugue (Esterházy MS: à 3 *Sogetti*). What renders this movement particularly appealing is the method of presenting the fugue, which is en-

<sup>23</sup> The title page of the Esterházy MS. bears the date 1779; on the first page of the *Violino Primo* part, written by Joseph Elssler, is the exact date: 'den 18ten. Xbris. 779', presumably copied from the autograph, now lost.

Symphonies of 1774–1784

Ex. 9

a) No. 70/IV: Allegro con brio

Str. *pp*

*pp*

etc.

b) *ibid.*

Vln. I *p*

Vln. II *p*

Viola *p*

*f* (Tutti) etc.

closed on both sides by a humorous little introduction using the main idea of one of the fugue's subjects: four repeated *d*'s. This introduction is also stated after the conclusion of the massive triple-fugue, its purpose now being to prepare us for a coda in D major. The coda begins with a statement of the fugue subjects in D major and then returns to the humorous idea of the introduction, the repeated notes now growing softer and softer before being hurled down *fortissimo* to mark the end of the symphony. Here is the formal and tonal scheme:



*Symphonies of 1774—1784*

- (A) Introductory material, D minor (Ex. 9 a);
- (B) Triple-fugue, D minor (Ex. 9 b);
- (A) Introductory material, D minor;
- (Coda) (Combination of introductory material plus fugue), D major.

The symphony was later enriched by the addition of kettledrums and trumpets, the former still preserved in Haydn's autograph in the Esterházy archives (Plate XXVII), the latter, also in that collection, doubling the horns throughout the first, third and final movements except for one high *d* at the beginning of the first movement.

The first movement—if not the other three—of No. 71 also returns to an earlier period for its inspiration. Concise, free of the usual superficialities of the era, and having that forward surge so characteristic of the symphonies composed a decade before, it seems entirely out of place amongst the other works written about the year 1780. A curious little *Adagio* introduction prefaces the movement. This *Adagio* is one of the shortest he ever wrote, a few measures of no particular significance, and one wonders why he thought it necessary, especially in view of the character of the succeeding quick movement, which is quite sufficient as it stands. It may be that the other three movements were in fact written at a later date than the first, and that the introduction was added to make the work conform to the modern design; naturally, this is pure hypothesis.

It might be remarked here that the change in presentation of material in this chapter—in which we have proceeded from work to work, contrary to the method employed in the rest of the book—was chosen in order to show more forcefully the contrast between strong and weak elements, between works of a high artistic standard and those catering for popular demand. The reader may, however, wish to learn some of the formal characteristics of the new period under study: more specifically, what changes have in the course of six or seven years been introduced into the symphonic form since the beginning of the 'seventies. A short summary of these follows.

Concerning the first movement, the slow introduction gradually gains in popularity, and four of the thirteen works so far examined employ an opening *Adagio* or *Largo*. The *fausse reprise* is almost entirely discarded and the surprise technique of No. 54/I, in which the main subject is introduced during the course of the development in a remote key, usually after a pause or even a hold, is preferred. The double announcement of the main theme is, however, retained

in many instances. The folk-song character of the second subjects has been mentioned. On the whole, Haydn's treatment of the second subject in opening as well as closing movements is much more detailed than hitherto; the second subject is usually—but not always (*cf.* No. 70/I)—given greater prominence in the exposition; the melodies are popular and designed to catch the ear, often in contrast to the still predominately rhythmic nature of the main themes. In the development section, the second subject is often used as a surprise element. Beginning with an extension of the first subject, or part of it, and proceeding through remote keys, Haydn will—very often at the end of a long tutti—end in a fermata; the second subject is then innocently introduced in the remote key in which the section has landed, after which the lead-back to the recapitulation occurs. During this period, the coda assumes further significance and may be found, not only in first movements, but also in finales and even minuets (*cf.* No. 70/III).

The slow movements vacillate between the older and newer types, the latter being represented by a theme and variations. This form is used not only in allegrettos—often employing folk-melodies for their principal themes (*cf.* Nos. 53, 63)—but also in adagios, such as No. 55/II. Gradually the double variation emerges, in which two sections are simultaneously developed; this is often the case with alternating variations in major and minor, as in Nos. 53, 63, 70, *etc.*

The finales are usually either variation-rondo movements, the rondo element becoming more and more predominant (*i. e.* the thematic connection between various sections becomes less marked), or heavier concluding movements in sonata form. In the course of the period, a number of exceptions to both these general types has been observed, such as the three-part form of Version 'A' of No. 53/IV; the fast-slow-fast pattern of No. 67/IV; or the fugal treatment given to No. 70/IV.

The orchestration is now settled once and for all. The flute becomes a permanent member of the orchestra after about 1775, though there are still a few symphonies without that instrument (*cf.* Nos. 60, 67, *etc.*). The bassoons are now noted in the score as *obbligato* instruments; a pair is employed, rather than the single *Fagotto* occasionally noted in earlier symphonies; in the autographs, the bassoons are written between viola and bass, *i. e.* on the penultimate stave of the paper. No. 60 is one of the last works not to

include separate bassoon parts. Trumpets and drums, as pointed out in the previous chapter, are now used in other tonalities besides C major. Most of the D major symphonies were later furnished with a drum part, probably by Haydn himself. No. 61 has one in the autograph, that to No. 70 is also authentic, and those to Nos. 57 and 75 are to all appearances genuine. Summing up, Haydn's orchestra now consists of 1 flute, 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 optional trumpets and kettledrums, and strings.

In 1782, Hummel printed as *Œuvre XVIII*, Libro I-III, Symphonies Nos. 75, 63, 70, 71, 62 and 74. A contemporary review appears in the *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, edited by Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Berlin, 1782, p. 205:

Both these works [the quartets issued by Hummel as Op. 19 are included in the review] are full of the most original fancies, of the liveliest and most pleasing humour. Probably no composer has combined such originality and versatility with such charm and popularity as has Haydn: and few pleasing and agreeable composers have the good technique that Haydn has most of the time. It is very interesting to follow Haydn's [*sic*] output from a critical standpoint. Even his first works, which we came to learn some twenty years ago, showed his own good-natured humour: it was then, however, more a youthful petulance, an unrestrained joviality, combined with a superficial harmonic treatment; gradually, the humour became more manly and the whole more thoughtful, until — through higher and more steadfast inspiration, more mature study of the Art, and especially an increased knowledge of how an effect is best made — a mature originality and an assured artist were reflected in all his works. If we had but one Haydn and one C. P. E. Bach, we Germans could with impunity assert that we have our own style, and that our instrumental music is the most interesting of any land.

To illustrate the steadily growing fame of Haydn in foreign lands, two criticisms from the Parisian journal, *Mercure de France*, may be quoted. The symphonies mentioned cannot be identified.

Concert Spirituel. Le jour de la Nativité il y eut, selon l'usage, un Concert Spirituel au château des Tuileries. On en fit l'ouverture par une symphonie de Haydn, qui fut très-applaudie, & qui méritoit de l'être: noble & véhément, toujours gracieux, toujours varié, le génie de ce Compositeur semble en effet inépuisable: parmi le grand nombre d'Ouvrages qu'il a publié, aucun ne se ressemble; chacun a son caractère distinctif; & le plus souvent on ne reconnoît Haydn qu'à ses menuets. Il semble même avoir le secret d'animer les Musiciens; l'orchestre paroît se complaire & s'identifier avec lui; jamais il n'est plus attachant que dans l'exécution des ses chef-œuvres. [15th September 1779, pp. 118 f.]

... Le Concert [Spirituel] du Vendredi premier Novembre... La Symphonie d'Haydn, par laquelle le Concert a commencé, a été fort bien exécutée, & a plu généralement. Ce charmant Compositeur, par le brillant, la grâce, la nouveauté de ses idées, a trouvé l'art de se couvrir de gloire & de se placer au premier rang dans

un genre que les Grand-Maitres de son pays, les Stamitz, les Toeschi, &c. sembloient avoir épuisé; car il faut convenir que c'est à l'Allemagne qu'on doit les meilleurs Compositeurs Symphonistes...

[16th November 1781, pp. 180 f.]

(ii)

During the course of the previous fifteen or twenty years, Haydn had 'raised himself from the throng of musicians to become their supreme commander'<sup>24</sup>. He dominated the world of music during the 'seventies, and while there were, of course, numbers of good, bad and indifferent composers, some of whom had reached considerable fame, it was Haydn who was able to win his way into every European capital, to every monastery and princely court. In the second half of the 'seventies he abused this great privilege, not heeding Leonardo's precept 'that the acquisition of fame is something greater than the fame of acquisition.' A sad reminder of the state into which the symphony had fallen is provided by Haydn's two masses<sup>25</sup>, the *Missa Sti. Joannis de Deo* of c. 1775 and the *Missa Cellensis* of 1782. In the first of these Haydn preserves the intimate, friendly atmosphere found in the slow movements of the symphonies written just before. Using a tiny orchestra of two violins and bass with organ, the 'Little Organ Mass', as it is called in Germany and Austria (because of the solo part allotted to the organ in the 'Benedictus'), has that peculiar strength often found in miniature art of all kinds. The 'Benedictus' is a casket of rich design and ornamentation. Even finer is the miraculous transition that occurs at the words 'Dona nobis pacem'; this is one of those rare and blessed inspirations which will at times direct an artist; the stern, inflexible 'Agnus Dei' is suddenly transfigured, and a rare serenity and peace descends on the music. At the end, all voices and instruments die away (autograph: *perdendosi*)

<sup>24</sup> Sondheimer, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

<sup>25</sup> These two masses are representative of the best choral music then being produced by the composer; for this reason we have concentrated upon them rather than the larger oratorio, *Il Ritorno di Tobia*, written in 1774. The music of this enormous piece is largely derivative and, except for the large choruses — which are splendid —, says nothing which we have not already encountered in Haydn's earliest cantatas; the language of *Tobia* is that of Hasse, of Florian Gassmann; and Haydn is not as yet able to improve upon the stereotyped, largely Italian-inspired form.

leaving a quiet spirit of benediction never approached in any other mass by Haydn. The *Missa Sti. Joannis de Deo* enters a different domain from that inhabited by any other kind of composition of the period; this special path which the masses now take will be followed to the *Missa Cellensis*, discussed below<sup>26</sup>; it is only after the second London sojourn that Haydn's masses rejoin the main stream of his creative life; the *Missa St. Caecilia*, reflecting as it does all the main qualities of its era, is the last to do so until the *Missa in Tempore Belli* of 1796.

A second reminder of the spiritual decline into which Haydn's symphonies have as a whole sunk is given us from quite another quarter.

On January 17, 1779<sup>27</sup>, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart returned to Salzburg after a long, costly and financially unprofitable journey to Paris, where his mother had died, and where he had failed to secure the appointment he had desired. During this and part of the following year, the unhappy Mozart, seething at the provincial atmosphere of Salzburg (which, by this time, he loathed), produced a number of compositions which soon overshadowed the genial and easy-going symphonies flowing out of Esterháza. Mozart's *opera seria*, *Idomeneo* (K. 366), produced in Munich in January, 1781, spiritually preceded by the remarkable choruses and entr'actes of *Thamos, König in Ägypten* (second version: K. 345), already shows a talent for the stage — not to speak of the stirring music contained in the work — far superior to that of Haydn, who was content to write beautiful music for any libretto which came his way. In 1779, Mozart wrote his *Coronation Mass* (K. 317, C major), a stunning example of late-baroque Salzburg art; the massive grandeur of the Salzburg Cathedral seems to be reflected throughout the choruses of the mass, resplendent with trumpets, trombones, kettledrums. The brass and drums dominate, pervade, and colour with their bold sound the entire orchestral texture. This was followed by a more serious and weighty mass,

<sup>26</sup> See p. 395.

<sup>27</sup> This new period in Mozart's life may be considered as having begun with the year 1779 and lasting through the first two or three years of his life in Vienna. The usual opinion is that a new period began with Mozart's arrival in Vienna. I consider this erroneous: it is obvious that the earliest Viennese compositions, such as the 'Haffner' Symphony, the first three clavier concerti, or the three wind serenades only continue on the lines of their respective Salzburg predecessors, i. e. the Symphonies K. 318, 319, 338; the E flat major Concerto K. 271; and the D major Serenade, K. 320.

also in C major (K. 337, 1780). Both masses may be said to sum up Mozart's not always inspired efforts along this line; they are more imposing than any of Haydn's previous church music, except for the *Missa St. Caecilia*.

Of more immediate interest to us are Mozart's orchestral works. As early as 1773/74 he had shown, in Symphonies K. 183 in G minor<sup>28</sup> and K. 201 in A major, a remarkable precocity and a talent for assimilation only slightly less marked in the neighbouring K. 184 in E flat and K. 200 in C. The light, fluffy *concertante* style of these earlier Salzburg compositions, with their witty oboe solos and, generally, divertimento-like scoring, is succeeded by the 'Paris' Symphony (D major, K. 297), an interlude in the grand manner of the Mannheim-Gossec school, composed for a *Concert spirituel* in Paris<sup>29</sup>. Despite its rather mannered *coup d'archet*, the national pride of France (about which Mozart made some candid and sarcastic remarks to his father), its Mannheim 'road-rollers', and its reliance on heavy and rather padded tuttis, K. 297 is an excellent example of its *genre*. Upon his return to Salzburg in 1779, Mozart wrote three symphonies: K. 318 in G major, K. 319 in B flat, and K. 338 in C major. Like K. 297, these were originally composed without minuets, a form which Mozart, unlike Haydn, appears to have considered as belonging to the lighter serenades and divertimenti. (A sketch for a minuet to K. 338 is in the library of the Conservatoire in Paris<sup>30</sup>, while for K. 319 Mozart wrote a minuet for a performance of the symphony in Vienna.) With these three works Mozart's position as a leading symphonic composer was assured. The G major is a short but immensely powerful piece in the interconnected three-movement style of the Italian Overture, using four horns. The kettledrums, in the somewhat unusual pitches of high G and D, were later added to the autograph (Public Library, New York City) by an unknown person, as in Haydn's Symphony No. 13<sup>31</sup>. K. 318 is a heroic combination of Salzburg *concertante* elements with the rich language of the Mannheim school — much better

<sup>28</sup> See above, p. 293.

<sup>29</sup> A second symphony, in B flat major (K. Anh. 8; K. V./3, 311 a) with the same orchestration, is reputed to be the second composed for this organization. In spite of its Mozartean allegros, serious and apparently well-founded doubts of its authenticity — particularly the Grétry-like introduction — have been raised.

<sup>30</sup> The first page is reproduced in Haas, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*, Potsdam, 1933, p. 62.

<sup>31</sup> See above, p. 228.

integrated than in K. 297 — and a Haydnesque conception of form; the latter may be further observed in the splendid development section of K. 319/I, using the 'Credo theme' also found in Haydn's Symphony No. 13/IV<sup>32</sup>. The third symphony, K. 338, is the most powerful of the three, carrying to new heights the C major pageantry of Haydn, as exemplified in that master's Symphony No. 56. But where he is primarily festive in his pomp, Mozart is martial; this is largely the result of the different rhythmic character of the brass and drums, Mozart typically preferring the dotted ♩ ♩ ♩ in four-four time, Haydn the ♩ ♩ ♩, ♩ ♩ ♩ or ♩ ♩ ♩ of three-four. Nevertheless, both symphonies have much in common. Mozart explores even further than Haydn the contrast of minor keys; and this inimitable juxtaposition of gay light-heartedness with near-tragic passages, of huge Mannheim tuttis with softest Salzburg figurations, renders his style peculiarly effective. The second movement is also spiritually akin to that of Haydn's No. 56; Mozart knew very well what elements of his predecessor were most congenial to him, and rejected the superficial slow movements in variation form of Haydn's later symphonies. The finale of K. 338 also utilizes the surging triplets of No. 56/IV; but Mozart's language in this movement is stronger, clearer, more incisive.

Worthy of far more serious study than has hitherto been accorded to it is the Serenade in D major, K. 320, which Mozart completed in August of 1779. There is, it is true, typical Salzburgian summer-music in the *Concertante* and *Rondo*, but what power, what symphonic mastery in the remaining parts! The first movement begins with a slow introduction, a feature derived from Haydn but now reshaped to suit Mozart's own designs. The stamp of Mozart's personality appears first in an astounding modulation and secondly through the device of bringing in the introduction for the second time at the outset of the recapitulation and compensating for the difference in tempo by the use of larger note-values. In this as well as the final movement there are — if the old *Gesamtausgabe* can be trusted — no indications of repetition, the music flowing in an unbroken line; we have seen this experiment in Haydn's Symphony No. 2<sup>33</sup>. The slow movement

<sup>32</sup> Undoubtedly Mozart's use of the theme in K. 319 may be traced, not to Haydn, but to Mozart's own *Missa Brevis*, K. 192, composed some ten years after Haydn's symphony.

<sup>33</sup> See above, p. 211.

of K. 320, an *Andante* in the tonic minor, is also highly significant. Contrary to Haydn, who required, at least up to this point in his life, a slower tempo to express his innermost thoughts, Mozart seems more at home in an *andante*. This is an important and fundamental difference between the two masters. In K. 320, moreover, there are two important rhythmic lines which recur again and again not only in this work but in all later Mozart, the one being that dotted martial figure already cited in connection with K. 334, the other  $\text{♩. } \text{♩♩} \text{♩}^{\text{34}}$ . Both of these are peculiarly Mozartean in character, and are found but rarely in the music of Haydn; Michael Haydn, living in Salzburg and being exposed to many of the same influences as Mozart, is nearer to the latter as far as these details are concerned.

The three wind serenades, K. 361 in B flat, K. 375 in E flat and K. 388 in C minor, which Mozart wrote in Vienna during the years 1781 (the first two) and 1782 (K. 388), show further the composer's amazing ability to combine elements taken from other schools — in this case, Haydn — together with his own, personal language. Especially in the Serenade in C minor—a key in which Mozart already expresses a heavy foreboding, a somehow imminent sense of tragedy—various devices from Haydn's *Sturm und Drang* years are utilized but remain singularly Mozartean in character. K. 388 is closely allied with the form and texture of Haydn's symphonies of c. 1772, except that a serenade-like theme and variations is used to conclude Mozart's sombre masterpiece. The minuet borrows its canonic construction from the *Trauersymphonie*, while the trio turns to Haydn's Symphony No. 47/III for its 'al Rovescio'; but in neither do we sense any slavish imitation of the older composer: Mozart has thoroughly absorbed the artistic principles, the outward garb, and the inner spirit of Haydn's style of 1772 and made it his own. Similarly, Haydn had absorbed from C. P. E. Bach the essence of that composer's style and adapted it to his different needs.

A final, large-scale serenade was composed by Mozart in Vienna for the Haffner family, rich merchants of Salzburg who had previously commissioned an earlier D major serenade (K. 250 with the March, K. 249). Of the original form of the new serenade, completed in the summer of 1782, the opening march (K. 408) and four other

<sup>34</sup> See K. 320/I (*Allegro*), also the derivative figure in the timpani of the second minuet (meas. 1, 3 etc.). Compare, too, the Piano Concerto in C, K. 415/I, where both rhythms are used.



movements have survived; a second minuet is lost. For a Viennese concert in April of the next year, Mozart took four movements of the serenade and presented them as a symphony, something he might easily have done with K. 320 as well. The new D major symphony (K. 385), now reinforced by flutes and clarinets, is so thoroughly symphonic in character that, except for the slow movement, no one could imagine, unless forewarned, that the original was a serenade. In this work, the amalgamation of Haydn's style with that of Mannheim and Salzburg into a perfect whole is complete. The brilliant first movement contains numerous features which we have come to view as typically Haydnesque — the monothematic content, the alternation of tutti unisons with rich symphonic scoring, the broadening of the principal subject by contrapuntal means (*cf.* the skillful imitations of the first theme in the development); but all this is woven into an intensely personal fabric which encompasses his Mannheim-Paris experience, typically Salzburgian turns of phrase, and the characteristic dotted rhythm which again dominates his structure. In a word, Mozart was able, through the peculiar gift of his genius, effortlessly and suddenly to reach a level of symphonic perfection for which Haydn had struggled for decades, and which he had reached by arduous self-discipline in the course of countless experiments. Mozart's uncanny ability to assimilate other styles without sacrificing anything of his own mercurial personality enabled him to reach, by K. 385, a level equal to Haydn's of the early 'seventies and superior to Haydn's of the early 'eighties. Nor did Mozart limit his symphonic gifts to purely orchestral works: upon his arrival in Vienna he promptly began the cultivation of that form in which he was, within a few years, to reign supreme — the clavier concerto. He was able to apply, to the orchestral accompaniment of the concerti, his and Haydn's symphonic treatment, completely revolutionizing the concerto form. The opening tutti of the Concerto in C major K. 415 shows how magnificently he could provide his concerti with that majestic pomp found in the C major Symphony K. 338. Within a few years after he had settled in the Austrian capital it was obvious to Haydn, as to every intelligent musician, that Mozart was now to assume the leading position in musical affairs.

(iii)

During the years 1781-1790 Haydn's best work was in the field of the string quartet<sup>35</sup>. Although not as far removed from his other compositions as the masses, the quartets never succumbed to the low level of the symphonies during the 'eighties. Haydn's new interest in quartet-writing began in 1781, with the six quartets of Opus 33. Compared with Opus 20 (1772), Opus 33 may be said to follow the same trend as the symphonies of the years 1774 to 1780; for Opus 33 is spiritually as far removed from Opus 20 as Symphony No. 66 from the *Trauersymphonie*. Haydn's style is brilliant and witty, the melodies are gracious, the part-writing impeccable, the developments never yield to sombre introspection. Superb craftsmanship is apparent in every movement; inspiration is not. Being blinded by the beautiful workmanship of these six quartets, certain musicologists (Sandberger, *etc.*) have tended to see in them the beginning of Haydn's maturity. The quartets of Opus 20, they asserted, were stiff, their fugual texture a *cul-de-sac*. But Opus 33 is popular without resorting to the measures by which the symphonies of the late 'seventies and early 'eighties carried favour. Some extracts from Sondheimer's pertinent chapters on Opus 33 give a just account of these new works:

During the period of nearly ten years between Op. 20 and Op. 33... great changes had been brought about in the art of music. The almost forgotten older generation of pre-classics, that of Sammartini and Wagenseil, had in the meantime died out, and the revolutionary assault of younger composers, which had still been so powerful at the end of the 60's, had by now lost its force... The Gluck campaign in Paris, which had broken out in the middle of the 70's, had been the last outburst of revolutionary ardour in the pre-classical world of music. It had inflamed the great mass of the general public which habitually only flocks together when the final issue is no longer in doubt, and for whom the easiest way to music leads through the portals of the opera-house...<sup>36</sup>

On the other hand, one may ascribe a general significance to an instruction of Boccherini's Paris publisher given in the middle of the 70's, to write in a light and pleasing manner, and may conjecture that Haydn yielded to it in his Op. 33...<sup>37</sup>

A master of form, aware of his superiority, may easily be induced to strike a witty pose. Hence, the quartets of Op. 33 seem elastic and attractive in comparison with those of Op. 20, which are somewhat ponderous in gait...<sup>38</sup> During [Op. 33] Haydn, though in his quest for the applause of the multitude he does

<sup>35</sup> The one mass of 1782 excepted.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>37</sup> P. 95. One thinks of the great stylistic change in Haydn's music of 1774!

<sup>38</sup> P. 102.

not stoop to an unscrupulous display of crude effects<sup>39</sup>, yet shows an intellectual naivety such as always crops up somehow in a man who covets power, and which is indispensable to the acquisition of popularity...

Strange — or perhaps not so strange — to say, Mozart regarded Opus 33 as the quintessence of the quartet style, and his six great quartets dedicated to Haydn use as their starting-point the principles of Opus 33. The reason for this may lie in the flexibility and assurance of that set, just those qualities which are often absent from the struggling power of Opus 20. Mozart once wrote down the thematic beginnings of three Haydn symphonies which seem to have interested him: Nos. 75, 47 and 62<sup>40</sup>. Having already assimilated Haydn's earlier style, with its tension and strength, Mozart was obviously impressed by the cleverness and melodic precocity of these popular Haydn creations.

The general characteristics of this period are also reflected in other channels of Haydn's art. In the field of the clavier sonata, the stylistic decline may be quite clearly followed. Whereas the sonatas of the 'sixties and early 'seventies become more and more dramatic — even symphonic — in character, those of the late 'seventies already show the easy-going smoothness of the contemporary symphonies: the contrast is particularly marked if we compare the passionate, stormy No. 20 in C minor of 1771 with another work in the minor, No. 34 (E minor), which may be placed chronologically in the middle of the 'seventies. The use of the minor key in this sonata is not dictated by emotional necessity but was chosen to provide a contrast with surrounding works in the major; and consequently the finale is scarcely removed from the light, playful character of its companion pieces in major keys (*cf.* No. 35). The last of the *Sturm und Drang* sonatas is No. 32 in B minor (*c.* 1774?); even the C sharp minor Sonata No. 36, composed shortly afterwards, does not reach the rhythmic force and the wiry contrapuntal grace of the B minor work. After this, the Haydn sonatas soon succumb to the 'light and pleasing manner', and No. 35 in C major already reflects the insipid symphonies of the period. A particular low point in inspiration, however, is reached by the three sonatas, Nos. 40-42, dedicated to the Princess Maria Esterházy and published in Vienna in 1784. The

<sup>39</sup> P. 105. Herein lies the innate superiority of the quartets of this period over the corresponding symphonies.

<sup>40</sup> See Köchel-Einstein/III, K. 387 d, p. 510, and correction on p. 983.

*Allegretto innocente* of No. 40 in G major, for example, contains all the negative qualities associated with the epithet 'Papa' Haydn, and it is no wonder that generations of piano pupils, brought up on such sonatas as Nos. 27 (G major), 35 and 40, rather than Nos. 20, 44 and 46, were long responsible for keeping alive the derision inherent in the once affectionate name of 'Papa'. Even to-day, piano teachers have a peculiar gift for selecting all the worst keyboard music of Haydn, Mozart and Clementi for the technical and musical education of their pupils.

There is a similar contrast between the Clavier Concerto in D major ('Opus 37', published by Artaria in 1784) and the 'Cello Concerto in D major ('Opus 101', autograph 1783), which are, apart from the six lyra concerti of 1786, the only works in the form composed in this period. The Clavier Concerto was probably written at the very latest about 1780, for Artaria's edition was by no means the first, being preceded by at least one French print<sup>41</sup>. It is a good work, not yet benefiting from the mature concerti of Mozart, but in Haydn's best, early classical style: the harmonic scope of the first movement is considerable, the slow movement is full of delicate and genuine feeling, while the finale, marked 'Rondo all 'Ongharese', uses, very successfully, Hungarian melodies and rhythms. Compared to this charming and refreshing work, how dreary are the platitudes of the famous 'Cello Concerto'. Even shorn of the appalling changes introduced by Gaevaert, the work is not first-rate, and it has been so frequently played only because the other extant 'cello concerti in the repertoire are not much better. It sums up in every way the less attractive qualities of this period, and its popularity has tended to

<sup>41</sup> As is known, Haydn did not enter this work in EK (or HV), and as the autograph is missing, there is no definite proof of its authenticity. I believe, however, that we do have proof of its genuineness, for in a letter to his English publisher Forster of 8th April 1787, Haydn refers to a large new clavier concerto, and as it can be proved that all the other clavier concerti can be dated before c. 1770, the composer can only have been referring to this work. Haydn writes: 'Monsieur! Nach langem Stillschweigen muß ich endlich nach dero wohl seyn erkundigen, zugleich aber berichten, daß folgende neue Werke von mir zu haben sind. Als 6 prächtige Sinfonien [Nos. 83-87]. Ein großes Clavierconcert...' (Pohl, H in L, p. 355). In recent years I have discovered a number of hitherto unknown MSS. of the D major Clavier Concerto, e. g. in the monastery of Schlägl (Mühlviertel, Upper Austria), in Venice, and in the Cherubini Library in Florence. These will be of textual importance for the new Complete Edition: apart from the early printed editions, only one MS. of this work has been studied, viz. that in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek (now Marburg).

increase the misunderstanding of Haydn's musical character: one can hardly imagine another work of Haydn less characteristic of his 'grace and science'.

(iv)

In 1780 was produced at Esterháza Haydn's new opera, *La Fedeltà premiata*. For the prelude to Act III the composer wrote a brilliant hunting scene, called *La Chasse*, a lilting six-eight piece in D major scored for oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets, drums and strings. Unwilling to let this extract from his new opera die the swift death usually accorded to his stage pieces, he followed the example of Nos. 62 and 63, and wove this movement into a new symphony, which he completed in 1781 (No. 73). Originally the work was scored, in the first three movements, for oboes, bassoons, horns and strings; in the finale, *La Chasse*<sup>42</sup>, trumpets and drums were retained. In this form, the symphony was published by Sieber. Later, Haydn seems to have revised the scoring, omitting the trumpets and drums and adding a flute part; this re-orchestration may be considered a concession to the publishers, who may — quite rightly — have pointed out that it was uneconomical for the trumpets and drums to play only in one movement. The second movement appears in shortened form as Haydn's own song *Gegenliebe*<sup>43</sup>, which formed part of a collection of *Lieder* that Haydn wrote for Artaria in 1781. The composer first wrote 'XII Lieder', which he sent to Vienna from Esterháza on 20th July 1781; Artaria immediately ordered a second set, and on 18th October 1781 Haydn writes<sup>44</sup>:

In the greatest haste, to let you know that on Monday next I shall send the proofs together with 6 new *Lieder*...

<sup>42</sup> In a MS. from the Kees Collection (Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde), the order has been changed, *La Chasse* being the *first* movement, and the first movement of the other sources being the finale. For this reason, No. 73 appears in the Kees catalogue with the theme of the finale. Haydn, however, wrote the theme of the introduction to the first movement in EK, and what remains of the autograph (Berlin Staatsbibliothek) confirms this order; it is just possible that the Kees MS. represents an earlier version.

<sup>43</sup> *Gesamtausgabe*, Ser. XX, Vol. 1, pp. 24 f.

<sup>44</sup> Artaria-Botstiber, p. 18.

*Gegenliebe*, then, must have been written by October, 1781; it is not possible to decide if *La Chasse* borrowed the song, or if the song was taken from the symphony, though the former seems more likely.

The first edition of *La Chasse* was brought out by the Viennese firm Torricella, with a sumptuous title page; it is not unlikely that Haydn supplied the MS. for this print. A review of the Torricella edition appears in the *Magazin der Musik, herausgegeben von Carl Friedrich Cramer, Professor in Kiel, Hamburg, 1783*, pp. 491 f.:

This symphony is quite as worthy of its author as the newest Op. 18, Libro 1, 2 and 3 [Nos. 75, 63, 70, 71, 62 and 74 in the Hummel edition: see above], and in no way needs our praise. In listening to it, the very beginning and the wonderful workmanship of the following parts reveal the hand of the great master, who seems to be inexhaustible in new ideas. It goes without saying, of course, that there are in this, as in all his symphonies, difficulties and unexpected progressions which require trained and correct players, and cannot be entrusted merely to good luck, without the closest study of the key-signatures, and without knowing the work. So let this be a warning to amateurs and hesitant players, who dare not essay this work without knowing it exactly beforehand, else they shame themselves. We hope, indeed, that Haydn [sic] will crown this great epoch of the symphony with more such wonderful pieces, and thereby reduce all bad writers of symphonies to silence, or to improving their superficial products, through which none but themselves can derive any pleasure.

With Symphony No. 73 Haydn's style undergoes a subtle change. Although not sufficiently marked to warrant its being considered the beginning of a new period—the first half of the 'eighties follows various trends of the latter part of the 'seventies—one feels that the composer is now more assured of himself, that the contradictions and vacillations of the previous half-dozen years are resolved. Incongruous elements are rigorously purged from the form. Inspired by the quartets of Opus 33, the symphonies composed between 1780 and 1785 are, whether one admires them or not, perfect stylistic entities. Haydn writes with a new facility, and the opening movement of No. 73 shows the change clearly. With all the traits of such works as Nos. 66 and 68, No. 73/I is so facile, so brilliant in its harmonic effects (*cf.* meas. 137/139), and so perfect from the structural standpoint that one no longer has any impression of superficiality. In a word, Haydn has achieved his new aim: he is able by the perfection of his technique to convince the hearer of his inspiration as well. One feels no compunction in labelling such a work as the *Laudon* superficial; but it is hard to define which parts of No. 73 are the result of brilliance of technique and which are the outpourings of spontaneous inspiration. In other words, Haydn's

power of invention may be nourished synthetically if necessary, without the audience being aware of it, just as a clever pianist, having studied exactly all of the component factors which possess him when performing in the heat of inspiration, is able to reproduce this inspiration synthetically on countless occasions.

The strange thing about this state of affairs is that, no longer being tormented by the spirit of the *Sturm und Drang*, Haydn's old genius and fire slowly begin to flow back into his veins. The first movements are those which react most rapidly to this at first almost imperceptible change. (The slow movements are content to rely upon the artificial beauty which Haydn can now summon up at his command [cf. Nos. 73/II and 74/II].) A striking example of this may be seen in the first movement of Symphony No. 74, which has in the development section one of the finest passages (Ex. 10b) in any Haydn symphony, produced by—enormous harmonic facility, or a stroke of genius? One is tempted to believe the latter.

Ex. 10

a) No. 74 / I: Vivace assai



b) ibid.



This section is all the more remarkable since it comes in a work which cannot be said to have any other particularly distinguishing characteristics.

There is, in fact, scarcely a symphony without some movement or some passage of more than average interest. No. 75 — another D major work which Haydn seems to have later enriched with trumpets and timpani<sup>45</sup> — is the most beautiful of the three under discussion. One of its points of interest is the slow movement, perhaps the first to employ a new technique subsequently of great importance in Haydn's development, viz. the use of a hymn-like melody, which first assumes importance during the early 'eighties. By turning to a broad, singing melody as the subject of a variation movement, this form increases in seriousness and weight. When Haydn begins to fill these hymn-like adagios with intense feeling, as he will do in a few years, the slow movements will again recapture the long-forgotten beauty of previous years.

The origin of the slow movement appears, like that of *La Chasse*, to be a German song, but whether this is by Haydn or not remains to be discovered. In the volume of *Lieder* in the Haydn *Gesamtausgabe* (Series XX, Vol. 1, Leipzig, 1932), Max Friedlaender printed an arrangement of the song, but placed it among the doubtful works<sup>46</sup>. Whether this adaptation is by Haydn is not known, nor can it even be ascertained if the song preceded the symphony. There is another source, however, which is of more interest, since it is established that it antedates the symphony. In his notes to the volume, Friedlaender says<sup>47</sup>:

I cannot list the original source of this song. In a volume of collected pieces [*Sammelband*], once belonging to the Berlin music critic Wilhelm Tappert (now in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 30, 159, p. 209), the song is listed in the following form with the date 1774... [The music example which follows shows that the version of 1774 was undoubtedly Haydn's model.]

In the year 1782<sup>48</sup>, Haydn completed three new symphonies: Nos. 76-78, in E flat, B flat, and C minor. These consolidated the new

<sup>45</sup> The Esterházy MS. does not contain these instruments, which are, however, found e. g. in the reliable source at Schloß Harburg and in the early print by Hummel.

<sup>46</sup> No. 49, p. 111.

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. XX.

<sup>48</sup> Torricella, a Viennese firm subsequently taken over by Artaria, brought out the symphonies in 1783. Haydn also sold the three works to Forster and various French firms (see p. 48), possibly also to Hummel as well. Hitherto, the date assigned to these works has been c. 1783. New evidence, however, has come to light in the form of a letter to Artaria, dated January 27, 1783, in which Haydn writes: '... You will surely receive the songs and the three symphonies at the end



'intellectual' style — that combination of various structural and emotional values discussed in connection with Nos. 73 and 74. Nos. 76-78 were greatly admired, and we have a number of criticisms in which they are highly praised. Probably for the first time, Haydn wrote them as a set, with an eye to publication, much as he had done with the string quartets, sonatas, songs and other, smaller pieces. Without attempting to plumb the depths of emotion, Haydn combined racy melodies with clever formal, harmonic and contrapuntal devices, so that all three symphonies exude a kind of 'popular intellectuality'. The finale of No. 78 still adheres to the type of variation-rondo with alternating minor and major sections and does not escape a glib superficiality; on the other hand, the concluding movement of No. 77 — the best of the three — presents a far more interesting formal and musical picture. For this finale, Haydn evolved a new type of form, a combination of sonata and rondo. The problem of the finale had never been solved to his satisfaction in his earlier symphonies, but this new scheme suited his new style perfectly. In the sonata-rondo, popular appeal is combined with intellectuality: whereas the pure rondo as conceived in his earlier symphonies was likely to be too popular, the strict sonata form too intellectual for the needs of a concluding movement. The new form may be analysed as follows:

<i>Sonata:</i>	Exposition	Development	Recapitulation	Coda
<i>Sonata-Rondo:</i>	A - [B] - A [']	A [""] [= C]	A [-B-A]	Coda

The sonata-rondo therefore adheres to the sonata in so far as there is a real development of the material as well as a recapitulation; it is bound to the rondo technique through its constant return to the principal section (A). In the above table, the B section is placed in brackets, as it is more likely in Haydn's sonata-rondos that this will turn out to be a derivative of the principal, or A section. In Symphony No. 77, the main theme (Ex. 11a) undergoes extended contrapuntal treatment in the 'development' (Ex. 11b); and by the time the recapitulation is reached we are aware of the strength and beauty of this new 'intellectual' rondo. For this reason, the finale of No. 77 seems to succeed where No. 78/IV does not.

of this month...' Probably Torricella issued his pirated copy of the works before Artaria could print his, and so the proposed Artaria edition was abandoned. Torricella declared bankruptcy a few years later, and Artaria acquired the plates to these three symphonies in a public auction.

Symphonies of 1774—1784

Ex. 11

a) No. 77/IV: Allegro spiritoso



b) *ibid.*

No. 77 is, as a whole, superior to the other two. In the first movement, for example, the contrapuntal treatment of the main theme in the development reveals that peculiar craftsmanship which is so perfect that the whole passage seems to be (or actually is) inspired. (This section was singled out by Geiringer for praise.)<sup>49</sup> In No. 78, the clever use of the second subject as a counter-theme to the first in the development does not reach the level of its numerical predecessor. The use of counterpoint is here dictated by formal rather than emotional necessity. Generally speaking, we have been led to expect something particularly fine in Haydn's use of the minor for a symphony, and are therefore disappointed by No. 78. There is, at this period in Haydn's life, no difference at all between his treatment of major and minor; on the contrary, he places so much of No. 78 in major keys that one nearly forgets the original tonality:

First movement:	C minor.
Second movement:	E flat major.
Minuet & Trio:	C major.
Finale:	C minor and C major.

Strangely enough, this tonal scheme is not unlike that of No. 45 (1772); but ten years have removed that earlier strength and charged

<sup>49</sup> *Joseph Haydn*, Potsdam, 1932, p. 76.

feeling which were reserved for symphonies in minor keys. The music is no longer filled with violently conflicting emotions, produced by the continual mixture of major and minor keys, and consequently the earnest tone cultivated in the first movement of No. 78 seems, upon reflection and after the work has been performed, rather unreal. Haydn, in fact, escapes the use of the minor as gladly as he slipped into it during the *Sturm und Drang* period. The original function of major *versus* minor as light and shade in Haydn's musical thought has changed from an emotional concept to a colouristic one. The emotional background behind minor keys has vanished, and the continual alternations of major and minor in the finale of No. 78 seem, on this account, pointless.

Considering the slow movements, those of Nos. 76 and 77 are by far the best: Haydn's frozen emotional temperament has indeed begun to thaw. The emergence of a new kind of slow movement was noted in No. 75. In No. 77, it is perfected on slightly different lines. The melody, surprisingly enough, is not one of the new, simple hymn-tunes, but a highly ornamented theme such as was used in many of the preceding slow movements. But No. 77/II is filled with a compassionate warmth and no longer tiredly proceeds through a number of perfunctory variations; so that, as the movement progresses, we feel that Haydn has recovered his long-lost ability to sink himself in meditative beauty without the need of technical assistance. The slow movement of No. 76, with its sombre passages in the minor and its curiously moving modulations, often approaches a Schubertian subtlety.

About a year later, Haydn completed another set of three symphonies: Nos. 79-81, in F major, D minor and G major. The slow introduction, not used in the three preceding works, is again temporarily abandoned in Nos. 79-81. Of the new set, only No. 79 returns to the dreary unemotional world of Nos. 66, 68 or 69; all the encouraging signs of Nos. 76 and 77 are forgotten during the four perfunctory and almost completely uninteresting movements of No. 79; seldom was Haydn less inspired; seldom do we feel such a total absence of any spark of genius as in the well-bred *cantabile* themes of this symphony<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> The slow movement has a curious — and characteristic — formal construction: Beginning with an *Adagio cantabile* which relies on the spun-out figurations to which Haydn always has recourse when not truly inspired, the movement suddenly breaks

The other two are both worthy of more serious attention. No. 80, the second recent attempt at a minor key, is more successful than No. 78. The tonal scheme is:

First movement:	D minor.
Second movement:	B flat major.
Minuet & Trio:	D minor and F major.
Finale:	D major.

The fact that there is no return to the tonic minor in the finale, as was the case in No. 78, is greatly to the advantage of the general tone of the symphony. But the composer still treats his minor key with a certain caution, and the second subject of the first movement is a little too frivolous in comparison with the stern opening one; typically, the movement ends with this rather than with the opening thought. In the attractive slow movement, there is one remarkable outburst in the minor reminiscent of the music of the early 'seventies. The beautiful trio of the minuet, presumably built on some variation of the 'Lamentation' theme, has been noted above<sup>51</sup>. The finale, a humorous, quixotic movement has nothing to do with the original D minor opening, but is a delightful idea all the same. Here is another aural delusion, not baroque, as in the slow movements of Nos. 29 or 38, but rococo in character. This is what is written:

**Ex. 12**

a) No. 80 /IV: Presto



One hears, however, something quite different:

b)



Consequently, the first tutti, where the music eventually limps into a non-syncopated two-four time, is at first a confused babel of

off, as if the composer, too, became weary of this artifice; a light, attractive *Allegretto* ensues, far more congenial to Haydn in his present mood. This tiny little piece, in itself complete, is able to communicate the composer's feelings far more genuinely than the artificial figurations of the slower tempo. Nothing could be more indicative of Haydn's present mood.

<sup>51</sup> See p. 293.

*Symphonies of 1774—1784*

strange tongues. The development is full of Haydn's impish use of silence.

Two remarkable things must be cited in connection with Symphony No. 81, the first of which is the marvellous beginning, unique in the whole of Haydn's symphonic art:

**Ex. 13**

No. 81 | I : Vivace



The second is the Hungarian flavour of the trio, which begins in a most ordinary — even vulgar — way, and is transplanted into Balkan regions by putting the whole into the minor at the end.

During the course of these three symphonies a certain aspect of Mozart's style appears, namely, the profuse use of chromatic passing-notes. It should, however, be pointed out to those who would seek Mozart's influence in every chromatic passage of late Haydn that chromaticism was a typical feature of Haydn's style of 1771-1774. What is typically Mozartean is its use in descending as well as ascending passing-notes, that *legato* slithering from note to note which lends to so much of the Salzburg master's music an inexpressibly poignant character. Two examples, from the slow movements of Symphonies Nos. 80 and 81, will suffice:

**Ex. 14**

a) No. 80 | II (Adagio)



Symphonies of 1774–1784

b) No. 81/I (Vivace)



While the symphonies written between 1781 and 1785 are as a whole on a far higher spiritual level than those of 1774–1780, Haydn was not yet giving his best efforts to symphonic form. In 1782 he wrote a new opera, *Orlando Paladino*, and two years later his 'heroic-comic' opera *Armida*. In both these works, Haydn strove to write the very best music he could. Even the 'insertion' arias, for use in the operas by other composers, are on a higher level than the symphonies of the time; and such a piece as the *Aria di Lindora*<sup>52</sup> has about it a free, unfettered quality seldom approached in his orchestral works. The spontaneous wit of these vocal pieces is altogether on an immeasurably higher plane than that of the

<sup>52</sup> This work, with the text 'Son pietosa, son bonina', is preserved in a copy by Johann Elssler in Göttweig, and in a vocal score by an unknown copyist in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. It was obvious that the aria was one of these for insertion in an opera by another composer; but further identification was impossible. To my great surprise, C.-G. Stellan Mörner, in *Johan Wikmanson und die Brüder Silverstolpe* (Stockholm, 1952), announces his discovery of a whole collection of Haydn arias from the musical library of F. S. Silverstolpe, now in Näs, Sweden; he gives reproductions of many of these, and there is no doubt that some were copied by Johann Elssler. The Elssler MS. of 'Son pietosa' is reproduced on p. 253, where it is entitled: 'Dell Opera Circe', which Mörner assumes was the opera of that name by Cimarosa. His *L'Impresario in angustie*, for which Haydn also wrote an insertion aria (Elssler copy in Näs, reproduced on pp. 418 f.) was produced in Esterháza in 1790. The copy of 'Son pietosa' has at the top of the first page of music: 'Aria 18 : 0. In Nomine Domini', which Mörner considers, quite rightly, to be copied from Haydn's autograph. The work may be dated with some certainty in the 'eighties (c. 1785–90?).

instrumental works, whose humour is usually of a more primitive, earthy sort.

The most perfect large-scale work of the period is the *Missa Cellensis* ('Mariazellermesse'), commissioned by 'Monsieur Liebe de Kreutzner' in 1782. This work completely reconciles Haydn's popular manner with his most radiant inspiration. The 'Kyrie' is typical of the mass as a whole: it begins with a splendid slow introduction in which the voices rise out of the depths to join in ecstatic outbursts of fervour; the melody of the *Divace* is in the popular vein but of exquisite beauty, and its fragile, delicate string support is in perfect taste. In the course of the movement, this theme is worked out in various homophonic and polyphonic combinations. The spirit of the *Missa St. Caecilia* is here presented in the most modern form, but without sacrificing the baroque splendour of trumpets and drums, of fugal and contrapuntal grandeur. Almost every movement of the new mass contains melodies designed to delight the simple Austrian peasant, resting in the cool church at Mariazell after his long pilgrimage; but nothing is cheapened or vulgarized in the process. The 'Dona' is a fugue on the strictest lines, overwhelming in its joyous strength and monumental simplicity. Haydn's form is sternly harnessed to his inspiration; there is no question which element is the master, which the servant. The 'Mariazellermesse' is a lone and solitary monument to Haydn's genius, towering above the contemporary quartet and symphony, above trio and song, above divertimento and sonata. But it is also a sad reminder of the state of neglect into which the Haydn symphony had fallen.

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## CHAPTER XI

### SYMPHONIES NOS. 82—92 (1785—1788)

*Chronology.* The symphonies treated in this chapter divide themselves into two sections: (1) the six 'Paris' symphonies and (2) the two 'Tost' and three 'Count d'Ogny' or 'Oettingen-Wallerstein' symphonies. Concerning the chronology of the 'Paris' symphonies, I said in the preface to Symphony No. 87 in the Eulenburg edition (No. 533, 1953):

"The discovery, by Jens Peter Larsen, of the holograph *MSS.* of Nos. 83 and 87 showed that Mandyczewski's order [of the 'Paris' set] needed correction. It was assumed that, like the other works existing in autograph, both of these symphonies were composed in . . . 1786; but [both are] dated 1785, showing that they should precede No. 82, the first of the 'Paris' symphonies in Mandyczewski's list. In discussing the order of these six works, no one appears to have taken into consideration Haydn's letter to his publishers, Artaria . . . on the subject. In this important document<sup>1</sup>, dated August 2, 1787, Haydn writes: "I forgot last time to put down the order of the symphonies, which must be engraved in the following way: The Sinfonia in A [G. A. No. 87], No. 1; in B flat [No. 85] No. 2; in G minor [No. 83] No. 3; in E flat [No. 84] No. 4; in D [No. 86] No. 5; in C [No. 82] No. 6." On the basis of this information, and taking into consideration the available autographs (which do not contradict Haydn's order), the chronological order of the 'Paris' symphonies should be considerably changed from that given in Mandyczewski's catalogue."

Of the two symphonies Nos. 88 and 89, which Haydn gave to the violinist Tost to take to Paris, one, No. 89, is preserved in autograph, dated 1787. Presumably No. 88 was also composed in that year. In 1788 Haydn wrote three symphonies for the Comte d'Ogny; the next year Haydn also gave 'exclusive' rights of the three symphonies to Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein. Nos. 90 and 91 are preserved in autograph, the former from the library of, the latter bearing an actual dedication to, the Comte d'Ogny. No. 92 was without doubt composed in the same year and belongs to the other two.

In 1785, Haydn wrote on commission for the cathedral at Cadiz an oratorio entitled (originally in Italian) *The Seven Words of the Saviour on the Cross*. This commission was particularly difficult of execution inasmuch as, except for the overture and concluding representation of the earthquake, all the descriptions of the Seven Words, interspersed with a sermon on each word by the bishop, were to be written as slow movements not lasting longer than ten minutes each. A report on the origin of the work, written by 'an intimate friend of Haydn', appeared in the London *Morning Chronicle* of

<sup>1</sup> Artaria-Botstiber, p. 50.



May 28, 1791, in connection with a forthcoming performance of the oratorio under the composer's supervision. According to this version, Haydn wrote to Cadiz that he could not be bound by the limit of ten minutes, whereupon the Bishop of Cadiz agreed to limit his sermons to ten minutes each, leaving the rest of the time for Haydn<sup>2</sup>. In the preface to the Breitkopf score, published in 1799, Haydn wrote a most interesting description of the origin of the oratorio; in this preface there is no mention of the bishop's reply to the question of a time limit, and examination of the work shows that Haydn did, in fact, limit each of the Seven Words to ten minutes with the exception of the 7th 'Sonata'.

In its original form, *The Seven Words* consisted of an overture, seven 'sonatas' (slow movements), each preceded by an accompanied recitative for baritone solo, and a concluding 'Il Terremoto'. Later, Haydn arranged the work, which was a favourite of his, for string quartet and as an oratorio for soli, chorus and orchestra (text by Gottfried van Swieten)<sup>3</sup>, for which arrangement he added a magnificent interlude for unaccompanied wind band but left out the recitatives, putting in their place short, *a cappella* settings of the Seven Words. A further adaptation for pianoforte alone is possibly authentic.

*The Seven Words* is of profound significance in view of the change which subsequently took place in the symphony, the quartet, the sonata — even the lowly divertimento<sup>4</sup>. For after 1785 a new spirit enters the music of Haydn; the superficialities of the 'seventies and early 'eighties disappear, and only on rare occasions (Symphony No. 89) does Haydn allow himself to compose music relying purely on technical ability. The change was in large measure brought about by the severe discipline required in the composition of *The Seven Words*; in the process of writing seven slow movements on the most moving drama of Christian civilization, Haydn cleansed himself of the dreary theme-and-variations mentality which had so numbed his faculties for the past decade. Just as Symphony No. 26, with its treatment of the Passion, imbued a new dramatic spirit into the symphony, so *The Seven Words* now breathes a new mystic atmosphere into all fields of Haydn's endeavour. Later largos and adagios gain from the oratorio of 1785 a tender, reflective beauty,

<sup>2</sup> Pohl, H. in L., p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> This was the version published in score by Breitkopf in 1799.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the six Concerti (1786) and eight Notturmi for the King of Naples (1788-90).

a quiet and ennobling reverence; one need only think of the slow movements of Symphonies 86 or 92 to realize the force radiated by *The Seven Words*. Robert Sondheim<sup>5</sup> has expressed the essence of this work and its importance in Haydn's creative life so well that it would be a pity to use any other words but his:

When a man reaches his fifties, it often happens that he enters a period of earnest introspection. He feels that he must concentrate his powers. Not that his aim in life has become any less problematic, but he clings more tenaciously to essential values because they might easily retreat beyond his grasp by a sudden diminution of his vital energy. As is evident in the quartets of Op. 20 and Op. 33<sup>6</sup>, Haydn had pondered the question of how his aims could attain an ultimate significance, without, however, transgressing the formal sphere of music. Now, from a remote corner of the Continent, he had received a commission which *no artist might dare to carry out solely by means of technical dexterity*. To depict the 'Grünwald' Crucifixion in pure instrumental music; to breath life into the profoundly moving subject, and to place the result before a generation of still deeply devout believers, it was necessary for the secret flame of genuine feeling to be revealed, and for man himself to stand beside the artist, as is indicated in the picture by the group of mourners beside the Crucified. It was the preclassical ideal which took command of Haydn. The conviction of having been able to do it justice made him feel proud, for he had been all his life on its track without ever having desired to embrace it. Now at last, the mature man is possessed with the dark, mystic awe which had left the crude peasant youth cold... [*Italics mine*].

On 15th January 1785, Mozart invited Haydn to hear the six string quartets (K. 387, 421, 428, 458, 464, 465) which he had written for and dedicated to his older friend. These works — 'essi sono, è vero, il frutto di una lunga, e laboriosa fatica', as Mozart described them in his famous dedicatory letter to the first edition issued in September, 1785 by Artaria — represent a living testimony to the friendship between these two composers, a friendship which, in the world of letters, may be likened to that between Goethe and Schiller, and which had profound repercussions on both composers. On 12th February 1785, Haydn met Leopold Mozart at his son's house and put into words what must long have been his opinion concerning the musical talents of the younger Mozart ('.... I declare to you before God and as an honest man that your son is the greatest composer I know, either personally or by reputation...'). This celebrated quotation, preserved to us in a letter by Leopold Mozart to his daughter, was echoed by Haydn again and again throughout his life; no one has described

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 109 f.

<sup>6</sup> [and in the symphonies and other compositions as well].

Mozart's genius more pithily and with more force than Haydn. A few years later, in 1787, he wrote much the same thing to Roth, in Prague, who had asked Haydn for one of his *opere buffe*<sup>7</sup>; and on hearing of Mozart's death he wrote from London to the banker Puchberg, offering to educate Mozart's son, Wolfgang, free of charge, and requesting a number of Mozart's works, not yet performed in London, which could be presented for the widow's benefit. 'Posterity', wrote Haydn, 'will not see such a genius for another hundred years'. Perhaps the most moving tribute of all is contained in his letter of 9th February 1790 to Marianna von Genzinger. 'Melancholy, dwelling on the memory of past glorious days', the lonely Haydn dreamt, in the bleak, icy marshes of Esterháza, that he was listening to *Figaro*; this was, for him, the happiest memory of 'past glorious days'<sup>8</sup>.

This extraordinary friendship began and continued during the seventeen-eighties, when Mozart was, at least in Haydn's eyes, the dominating figure in Viennese musical life. During this period Mozart overshadowed everything Haydn wrote with the exception of *The Seven Words*, the string quartets of Opera 50, 54 and 55, a handful of symphonies, and a few stray works such as the Clavier Sonata No. 49 and the Notturmi for the King of Naples. The older composer who, in 1782, had reached fifty years of age and was suddenly confronted with a man half his age able to accomplish in a few years that which had taken Haydn his whole lifetime, was altruistic enough, both as man and as artist, to appreciate and encourage the younger man's talents. Masterpiece after masterpiece flowed from Mozart's agile pen: in 1784, six clavier concerti (K. 449, 450, 451, 453, 456, 459) followed, in 1785, by three more (K. 466, 467, 482), and in 1786 by another three (K. 488, 491, 503). In form, in orchestration, in melodic and harmonic content these concerti adopted Haydn's technique and perfected it in an art-form the possibilities of which Haydn had never explored. Particularly in the first movements of K. 467 and 503, magnificent works in the festive key of C major (which Mozart treated similarly to Haydn), we find a brilliant and scintillating *exposé* of Haydn's thematic principles: the monumental tutti which begins K. 503 is in many ways the culmination of Mozart's attempts to wed the contrapuntal-motivic fabric of Haydn's symphonies to the concerto

<sup>7</sup> Griesinger, pp. 119 ff.

<sup>8</sup> See below, p. 430.

form. Even in the Horn Concerto in E flat (K. 447), a piece obviously conceived as entertainment for the players, Mozart works on a full symphonic scale. Using the typical prototype developed in South Germany (*cf.* Rosetti's Horn Concerto in E flat of 1779, which may have served as a direct model) Mozart lifts the concerto out of the more casual confines of the divertimento by clothing it in the richer garb of the symphony.

In the symphony itself, an aspect of Mozart's endeavours which occupied very little of his time in the seventeen-eighties (of the Viennese period there are only six symphonies, *viz.* K. 385, K. 425, 504, 543, 550 and 551, K. 444 being a work by Michael Haydn to which Mozart added only a slow introduction), Mozart set a standard of perfection only equalled in this period by Haydn's Nos. 85, 86, 88 and 92. In October, 1783, Mozart wrote the Symphony K. 425 for an 'Academy' given by Count Thun in Linz, through which the composer and his wife were passing on their way from Salzburg (where they had visited Leopold) to Vienna. It is reported that the 'Linz' Symphony, as it is entitled, was composed in four days; nevertheless, it is a work in the grand C major style, a worthy successor to Haydn's C major symphonies of 1772/4 and to Mozart's own Symphony in C, K. 338. Though not so brilliant as the latter, K. 425 is a mature, full-blooded piece touched, as was K. 338, by sombre moments (*cf.* the slow movement). Haydn's influence is not so important in this work as it is usually made out to be<sup>9</sup>: the slow introduction is certainly a Haydn device, and the trio of the minuet has elements taken from the Haydn symphonies of the late 'seventies and early 'eighties; but the construction of the inner parts (*cf.* meas. 5-8 of the opening theme) and the orchestration, especially the imaginative scoring for trumpets and drums in the slow movement, is typically Mozartean. Above all, the harmonic fabric is his, *e. g.* the weaving in and out of neighbouring minor keys in the introduction, accompanied by one of Mozart's most exquisite descending chromatic lines (how characteristic are the oboes here!). And the large tuttis in the opening and closing movements — not always as winged and incisive as in the

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<sup>9</sup> Certain writers have attempted to show that Mozart used, as a model for this symphony, Haydn's earlier (1773?) work, the 'Maria Theresia', No. 48 in C major. Apart from their common use of six-eight time in the slow movements, there is very little resemblance between the two works. That both are based on the same C major tradition is obvious.

Flauto  
Oboe  
Clarinete  
Fagotto  
Violini I  
Violini II  
Viola  
Violoncelli e Contrabbassi

Flauto  
Oboe  
Clarinete  
Fagotto  
Violini I  
Violini II  
Viola  
Violoncelli e Contrabbassi

XXVIII Overture to  
 "Orlando Paladino"  
 (1782). Autograph in the  
 British Museum, London.

Handwritten musical score for XXIX Symphony No. 85 (1785-6?). The score is written on ten staves, with the following parts labeled:

- Violoncelli* (Violoncelli)
- Violoncelli* (Violoncelli)
- Violoncelli* (Violoncelli)
- Violoncelli* (Violoncelli)
- Violoncelli* (Violoncelli)
- Violoncelli* (Violoncelli)
- Violoncelli* (Violoncelli)
- Violoncelli* (Violoncelli)
- Violoncelli* (Violoncelli)
- Violoncelli* (Violoncelli)

The score includes various musical notations, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The handwriting is in cursive, and the paper shows signs of age and wear.

XXIX Symphony No. 85 (1785-6?). From the fragment of the Autograph, formerly in the Berlin State Library (now Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Berlin).

earlier K. 338 — are much closer to Salzburg than to Esterháza. As in earlier Mozart symphonies, the dotted rhythm ♩ ♩ ♩ frequently dominates the tutti.

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In 1786, Haydn was commissioned to write six symphonies for the fashionable Parisian concert organization, Les Concerts de la Loge Olympique<sup>10</sup>, which boasted a very large orchestra including forty violins, ten double-basses, and doubled woodwind. At least two symphonies (Nos. 83 and 87) were already written by the time Haydn received the commission; and probably only three, or at the most four, were composed especially for Paris. Nevertheless, it is correct to regard the six as a real set, belonging together in the same way as did the two sets of three symphonies (Nos. 76-78; 79-81) composed directly before the 'Paris' series. All six works were printed 'after the composer's original manuscript' by Imbault in Paris; Forster in London and the Viennese firm Artaria also acquired the rights from the composer. The complete autographs of all but one (No. 85) have survived.

A contemporary review, in the *Mercure de France* of 5th April 1788, appears to refer to these works when they were played at the 1787 season of the *Concert Spirituel*; the criticism reflects the admiration with which these symphonies were received by the Parisian audience of the day:

.... On a exécuté à tous les Concerts [l'année dernière] des Symphonies de M. Haydn. Chaque jour on sent mieux, & par conséquent on admire davantage les productions de ce vaste génie, qui, dans chacun de ses morceaux, fait si bien, d'un sujet unique, tirer les développemens [*sic.*] si riches & si variés; bien différent des ces Compositeurs stériles, qui passent continuellement d'une idée à l'autre, faute d'en savoir présenter une sous des formes variées, & entassent mécaniquement des effets sur des effets, sans liaison & sans goût. Les Symphonies de M. Haydn, toujours sûres de leur effet, en produiroient encore davantage, si la salle étoit plus sonore, & si sa forme étroite avoit permis au Directeur de ce Concert d'en disposer l'Orchestre plus avantageusement. On a exécuté aussi quelques Symphonies de M. Guénin, & c'est pour elles un assez bel éloge que ce dire qu'elles ont été applaudies à côté de celles de ce grand Maître...

These six masterpieces for the first time achieve the consistently high standard reached in Haydn's symphonies of the early 'seventies; in fact, the 'Paris' symphonies, as a result of their formal perfection,

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<sup>10</sup> The queen, Marie Antoinette, was a frequent attender of these concerts, and it is reported that No. 85, which bears her name, was her special favourite.

of their unique blend of elegance and grace with power and strength, set a new and even higher level in symphonic art. They have an innate sophistication, not of the innocent sort found in the earliest string quartets, but growing out of profound knowledge and experience; and it is no accident that, of all Haydn's symphonies, the 'Paris' are considered to be those most closely approximating to the classical ideal: he never again approached the tall, stately perfection of the slow introductions to Nos. 84-86, the elegant, 'queenly' leisure of No. 85. His style has completely recovered its poise, his artistic personality has emerged from its protective cloak of formalism, of mere reliance upon technical prowess, of subjugation to mercenary considerations. Effortlessly, he now combines the popular style with intellectuality, technical devices with inspiration, humour with the most Mozartean spirituality.

Not all the 'Paris' symphonies, it is true, achieve the level of perfection found in Nos. 85 and 86, which are amongst the finest symphonies Haydn ever wrote. Elsewhere, certain movements by far surpass their neighbours. Thus, the lovely, rhapsodic slow movement of No. 83 is preceded by a blustery and energetic *Allegro spiritoso* which, in its continual desire to escape the minor key, places considerable stress on the humorous but slightly banal second subject, and therefore just misses being monumental; while the minuet, in its gentle, placid way lacks the poetry of the *Andante*. On the other hand, an otherwise excellent symphony will be weakened by one of its movements: the splendid opening *Vivace assai* of No. 82, with its enormous energy and remarkable dissonances (see Ex. 8), though matched by a fine minuet and one of the best finales of the whole series, is weakened by the second movement (*Allegretto*) — a theme and variations in the manner of the late 'seventies and early 'eighties which, however artful, does not escape a certain superficiality. No. 84, graced by a slow introduction of rare beauty, and with an *Andante* full of sweetness and nobility, has only one really weak moment: the trio of the minuet; it has, however, in its first movement a stateliness almost equal to that of *La Reine*. It seems almost cruel to criticize a work of such genius, and yet Haydn does not quite reach that unique blend of energy and grace found in No. 85, that perfection of detail which the best of Haydn and Mozart has led us to demand. But if No. 84 just fails to reach the very highest level, it is nevertheless a deeply rewarding symphony, filled with the inner peace and tranquil-



*Symphonies Nos. 82-92 (1785-1788)*

lity which a quarter of a century of fruitful work in Eisenstadt and Esterháza had taught the composer. No. 87, in A major, is also a finely wrought symphony, but without any particularly distinguishing details. The hymn-like slow movement, with its subtle orchestration, is engaging but not compelling. The only really weak movement is the finale, which uses contrapuntal devices that on repeated hearing seem a little threadbare. All four movements, however, show the high level which Haydn is now able to attain in the course of an average symphony, even when it is not driven by the fire of inspiration; for in such a work we can always find points of form, of instrumentation, of harmony and melody which surprise and delight with their freshness and originality. The flaws of the 'Paris' set, such as they are, are but small imperfections in a series of masterpieces which, at last, continue the long-broken thread of the symphonies written up to 1774.

In 1787, Haydn composed two symphonies (Nos. 88 and 89) for the violinist (later merchant) Johann Peter Tost, who was about to leave for Paris and wisely thought of taking with him some new Haydn works as an introduction to Parisian concert life. Haydn appears to have given him exclusive rights for the printing of these two works, and Tost did in fact sell them to Sieber. Shortly afterwards, Artaria managed to get hold of them, and this edition shows that it was not, at least directly, pirated from Sieber. Tost was enraged at this and accused Haydn of violating their contract. Haydn, who was innocent, began a long exchange of letters with Artaria to discover the real culprit, but if Artaria did tell the composer, the relevant letter or letters have been lost. He seems to have taken special precautions at this time to see that his works were not immediately stolen, and in 1789 he writes to the agent of the Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein how he protected himself: first he gave the symphonies to one of his composition pupils, who made a fair score of it; then the parts were divided among 'various copyists, so that the work would not disappear'. All these measures were, however, of little avail, and in due course Haydn became quite unscrupulous not only in dealing with his publishers but also his royal patrons outside the Esterházy circle.

The two works make a strange pair. No. 88, in G major, rightly one of Haydn's most beloved symphonies, is an inspired work from beginning to end, containing every contrapuntal, melodic and instrumental device Haydn knew. But this fantastic display of craftsmanship

is only the vehicle for Haydn's inspiration: the canon in the last movement, in itself a *tour de force*, is the logical outcome of the foregoing material; the idea of keeping the trumpets and drums silent in the first movement, in order to reserve their entrance for the first crashing tutti of the *Largo* is in itself a stroke of genius, growing out of the music rather than being superimposed on it; the delightful drone bass in the trio, with its strange dynamic effects (bassoons' *forte assai* against the other instruments' *p*), is inherent in the music, and not an extraneous effect. Seldom did Haydn reach the pinnacle of perfection achieved in No. 88. The effort of this work seems to have exhausted the composer completely, for No. 89, using material from one of the delightful concerti for two lyrae composed in 1786 for the King of Naples, is a pale reflection of the earlier work. This F major symphony, which returns to the superficialities of the previous period, appears, in its cold, glassy perfection, like a parody of Haydn made by a malicious and brilliant ill-wisher; all the composer's clever ways, all his neat pauses and witty instrumentation, seem to have been cleverly mimicked. Strangely, the autograph of No. 89—that of No. 88 is lost—is also a model of clarity and efficiency, while the extant authentic MSS. and prints of No. 88 show that the autograph must have been written in the white heat of inspiration; dashed down, in fact, with such breathlessness that Haydn's musical orthography was quite forgotten, for the marvellous second movement presents the editor with a mass of chaotic dynamic marks, parallel passages with conflicting notes, and particularly a welter of confusion with regard to the sweeping crescendos and decrescendos. In comparison with this gorgeous *Largo*, the slow movement of No. 89 is cold and impersonal.

In 1788, Haydn seems to have received a commission to write three symphonies for the Comte d'Ogny, a French nobleman in charge of the postal service between Paris and Marseilles. Haydn must have had some previous connection with him, an assumption which is strengthened by the fact that all the extant autographs of the 'Paris' symphonies were once owned by d'Ogny; some of them still bear the stamp of his library. The next year Haydn sold all three works, supposedly for the first time and under exclusive contract, to the Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein. As an excuse for not sending the scores in his handwriting he pleaded bad eyesight and sent an illegible page to convince the prince's agent. Oettingen-Wallerstein was rather

annoyed, especially when he discovered that half Europe owned and was playing his 'exclusive' symphonies; but, being a generous patron, he forgave Haydn and received him with great friendliness when the composer passed through the prince's territory in December, 1790, on the way to England. In defence of Haydn, it must be said that copyists and printers had been stealing his works for nearly forty years, and he must have justifiably resented the vast amounts of money (of which he never saw a penny) constantly being made from his pirated compositions; still, his conduct was not very honest with regard to these three works.

The three symphonies, Nos. 90 in C, 91 in E flat and 92 in G<sup>11</sup>, are the last works in the form written before the London journey. Of them No. 92 is by far the finest; it seems to sum up, to round off the enormous number of symphonies Haydn had written up to this point. It is a work written in the high summer of a long and productive life, and its infinitely subtle introduction and slow movement portray Haydn's character more perfectly, perhaps, than any other work of this period. Together with Nos. 85, 86 and 88, it is one of the few symphonic works of the 'eighties which equal the last four symphonies of Mozart. No. 90, the successor to No. 82 in the list of C major works, is distinguished by a number of formal details, for instance the device of uniting the opening slow introduction directly with the ensuing *Allegro assai* (see below). The minuet is also of very high quality, graceful and refined; one has the impression that Haydn, in writing this dance, thought primarily of the French audience rather than the provincial court of Esterháza. The faint suggestion of courtly C major superficiality present in No. 90 is not echoed in No. 91, which, though the slow sections do not reach the heavenly serenity of No. 92, is a striking work all the same. The second movement, a theme with variations (*Andante*) fully equals in intellectual interest the similar movement in No. 85.

In the 'Paris' symphonies, the influence of Mozart still remains somewhat remote; in Nos. 90-92 one feels that the presence of the younger composer is closer. If Mozart's six string quartets dedicated to Haydn were presented to a father who could guide the progress of and watch over his son, it might not be inappropriate to regard

<sup>11</sup> This symphony was performed in Oxford on the occasion of Haydn's honorary doctorate during July, 1791. It therefore bears the name 'Oxford'. See also Chapter XII.

these three symphonies, and especially No. 92, as a father's tribute to his precocious offspring. Just as Mozart had profited from Haydn's genius and absorbed something of it into his own style, so Haydn was able to grasp the essence of Mozart's qualities and to recreate them in his own language; for No. 92 might be said to breathe forth Mozart's spirit in Haydn's own peaceful way.

In December, 1787, Mozart wrote a Symphony in D major (K. 504) for Prague; and the shadow of that great masterwork *Don Giovanni*, written for the theatre at Prague, was bound to fall on the symphony created during one of the happiest periods Mozart ever enjoyed. The 'Prague' symphony is, quite unjustly, treated separately from the last three (K. 543, 550, and 551); this is a grave error, for all four belong together in any evaluation of Mozart's total symphonic output. K. 504 is a direct link between Mozart's operatic works and the world of pure instrumental music. The slow introduction, again borrowed from Haydn (*cf.* K. 425), is treated quite differently from its models; it is broadened to a section nearly five times the length of the Haydn introductions and given an importance never before accorded to such an *adagio*. The ensuing *Allegro* displays, more perfectly than ever before, the two most significant influences which formed Mozart's Viennese style: the baroque contrapuntal methods — especially in the works of J. S. Bach and Handel, whose music Mozart had studied and performed at the house of van Swieten — and Haydn's symphonic heritage. The contrapuntal genius displayed in the first movement of the 'Prague' Symphony combines both of these widely diverging elements with an astounding virtuosity. Robert Haas<sup>12</sup> is quite correct in saying that 'with this work the full height of the ... classical symphony is achieved...'

In the incredibly short space of six weeks during the summer of 1788, Mozart wrote his last three symphonies, in E flat (K. 543), G minor (K. 550), and C major (K. 551). It has often been asserted that the composer probably never heard a performance of these works, since the planned concerts for which he presumably wrote them never took place; this theory seems to have its roots in the romantic attitude towards Mozart, which would have preferred to have the composer die in starvation, unknown and unappreciated, without ever having heard three of his most perfect works. It is,

<sup>12</sup> A short but masterly analysis of the first movement may be found in Haas, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

however, extremely unlikely that these symphonies escaped at least one Viennese performance during the course of the next three years, especially since Austrian copyists were busily selling them, with or without Mozart's knowledge, to all parts of Europe: MSS. of these symphonies may still be found in the monastery of Melk, in the library of Prince Thurn und Taxis in Regensburg, and in the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection; it is also believed that at least two of them were performed in the Haydn-Salomon concerts.

In these three works, together with K. 504, Mozart established the perfect symphonic structure of the classical era; it is these symphonies and the mature works of Haydn which became the models for the next quarter of a century, the quintessence of late eighteenth-century symphonic thought. The interchange of ideas which, consciously or — more likely — unconsciously, may be found in most of Mozart's and Haydn's works after 1781 also continues in K. 543, 550, and 551. The device of uniting the slow introduction to the succeeding fast movement, noticed in connection with Haydn's No. 90, may also be found in the magnificent first movement of K. 543, where the violins' scale (coupled with a dotted rhythm in the accompaniment) at the beginning of the *Adagio* later appears in the coda. The thematic interconnection of the first and second subjects, present to such an astonishing degree in K. 504/I, and only slightly less brilliantly in Haydn's No. 88/I and 91/I (see below), is carried still further in K. 543/I, K. 550/I, K. 550/IV, K. 551/I and, especially, in K. 551/IV; the latter may be considered the culmination of Haydn's earlier attempts to combine sonata form with the fugue (*cf.* No. 38/IV, the finales of Opus 20, *etc.*); it contains the sum total of everything that Haydn and Mozart had long sought to attain along these lines, and neither composer, at least in the symphony, approached it again (for one of Haydn's later attempts, see No. 95/IV, discussed in the next chapter). The student familiar with Mozart's late symphonies will, in the course of the next pages, find many points in common with Haydn's works of this era (*e. g.* the constant attempt to interrelate all the thematic material of the first movement, the division of the first subject into several independent sections, *etc.*). It is hoped that someone will undertake a detailed study of this aspect of Haydn's and Mozart's music, a field which, if thoroughly investigated, would far exceed the scope of this book.

During the period 1785-1788, Haydn's symphonies display a number of formal and technical devices which deserve closer attention.

1. *The Slow Introductions.* The slow introduction appears in all but three (Nos. 82, 89, 95)<sup>13</sup> of Haydn's last twenty-one symphonies. Having used it in the *Missa St. Caecilia* and the *Missa Cellensis* he later employed it in four of his masses of 1796-1802 (i. e. *Missa in Tempore Belli*, *Missa Sti. Bernardi*, *Theresienmesse* and *Schöpfungsmesse*). As we have seen, Mozart adopted it in several of his mature symphonies; he also prefaced his overtures to *Don Giovanni*, *Così fan tutte* and *Zauberflöte* with slow introductions. Beethoven followed, for a time, this tradition in his overtures, symphonies and other instrumental forms. In the period under discussion, Haydn's slow introductions, invariably marked *Largo* or *Adagio*, take on a special significance, not only because of their dignified beauty but in view of their relationship to the ensuing sections of the symphonies to which they belong. Whether this thematic interconnection was deliberate or simply one subconscious manifestation of a desire to create a more unified symphonic whole remains an open question. In a letter of 8th January 1791, written in London to Marianna von Genzinger, Haydn asks her to go to Herr von Kees in order to procure a copy of No. 91, which he urgently needed. 'As I cannot remember the opening *Adagio*', writes Haydn, 'I have taken the liberty of quoting the beginning of the following *Allegro*'<sup>14</sup>. In other words, scarcely three years after he had written the symphony, Haydn could no longer remember the slow introduction. This might be used as an argument that the introduction could not contain any serious thematic relationship to the rest of the symphony; but if we recall that Mozart, in a period of less than three years, 'forgot every single note of the ["Haffner"] symphony' (K. 385), it seems just as likely that Haydn may have forgotten every trace of his carefully planned thematic relationship between the introduction and the *Allegro assai* of No. 91. And on the other hand, we have very convincing evidence that this problem

<sup>13</sup> It will be remembered that Nos. 83 and 87 were written in 1785.

<sup>14</sup> In a subsequent letter, dated 2nd March 1792, he thanks her for having, after a delay of nearly a year, sent the score, of which, he adds 'a good deal must be altered... to suit the English taste'. This revised version of the symphony has never been found; the score Marianna sent, on 'kleines Postpapier', is listed amongst his possessions in the Elssler document of Haydn's belongings, now in the British Museum; but it, too, has disappeared.

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was much on his mind, for in No. 90, as will be demonstrated below, the first subject of the fast movement is taken note for note from the opening *Adagio*, so that no intelligent listener could possibly overlook the fact. In the 'Salomon' symphonies this sort of interrelationship between the introductions and the remaining sections of the work becomes even more apparent.

In No. 85, the thrice-repeated scale in the introduction (Ex. 1 a) appears after the first part of the main theme in the *Vivace* (Ex. 1 b), where it is also brought in three times (notice the similarity between the bass in Ex. 1 a and progression in Ex. 1 b).

**Ex. 1**

a) *Adagio*

b) *Vivace*

In No. 90, the main theme is, as we have seen, taken directly from the middle of the *Adagio* (see Ex. 2 a and 2 b), while in Nos. 91 and 92 the material for the main subjects is drawn from the introductions (see Exx. 2 c-2 d and 2 e-2 f).

**Ex. 2**

a) No. 90/I: *Adagio*

b) Ibid: *Allegro assai*

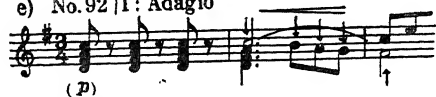
c) No. 91/I: *Largo*

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d) Ibid: Allegro assai





e) No. 92 / I: Adagio



f) Ibid: Allegro spiritoso



In Nos. 84, 86 and, to a certain extent, in No. 92 as well, melodic germs present in the introductions are used, not in the following allegros, but in the *slow movements*! (See Ex. 3.) In No. 88, the figure  in meas. 29 of the *Largo* may derive from meas. 6 of the opening *Adagio* , though this is perhaps a little far-fetched. In Nos. 84 and 86, however, there is no doubt that the similarities are not merely coincidental.

Ex. 3

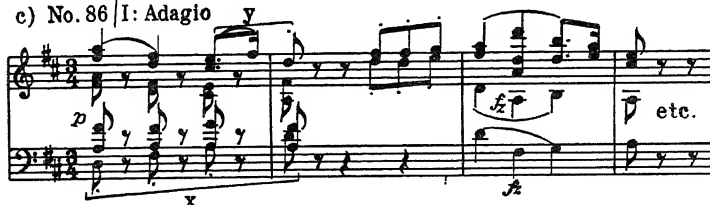
a) No. 84 / I: Largo



b) No. 84 / II: Andante



c) No. 86 / I: Adagio



d) No. 86 / II: Capriccio: Largo



2. *The First Movements.* Haydn almost always constructs his principal subjects from two or more widely contrasting sub-sections,



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which are often severed from each other and treated separately during the course of the movement. All the symphonies discussed in this chapter with the exception of No. 87/I employ this composite kind of opening subject. As characteristic examples, the main themes of Nos. 82/I and 86/I may be cited (see Ex. 4). In the development sections of both works, the two elements of the first subjects are isolated from one another and each treated by itself.

**Ex. 4**

a) No. 82 / I: Vivace assai



b) No. 86 / I: Allegro spiritoso



The second subjects of the symphonies of this period are often closely connected with the first — another example of Haydn's constant attempt to unify the sonata form. In two works (Nos. 84 and 85) there are no proper second subjects at all, the first being inserted in the dominant key at the place where the second subject would normally enter; more often the subsidiary theme is linked to the principal idea by some common melodic, rhythmic or harmonic

**Ex. 5**

a) No. 83 / I: Allegro spiritoso



b) Ibid. (x)



c) No. 89 / I: Vivace



d) Ibid.



chain. Thus, in No. 83/I the second subject (Ex. 5b) is related to the first (Ex. 5a) by means of the dotted accompanying figure, originally part of the main subject, while in No. 89 the bracketed portion of the opening theme (Ex. 5c) is used cadentially in the second subject (Ex. 5d). The second subjects in Nos. 87/I and 86/IV are related to their first by similar rhythms.

The development sections are by no means confined to the first and second subjects: any scrap of an accompanying figure, or a tiny fragment from a transitional passage, serves Haydn just as well. In this period, the composer prefers to build the development section around many different motifs from the exposition. He particularly loves to combine them contrapuntally; often he cannot wait for the development section in order to fuse the material, and we find expositions in which the themes are combined, inter-related and thoroughly developed long before the double bar, *e.g.* Nos. 88, 91 and 92. In the first of these we may see how the whole material grows out of itself, as it were.

**Ex. 6**

No. 88/I: Allegro

a)

b)

c)

d)

Vln. I

$2 = \text{inversus}$

$(\alpha)$

$(2z)$

$(2z^1)$

$(z)$

$(= 2z z^1)$

The main theme (Ex. 6 a), which is immediately repeated *forte*, receives at meas. 25/26 a small accompanying figure ( $\beta$ ) in the bassoons, violas and bass. Haydn promptly seizes upon this and uses it and a fragment of its inversion for the transition (Ex. 6 b); arrived at the dominant he uses a derivative of the main subject which he combines with a derivative of  $\beta$  (Ex. 6 c); by the end of the exposition the figure  $\beta$  has altered still further (Ex. 6 d). The entire development section continues the alternation of the main theme with  $\beta$  and its derivatives, combining them in every way conceivable; in the course of the section there is a short canon between upper and lower voices (meas. 151 ff.), flute and 2nd violin continuing the  $\beta$  motif. In its melodic concentration this movement is only equalled by Mozart's K. 504/I.

No. 91/I is also impressive. The first subject (Ex. 7 a) is constructed in double counterpoint at the octave, and the second eight bars (which also form the second part of Haydn's beautifully symmetrical sixteen-bar sentence) immediately reverse the top and bottom voices. The transitional passage (Ex. 7 b) contains a small figure ( $w$ ) which, together with two new accompanying figures ( $x$  and  $y$ ), is woven into a new statement of the main theme in the dominant (Ex. 7 c). In the development section a fourth motif ( $z$ ) is combined with the main theme (Ex. 7 d); in the coda the main theme with both components ( $a$  and  $b$ ) is simultaneously combined with motifs  $x$  and  $z$  (Ex. 7 e), a feat of contrapuntal dexterity. Similar contrapuntal virtuosity may be found in the development of No. 92.

Haydn attempted to enrich the form in other ways, too. For instance, the double announcements of the main subjects, in Nos. 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90 and 92, are invariably altered the second time by some twist of orchestration, or by the addition of another part (as we have seen, these subordinate parts may play an important rôle in the development and recapitulation). Similarly, the themes, when appearing in the recapitulation, are frequently enhanced by new subordinate parts (e. g. by the 2nd horn in No. 85/I, by 1st oboe and bassoon in No. 86/I — a few pages later Haydn substitutes a new flute part for that of the 1st oboe — and by the flute in No. 88/I).

The transitions from the first subject or subject-group to the dominant also play a far more vital part in Haydn's symphonic scheme than hitherto. Generally these transitions are, in contrast to the main

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Ex. 7

a) No. 91/I: Allegro assai

The musical score for Example 7 consists of five systems, labeled a) through e). Each system is written for a different set of instruments, with the key signature of two flats and a 3/4 time signature.

- System a):** Features strings (Str.) and viola (Vla. 8va). It includes a dynamic marking of *p* and a slur labeled 'a' over the top staff. A bracket labeled 'b' spans the bottom staff.
- System b):** Continues the string and viola parts. It includes a slur labeled 'b' over the top staff and a slur labeled 'a' over the bottom staff. A bracket labeled 'w' is also present.
- System c):** Features strings (Str.), viola (8va), and woodwinds (Fl. Solo, Vcl.). It includes a dynamic marking of *p* and a slur labeled 'x' over the top staff. A bracket labeled 'w' is also present.
- System d):** Features woodwinds (Ob., Fl.). It includes a dynamic marking of *p* and a slur labeled 'z' over the top staff. A bracket labeled 'etc.' is also present.
- System e):** Features woodwinds (Tutti) and strings. It includes a dynamic marking of *f* and a slur labeled 'staccato' over the top staff. A bracket labeled 'etc.' is also present.

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subjects, primarily rhythmic (e. g. Nos. 82, 86, 90, 91), hinging around the alternation of quavers with semiquavers (the latter often the figure  $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ ); a typical example may be found in No. 91 (see Ex. 7b, above). Whole passages in the development sections are based on these transitional sections (e. g. No. 85/I).

The careful listener will probably be struck, on hearing the first movements of this period, by the many and varied contrasts that Haydn manages to introduce. In their great emotional and intellectual range, the symphonies of 1785-1788 have their parallel in those of the early 'seventies. In No. 82, for instance, a brilliant C major work in the best tradition, one finds a number of striking contrasts: dissonances of barbaric strength are succeeded by delicate passages of Mozartean grace (see Ex. 8); even the theme itself presents a variety of moods seldom encountered in the symphonies of the preceding period.

**Ex. 8**

The musical score for Ex. 8 is arranged in two systems. The first system includes staves for Flute (Fl.), 2 Oboes (2 Ob.), 2 Cor. (or 2 Trpt.), Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Bassoon (Fag.), Cello (Vcl.), and Timpani (Timp.). The second system includes staves for Violin I (Vln. I), Violin II (Vln. II), Viola (Vla.), Bassoon (Fag.), Cello (Vcl.), and Timpani (Timp.). The score features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including quavers and semiquavers, and dynamic markings such as '2x' and 'f'. The notation includes various musical symbols like notes, rests, and accidentals.

*3. The Second Movements.* Eight of the symphonies use the favourite variation form in their second movements; only Nos. 83, 86 and 87 have another kind of slow movement, and of these three the latter

two have definite leanings towards the variation. It will be remembered that it was in this form that Haydn composed so many empty slow movements in the period 1774-1784, but an incredible transformation now occurs. In the course of the many earlier symphonies using a theme and variations (see Chapter X), Haydn standardized the form; but the character of the music which now fills it is very different from that of Nos. 53/II or 81/II. Even light, dancing movements, such as Nos. 82/II, 85/II, and 91/II, attain new heights of inspiration, and though Haydn is still inclined to treat the allegretto variation movement rather lightly, he is never trivial. On the contrary, in No. 85/II<sup>15</sup> he reaches a depth of feeling undreamt of in the earlier allegrettos.

Formally, these variations may be separated into several categories:

(1) The double variation with alternating major and minor sections. Earlier examples may be found in Nos. 53/II and 63/II. Each section is in two parts, each repeated. Depending on whether the sections in the minor are based on new thematic material or whether they use the original melody, this type leans towards either the rondo, as in No. 82/II, or the double strophic variation, as in No. 90/II.

(2) The strophic variation. There are two types; the first, exemplified by Nos. 84/II and 85/II, is like those discussed above in that each section is subdivided into two parts, of which each is repeated.

No. 85/II (*Allegretto*)

(tonic:)    major    major    minor    major    major  
              A        A'        A''        A'''    A'''' + coda.

No. 84/II differs structurally only in that the last variation is combined with the coda, without indications for repetition. The second type of the strophic variation encountered here is represented by No. 88/II, where there are no :||:, and each section merges with the next. As a whole, the strophic variation demands higher powers on the part of a composer, and the second type, which should, and in No. 88/II does, give the impression of one unbroken line, spurred Haydn to write one of his finest variation movements. Small wonder

<sup>15</sup> The theme of this movement was an old French folk-tune, entitled 'La gentille et jeune Lisette'; in No. 53/II Haydn had also used a French melody (see Chapter X).

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that Johannes Brahms said to a friend: 'I want my Ninth Symphony to be like this.'<sup>16</sup>

(3) The ternary variation. As might be supposed, this form resembles the simple A-B-A movement:

No. 89/II (*Andante con moto*), No. 92/II (*Adagio cantabile*)

major   minor   major  
A       B       A' + coda.

No. 89/II has the customary repeats, probably on account of its relationship to the Lyra Concerto of 1786, which retains them. The exquisitely beautiful No. 92/II, like No. 88/II, dispenses with ::, and alone amongst all these works, both retain trumpets and drums, which give a specially serious air to the two movements (*cf.* Mozart's K. 425/II!). The *Adagio cantabile* of No. 92 is one of the most moving pieces in Haydn's entire output; it contains pages of indescribable beauty, tinged with an autumnal sadness and yet radiant with deep, inward peace. It is a fitting conclusion to Haydn's symphonic activity in Esterháza.

One aspect of these slow movements which is of particular importance in the years to come is the remarkably free use of the woodwind, usually towards the end of the last variation, or in the coda. We may observe this in No. 84/II, where some imaginative woodwind writing occurs in cadenza-like fashion after a genuine  $I_4^6$  cadence:

**Ex. 9**

Fl. Solo  
2 Ob.  
Ob. I Solo  
Ob. II Solo  
2 Fag.  
Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Vcl.-Cb.

(Fl.)  
(Ob. I)  
(Ob. II)  
(Fag.)  
(Vln. I)  
(Vln. II)  
(Vla.)  
(Vcl.-Cb.)

pizz.  
pizz.  
pizz.  
pizz.  
pizz.

<sup>16</sup> The melody of No. 88/II has been occasionally likened to the folk-song 'Am Samstag auf d'Nacht', taken down shortly before World War I in St. Georgen, a village near Eisenstadt. The two themes are, however, so dissimilar that

This new and significant advance in the orchestral treatment of the wind section soon becomes a hallmark of Haydn's late style. It may also be observed in the symphonies of 1785 (Nos. 83/II and 87/II, especially in the wonderful passage, so reminiscent of Mozart, at meas. 64 *ff.* of the former); in the coda of No. 90/II; and, in a few bars of great poignancy, towards the conclusion of No. 92/II, where flute, oboes and bassoon are entirely unsupported:

Ex. 10

Fl. 2 Ob. Fag.

Of the remaining three slow movements, two (Nos. 83/II<sup>17</sup> and 87/II) are in the ternary form, while the third, No. 86/II, is a fascinating hybrid. This strange, powerful *Largo* is marked 'Capriccio' by Haydn, perhaps to explain its unusually free form, which, as Geiringer<sup>18</sup> has observed, 'inclines towards the sonata as well as the rondo, without, however, attaching itself to either.' Its main theme, which

E. F. Schmid, *op. cit.*, p. 302, has quite rightly observed that 'the association, if one wishes to accept it at all in this case, is only very slight; Haydn's melody is in fact considerably different from the folk-song...'

<sup>17</sup> No. 83 contains some textual problems which cannot go unmentioned. The primary sources for this symphony are (1) Haydn's autograph, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris and (2) the set of parts, which Haydn corrected and signed, for Forster in London (British Museum, cat. Egerton 2379). As I have pointed out in the notes to this work in the Complete Edition, Series I, Vol. 9, pp. 310 *ff.*, there are several important passages where these two authentic sources conflict. In the Complete Edition, the text of the autograph was followed in all such cases: I am now inclined to believe that this was a mistake, for some, if not all, of the corrections in the BM copy seem to be improvements made after the autograph had been sent to Paris in 1786. In the 1st movement, meas. 79/83 and 164/169, the autograph allots the dotted notes only to the flute, while BM adds the oboe: this is a matter which the conductor can decide. At meas. 98 *ff.* of the 1st movement BM omits one of the two 'cello parts: in this case the autograph has the better reading. In the second movement Haydn seems to have cut out one of the repeated *sempre più piano* bars (24/27): many old sources have only three instead of four measures here; autograph notwithstanding, I think the later version superior. On the other hand, the reading of the autograph at meas. 54 *ff.* is superior: the astonishing harmony of Haydn's MS. is, one feels, somewhat diluted in the BM copy. However, BM's reading at meas. 42 *ff.* of the finale, in which all the strings play quavers as against the autograph's dotted minims, is unquestionably an improvement.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 80.



we have shown to derive from the opening bars of the symphony, modulates to the dominant, where a kind of subsidiary subject is introduced; but at this point the sonata scheme is disrupted, and Haydn returns to the tonic restatement of the first subject. There is a development, but the principal theme returns again and again in rondo-like fashion; during the recapitulation it enters in the tonic minor, casting a sombre spell over the music. The movement might perhaps best be described as having the tonal structure and approximate division of the sonata, the melodic insistence of the rondo, and the spirit of a theme and variations.

4. *The Minuets.* Of the minuets themselves — as opposed to the trios — one type emerges, *i. e.* the courtly, elegant sort which, as suggested above, may have been composed with the French aristocratic court in mind. The two most characteristic specimens are, as might be expected, found in the two trumpet symphonies in C major, Nos. 82 and 90; but what magnificent minuets they are! In both, the trumpet and drum parts are very stylized, and in this small detail one can observe one of the fundamental differences between Haydn's and Mozart's 'courtly' use of brass and percussion instruments in the same type of work. Until the end of his life Haydn preferred, in these C major works, one set of clichés, *e. g.* ♩ ♪♪♪ or ♩ ♪♪<sup>19</sup>, while Mozart adheres to his customary dotted rhythms (*cf.* K. 425/III), or to simple crotchet support (*cf.* K. 543/III, K. 551/III).

Examination of the minuets and trios in these symphonies soon reveals that they are not only longer than their predecessors but far more complex. The rhythmic vitality of the Austrian *Ländler* is still present, but added to this sturdy peasant strain are all sorts of subtleties not hitherto encountered. The second parts often delve into the minor, *e. g.* in the trio of No. 82, and in the minuets of Nos. 86, 90 and 92. A representative episode, illustrating the increased depth of the minuets occurs in the trio of No. 85, where the lilting melody (Ex. 11a) suddenly becomes a bemused, rhapsodic reflection of itself (Ex. 11b):

<sup>19</sup> *Cf.* No. 56/III Mozart's K. 385/III, which uses the first of these rhythms, shows Haydn's influence. On the other hand, the timpani roll which is prominent in K. 385/III never occurs in a Haydn minuet before the London period. For a typical Mozart minuet with dotted brass and drum parts, see the Serenade in D, K. 320, 2nd minuet.

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Ex. 11

a) No. 85/III: Trio

b)

This is more than mere extension; what has happened may best be seen in the sixty-two bars of the minuet proper of No. 86, which transcends the barriers of the customary ternary structure and assumes the character of a *miniature movement in sonata form*:

No. 86/III (Menuet: *Allegretto*)

(meas.)	1-12	13-38	39-50	51-62
(ternary form)	A	B	A	Coda
(sonata form)	Exposition	Development	Recapitulation	Coda.

In the 'development' Haydn modulates from V to the tonic minor, and (see Ex. 12b) through F major and the V of A to a sequence  $\frac{F\#}{(V-I)} - \frac{B}{(V-I)}$  minor —  $\frac{E}{(V-I)} - \frac{A}{(V-I)}$  minor —  $\frac{D}{(V-I)} - \frac{G}{(V-I)}$  —  $\frac{A}{(V-I)} - \frac{D}{(V-I)}$  (= recapitulation), constantly using a motif, in imitation between 1st and 2nd violins, based on the first bar-and-a-half of the principal melody: this is clearly nearer to the sonata than to ternary form.

The trios are usually swinging folk dances, melodies which appear to originate in the Austro-German countryside and are delicately reshaped by Haydn. It will be observed that he still clings to pre-classical tradition, in which the winds were allowed to act as solos in the trios: the melody is often announced, or at least supported by one or other of the woodwinds (*e. g.* the flute in No. 83, the bassoon in Nos. 84, 85, 86 and 91, the oboe in Nos. 87 and 90, *etc.*). In almost every trio there will, at some juncture, be a pedal point,

*Symphonies Nos. 82-92 (1785-1788)*

**Ex. 12**

a) No. 86/III Menuet - Allegretto



b)

often allotted to the horns in the bass clef<sup>20</sup>. The pedal point is also used to express a solemn 'closing' atmosphere at the end of the slow movements, either in V or in I; over the latter Haydn likes to move in wistful diminished chords, as in Nos. 83/II and 92/II: this device assumes considerable importance in the 'Salomon' symphonies. Another trait of this period is to separate the final (A) section of the trio from the previous one either by a fermata (*e. g.* No. 85)<sup>21</sup> or by marking the rests (*e. g.* Nos. 87 and 92). The fermata's importance in the finales will be discussed below.

Several of these trios are thematically related to their minuets, *e. g.* that of No. 92/III, where the syncopated measures at the beginning of the second section of the minuet reappear at the opening part of the trio (the decrescendos of horns and bassoons here are found in

<sup>20</sup> Cf. No. 85, above (Ex. 11b).

<sup>21</sup> A characteristic use of the fermata in Haydn's minuets occurs in No. 82/III (trio), meas. 54; its use here is more closely related to that of the finales.

a similar passage in No. 91/III, where the horns are also syncopated). The ensuing phrase in quavers which directly follows the opening of the trio in No. 92/III is closely related to the quavers of the violins in the first part of the minuet. The trio of No. 90/III also grows out of the previous material.

Haydn's sketches for the trio of No. 82 and the minuet and trio of No. 86 have been preserved<sup>22</sup>, and through them we can see the care which he lavished on his minuets of this period. The sketch to No. 82/III shows that meas. 67 and 68 were inserted later; the final version is not only more symmetrical but introduces a dynamic contrast lacking in the original score (see Ex. 13 a). The draft for No. 86/trio originally had, at meas. 78, a double fermata (Ex. 13b), but since there had been a fermata in the minuet and a repetition of this effect would have weakened both places, Haydn immediately

**Ex. 13**

a) No. 82 /III: Sketch to Trio

b) No. 86/III: Sketch to Trio

c) Final version: (Sketch)

<sup>22</sup> Complete Edition, Series I, Vol. 9, pp. 308 and 336. There are further sketches to No. 86 in Haydn's autograph, formerly belonging to the Heyer collection in Cologne; their present whereabouts are unknown.

continued the sketch by writing the four inserted bars of the final version (Ex. 13c); as in No. 82/III, this final version is by far the superior of the two.

5. *The Finales.* No. 89 — again perhaps because of its proximity to the lyra works — is the only symphony of this period with a finale in strict rondo form. Each main section is in small ternary form, and the only departure from Haydn's earlier symphonic rondos is the interpolated lead-back from 'B' to 'A':

No. 89/IV ( <i>Divace assai</i> )					
A	B	(B')	A	C	A
tonic	subdominant	→	tonic	tonic minor	tonic + coda
(aba)	(cdc)		(aba)'	(efe)	(aba)''

All the remaining finales are either in sonata or in Haydn's recently-developed hybrid sonata-rondo form: Nos. 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 90, 91 and 92 adhere to the former, Nos. 85 and 88 to the latter. The sonata-rondos (e. g. No. 85/IV)

Sonata:	Exposition		Development	Recapitulation	} Coda
Rondo:	A	— B —	A	C	
	(a—b—a)	(c)	(a—b—broken off)	(a—b—a)	
	(I)	→ (V) →	(I)		
(No. 85/IV:)	1—24	25—69	70—85	86—163	164 ff. (+ Codetta)

seem to incite Haydn to particularly brilliant treatment, and these movements were without doubt something sensationally new and exciting when they were first heard; in No. 88/IV Haydn even surpasses Mozart (K. 551/IV excepted) in the virtuosity of his invention, in the lightning-swiftness of his imagination (parenthetically, there is much more episodic-transitional padding in Mozart's K. 425/IV or 543/IV than in No. 88/IV, where nearly every bar is derived from the opening theme). The coda of No. 88 is probably the most exhilarating conclusion Haydn ever wrote, but even the swift course of the violins does not prevent him from having one last fling at the main theme, just before the final chords.

Both the movements in sonata form as well as the sonata-rondos have many points in common. Haydn, using — perhaps unconsciously — No. 77/IV as his model, has now perfected the finale and given it a character of its own distinct from the first movements. From his first mature symphonies and quartets the problem of the finale had never been solved to his complete satisfaction, and in earlier chapters we have seen some of the methods used to create a movement

different in spirit and structure from the opening allegros. In No. 26 he had side-stepped the problem by leaving out the finale altogether, while in No. 38/IV he had attempted to combine contrapuntal and *concertante* elements within the sonata form; in the quartets of Opus 20 he had thrice reverted to the strict fugue (something he had abandoned in the symphonies after 1763), while in the parallel symphonies of 1771-1774 he had tried a *moto perpetuo* (Nos. 48 and 56), a monothematic presto (No. 44), a finale constructed in sonata form along the lines of the first movement (Nos. 43, 54), and finally a strict rondo (Nos. 42, 51). It was this latter type which had triumphed in the succeeding period; but at the beginning of the 'eighties Haydn had sensed the inherent sterility of this form and had created a hybrid movement combining elements of sonata and rondo. In order to impart to the finale a lighter and swifter pace Haydn now tends more and more to 2/4 time, which is used for Nos. 82, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90 and 92. Nos. 87 and 91 are in barred C, and only No. 86/IV is in 4/4. No. 83/IV is Haydn's farewell to the hunting atmosphere, and this 12/8 *Vivace* exhausts every possibility of such a movement, which is to a certain extent limited by its own metre. The development, however, shows the composer's new capabilities, especially the fiery modulation at meas. 39/55.

The older Haydn grew, the more monothematic became his finales: the last movements of Nos. 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88 and 90 are based on one subject; in such a sonata finale as No. 83/IV, Haydn simply introduces the main theme in the dominant key as a substitute for the second subject, while in Nos. 84/IV, 86/IV and 87/IV the second subjects are derived from the first. In No. 91/IV there is in fact a subsidiary theme, but it is simply set forth in the exposition and recapitulation, and no use is made of it otherwise. The second subject of No. 92/IV fares a little better: it turns up in the development, where it is in C major, accompanied by the trumpets, *piano*; but Haydn destroys much of its importance by surrounding it in the exposition — and later — with the main theme, so that the movement nevertheless seems almost monothematic.

The second most important feature of these late-period finales is the greatly increased use of counterpoint compared with the earlier rondos — another instance in which No. 77/IV shows itself to be the precursor of this period. No. 89/IV, though adhering to the earlier kind of rondo, shows its late-period character in one of the

*Symphonies Nos. 82-92 (1785-1788)*

few genuinely exciting moments in the symphony, viz. the highly contrapuntal 'C' section, in the tonic minor; the music is also enhanced by some violent syncopated *fz* which are marked in the score at this passage. In these finales counterpoint is introduced at every possible opportunity. The principal subjects of Nos. 86/IV and 88/IV are treated canonically in the development,

**Ex. 14**

a) No. 86/IV: Allegro con spirito.



b) No. 88/IV: Allegro con spirito



while No. 92/IV whirls us through passage after passage of double counterpoint at the octave, fugatos, imitations, strettos, and the like. Professor Hugo Norden has often pointed out Haydn's enormous contrapuntal skill, second, he maintains, only to J. S. Bach's, and almost all the finales of this period bear out his assertion. In his late style, Haydn was surpassed by no one in his ability to use polyphonic treatment within a classical structure.

The coda also becomes a vital part of Haydn's form, and a coda or codetta is present in every one of the finales under discussion. That of No. 88 has been mentioned above. An even longer one, separated from the main body of the movement by four measures of rests, occurs in No. 90/IV. In the finale of No. 92, Haydn borrows

a leaf from the slow movement, for in the coda an episode for unsupported woodwinds is introduced. The importance of the codas in the 'Salomon' symphonies will be discussed in Chapter XIII.

Another characteristic of Haydn's late finales is the use of the fermata, sometimes also indicated in the music by means of rests<sup>23</sup>. As in the minuets, the purpose of these holds (or pauses) is primarily to stress the beginning of a new structural part, or to point the intrinsic humour<sup>24</sup> of a surprising modulation: the four measures of silence in No. 90/IV combine both these elements, *i. e.* the introduction of the coda and the abrupt jump from C major to the remote key of D flat major. The oft-recurring direction *strascinando* in No. 89/IV fulfils a similar function.

One final point in connection with these finales should be made: the use, almost amounting to a cliché, of three repeated chords to close the symphony<sup>25</sup>. These chords are almost invariably preceded by a swift alternation or alternations of V-I, always with a rhythmic pause between, so that the last chord falls on a strong beat:

Ex. 15 a) No. 85 /IV

b) No. 92 /IV

With or without the preceding repetitions of V-I, this formula is used to conclude Symphonies Nos. 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89 and 92, while Nos. 90 and 91 differ only in that the V-I repetitions are directly

<sup>23</sup> Nos. 82/IV, meas. 235; 83/IV, meas. 84, 85, 87; 84/IV, meas. 119, 199, 256; No. 85/IV, meas. 163; No. 86/IV, meas. 102; No. 87/IV, meas. 192/193; No. 88/IV, meas. 194; No. 89/IV, meas. 170; No. 90/IV, four bars of rest before meas. 172; No. 91/IV, one and a half bar rest before meas. 145; No. 92/IV, frequent rests indicated, *e. g.* meas. 120 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Haydn's humour in this period deserves at least brief mention. In No. 82/IV he uses a drone bass punctuated by short appoggiature, and this comical effect gave the symphony its title 'L'Ours'. The nickname 'La Poule' originates from the clucking effect of the woodwind accompaniment to the second subject of the first movement. Apart from these more obvious jokes, Haydn's finales are full of keen wit, and Nos. 88/IV and 92/IV are superb exercises in intellectual hilarity.

<sup>25</sup> Haydn had used this device earlier, *e. g.* in Symphonies Nos. 78 and 80.



attached, without pause, to the ensuing three chords. Several of the 'Salomon' symphonies (*e.g.* Nos. 95, 101) and some of the Notturmi of 1790 also close with this formula.

Before leaving these symphonies, attention must be drawn to two important changes in Haydn's orchestral structure: (1) the emergence of the violoncello as a fifth voice in the four-part string orchestra and (2) the increased use of trumpets and timpani.

The 'cello, which had for years been limited to occasional solos, gradually assumed a more conspicuous rôle in the orchestral works of the late 'seventies and early 'eighties: in 1783 Haydn wrote his big D major 'Cello Concerto ('Opus 101'), probably for Anton Kraft, the first 'cellist in the Esterházy orchestra, and the experience gained by this otherwise rather uneven work, especially in using the instrument in its high register, was soon reflected in Symphonies Nos. 76-81. During the period under discussion, the 'cello is treated with even more confidence: besides the celebrated solo in No. 88/II, which is often in the highest register, one finds an imposing use of this instrument in the introduction and slow movement of No. 92, where its tenor register is fully exploited.

Trumpets and drums, for many years very sparingly used in Haydn's symphonies, now appear in five works of this period: Nos. 82 in C, 86 in D, 88 in G, 90 in C and 92 in G. The composer's use of brass and percussion in the C major symphonies is sufficiently well known not to require further analysis, but one particular problem again arises: the pitch of the C horns. In No. 82 Haydn writes '2 Corni in C o Clarini', without designation of pitch; it is certain that horns in C *alto* are meant. In No. 90 he started to write '2 Clarini' and then, seeing that there would not be room on the paper, struck this out and wrote '2 Corni in C *alto*'; the parts at Schloss Harburg include the trumpet and drum parts but omitted the designation *alto*, which led to the following interpretation in the Complete Edition (Series I, Vol. 10, p. 102): 'if performed without trumpets and timpani, horns in C *alto*; with trumpets and timpani, horns in C *basso*'. This is certainly an error, for the horns should be executed in C *alto* whether or not trumpets and drums are used. We know how easily the designation *alto* came to be omitted even in the earliest copies.

Symphonies Nos. 88 and 92 are in G, and since G-trumpets were not only rare on the Continent but much too high in pitch to be of any use, Haydn writes for 'Clarini in C', on which one could produce

the notes *g, g', d'', e'', f#''* and *g''* in addition to the C major triad starting at *c'*. In No. 88 this works out very well, but in No. 92 the trumpet and drum parts are far from satisfactory. Whether or not they were added later remains an open question: all the authentic sources, however, include them. Deldevez<sup>26</sup> compares them to the superbly integrated trumpets and drums of No. 102, and rightly comes to the conclusion that those of No. 92 do not seem to grow out of, but are rather superimposed on, the orchestral texture. He even questions their authenticity; but they are certainly Haydn's, even if they are not always tasteful<sup>27</sup>. In the slow movement, they are used with good effect to reinforce the rhythm of the 'minore' section, but in the first and especially the last movements they are often woefully inadequate. Haydn insists on the ♪♪♪ rhythm, which is given to the trumpets (and drums) thirteen times in the finale at places where simple crotchets or, at the most, quavers would have been better. Here, the trumpets only serve to confuse and destroy the fine rhythmic logic of the tutti. In the first movement, the trumpets and drums, though better integrated into the whole than in the finale, also contribute useless ♪♪♪♪ fanfares (*i. e. meas. 28, 46*). It is not that the fanfare-like rhythm is unacceptable *per se*, for Haydn has demonstrated again and again how effective it can be (*e. g. No. 82/I, No. 96/I, Missa in Angustiis, etc.*): but it simply has no place in Symphony No. 92. In a word, Haydn's style has outgrown this particular kind of trumpet-and-drum orchestration. He never made this mistake again.

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If we examine Haydn's creative activity as a whole during the period 1785—1790, it is the quartets which, quantitatively as well as qualitatively, dominate the musical scene at Esterháza. He wrote in all nineteen works in this form within this comparatively brief span: Opus 42 in D minor; Opus 50 (6 works), dedicated to the King of Prussia; and Opus 54 (3 works), Opus 55 (3 works) and Opus 64 (6 works) for the merchant-violinist Johann Tost, who also commissioned Symphonies Nos. 88 and 89.

In these string quartets, Haydn's special affinity for the form is

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<sup>26</sup> *Curiosités Musicales*, p. 20.

<sup>27</sup> Deldevez: ... 'où [No. 92] les parties de trompettes et de timbales ont constamment un rythme vulgaire, différent de celui des instruments à vent.'

again clearly demonstrated; after Opus 9, composed towards the end of the 'sixties, Haydn's quartets seldom reflect the fluctuations of style and inspiration found in all the other branches of his art. It is significant that the long period of commercial writing, beginning in the year 1774 and ending shortly before *The Seven Words* in 1785, had comparatively little effect on the six quartets of Opus 33, published in 1781. It is, indeed, possible to construe this as a deliberate result of the high regard in which the composer held the form: as has been said before, and as we shall have occasion to say again in connection with the late-period vocal works, it seems quite obvious that Haydn regarded both the mass and the quartet as forms too sacred (the one for religious and the other for personal reasons) to be submitted to the changing demands of his daily artistic life. We have seen how the *Missa Cellensis* of 1782 stands like a rock of faith, untouched by the squalor of Haydn's business dealings with Vienna, London and Paris which so damaged the symphonies of that period. Because of the pause between Opus 20 (1772) and Opus 33 (1781) and in view of the consistently high standard of Opera 42, 50, 54, 55 and 64, the student who approaches Haydn exclusively through the quartets misses much of his constant struggle with formal and spiritual values, something which is continually reflected in the symphonies. (This is, perhaps, one of the fundamental weaknesses in Robert Sondheim's thoughtful and penetrating book<sup>28</sup>; the other is, at the same time, a strength: for by his attitude, fundamentally antagonistic to Haydn, Sondheim often achieves that keen penetration given to someone who approaches his subject from the standpoint of an enemy; thus, iconoclasm may have its constructive aspects.)

In these quartets, we may see clearly mirrored many of the features pointed out in connection with the symphonies, *e. g.* the attempt to fuse minuet and trio (*cf.* Opus 50, No. 1), or the monothematic design Haydn uses in most of his movements in sonata form. Speaking of the latter, Sondheim<sup>29</sup> has this to say:

The content of the movement is not to be disjointed by contrasting themes in the exposition. The first subject, therefore, does not immediately make way for intermediary episodes: it is retained as long as possible by repetitions and expanded with supplementary material. Thus, the roots combine into a strong growth which gives the exposition solidity from the first. Eventually, however, the main stem of the music has to

<sup>28</sup> *Haydn, a historical and psychological study based on his quartets.*

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

spread out into a number of branches, and thereby ebbs away like a great river in a delta... The varied activity of the sonata movement is not impeded, but plays round the main train of thought, like widenings in a narrow street. That is why in his quartets, time after time, Haydn tends to form the second subject from ingredients of the first... The place assigned to the second subject is [in certain quartets] like a blind alley from which it has to run back into the main avenue.

Opus 64, written in 1790, appears at a crucial turning-point in Haydn's life. For in his letters to Marianna von Genzinger the composer begins to display with increasing vehemence a deep-seated dissatisfaction with his position at Esterháza. On 3rd February 1790, he writes, whilst still in Vienna<sup>30</sup>:

... However flattering the last invitation you gave me yesterday to spend this evening with you, I feel with deep regret that I am even unable to express to you personally my sincere thanks for all your past kindness. Bitterly as I deplore this, with equal truth do I fervently wish you, not only on this evening, but ever and always, the most agreeable social 'reunions' — mine are over — and tomorrow I return to dreary solitude!...

Upon his return to Esterháza on 9th February, Haydn writes the following:

Well! here I sit in my wilderness; forsaken, like some poor orphan, almost without human society; melancholy, dwelling on the memory of past glorious days. Yes; past, alas! And who can tell when these happy hours may return? those charming meetings? where the whole circle have but one heart and one soul — all those delightful musical evenings, which can only be remembered, and not described. Where are all those inspired moments? All gone — and gone for long... I found everything at home in confusion; for three days I did not know whether I was *capell* master or *capell* servant; nothing could console me; my apartments were all in confusion; my pianoforte, that I formerly loved so dearly, was perverse and disobedient, and rather irritated than soothed me, for, while asleep, I was under the pleasant delusion that I was listening to the opera of *Le Nozze di Figaro*, when the blustering north wind woke me, and almost blew my nightcap off my head...

Soon afterwards, the Princess Esterházy died (Haydn: 'The death of his wife overwhelmed the Prince with... grief'), and the court went into mourning. Through the winter months Haydn languished in his 'dreary solitude', working on his quartets and nocturni, and on 30th May he writes:

... Do not let this deter you from consoling me sometimes by your agreeable letters, as they are so highly necessary to cheer me in this wilderness, and to soothe my deeply wounded heart. Oh! that I could be with you, dear lady, even for one quarter of an hour, to pour forth all my sorrows, and to receive comfort from you... The sole consolation left me is that I am, thank God, well, and eagerly

<sup>30</sup> This and the succeeding translations are taken from the standard texts of Lady Wallace, *Letters of Distinguished Musicians*, London, 1867 pp. 71 ff.

*Symphonies Nos. 82-92 (1785-1788)*

disposed to work... I trust... that you will not be displeased with your Haydn, who, often as his Prince absents himself from Esterháza, never can obtain leave, even for four-and-twenty hours, to go to Vienna. It is scarcely credible, and yet the refusal is always couched in such polite terms, and in such a manner, as to render it utterly impossible for me to urge my request for leave of absence... This time also will pass away, and the day return when I shall again have the inexpressible pleasure of being seated beside you at the pianoforte, hearing Mozart's masterpieces...

From this last year of Esterháza came a series of works which occupy a special niche in Haydn's life; the first of these comprises a number of exquisitely fashioned notturmi<sup>31</sup>, composed for King Ferdinand IV of Naples, for whom Haydn had written six concerti for two lyrae and orchestra in 1786. The notturmi, originally scored for 2 lyrae, 2 clarinets, 2 horns, 2 violas and violoncello-basso, were partly re-scored by the composer for performance in London, where flute and oboe replaced the lyra parts, and violins were substituted for clarinets. These works — eight have been discovered — are concerted chamber music of the most highly developed sort: the sound alone is intoxicating. Many of them breathe the mellow, summery stillness of the *Adagio* in Symphony No. 92, and the slow movement from Notturmo No. 5 in C has all the poetry and the thoughtful melancholy found in so many slow movements composed in that year. The fast movements have a gentle, carefree atmosphere in keeping with their divertimento character, but the thematic material is treated with all the beauty and originality which we have come to expect of late Haydn.

He also wrote a wonderful sonata for his friend Marianna von Genzinger (No. 49, in E flat). To a certain extent, the style was already present in the fine C major Sonata No. 48, with its opening slow movement, but in No. 49 Haydn was writing entirely from the heart; of the *Adagio* he wrote to her '... I strongly recommend [it] to your attention. It has a deep significance which I will analyse for you when opportunity offers. It is rather difficult, but full of feeling...'

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<sup>31</sup> There is a certain parallel in Mozart's Serenade in G, K. 525 ('Eine kleine Nachtmusik'), a work set apart from Mozart's other divertimenti by its sheer, radiant loveliness. It should be pointed out parenthetically that Haydn seems to have begun work on the notturmi as early as 1788, for on 3rd February of that year he writes to Müller, Court Agent of the Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein: '... indem ich dermalen für Sr. Majestät den König von Neapel 6 Notturmi... zu schreiben habe...' The works were, however, delivered a few days before the composer left for England.

Fortune was kind to Haydn. In 1761, she had changed the course of his life (and the course of musical history) when the composer was engaged as Assistant *Capellmeister* at Prince Esterházy's court. For nearly thirty years Haydn had thrived there, and now Esterháza had outlived its use for him. At this crucial stage, fortune again took a hand, for on 28th September 1790, Prince Nikolaus Esterházy died, and his successor, Prince Anton, dismissed the band, retaining only a few musicians for the hunt and for the performance of simple church music. Haydn's salary was continued, indeed increased, but his position was now purely nominal: he was granted leave of absence, and immediately left for Vienna, where he took up residence. In the meantime, the impresario Johann Peter Salomon, who was travelling through Germany, heard of this and rushed to Vienna to persuade Haydn to come to England. The story of Haydn's encounter with his future impresario is too well known to bear repetition: suffice it to say that Haydn left Vienna, after a tearful parting from his friend Mozart, on 15th December 1790, and, travelling through Munich, Wallerstein, Bonn (where Haydn and Salomon spent Christmas) and Brussels, arrived in a violent storm at Calais on the last day of December. During the rough channel crossing, Haydn remained 'on deck during the whole passage in order to gaze my full at that huge monster — the ocean', and at five o'clock in the afternoon of New Year's Day, 1791, the two travellers landed at Dover.

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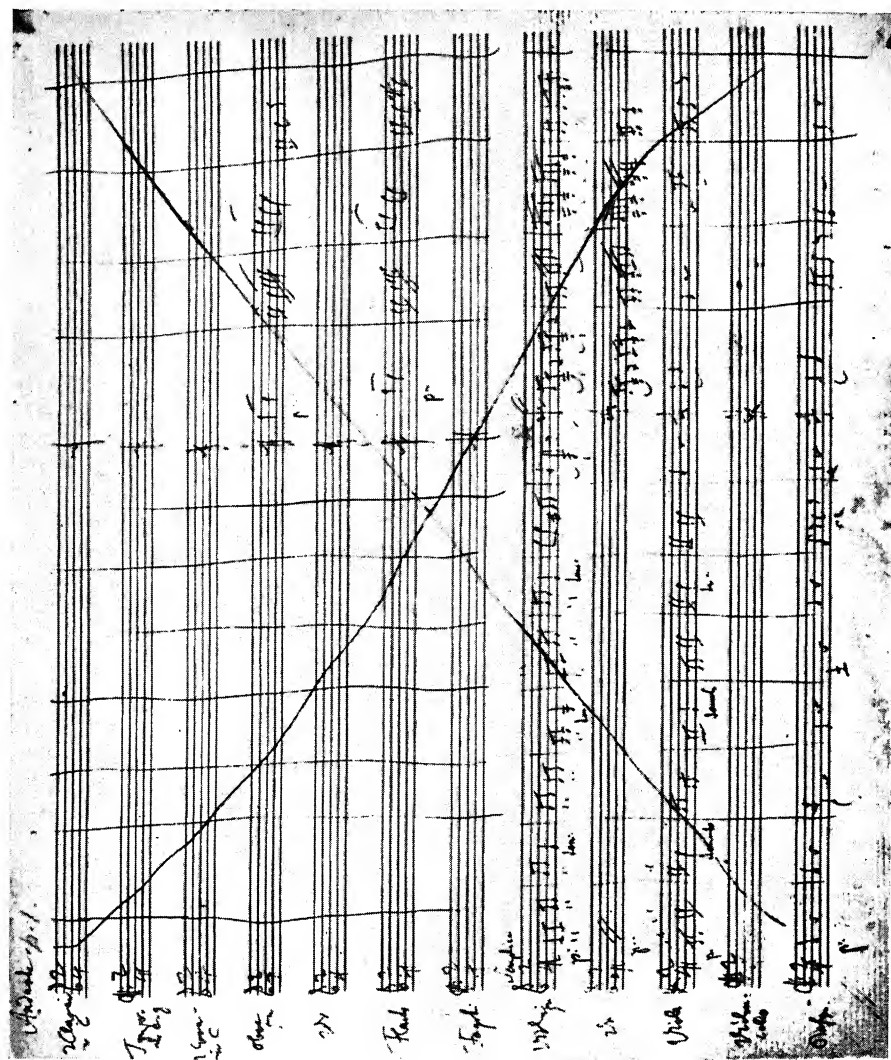
Handwritten musical score for a symphony, featuring multiple staves with notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The staves are labeled with instrument names and parts:

- Violino I* (Violin I)
- Violino II* (Violin II)
- Viola*
- Violoncello* (Cello)
- Basso* (Bass)
- Flauto* (Flute)
- Clarinete* (Clarinet)
- Fagotto* (Bassoon)
- Tromba* (Trumpet)
- Tromboni* (Trombone)
- Tubista* (Tuba)
- Batteria* (Drum)
- Organo* (Organ)
- Choro* (Chorus)
- Coro* (Chorus)
- Finale*

The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *f* (forte) and *p* (piano). The handwriting is in a cursive style, typical of 18th-century musical notation.

XXX Symphony  
No. 90 (1788). Auto-  
graph in the Library  
of Congress, Washing-  
ton.





XXXI Symphony No. 94  
(1791). Autograph of the  
first page of the Andante  
in the original version,  
crossed out by Haydn.  
Library of Congress,  
Washington.



**PART THREE**  
THE 'SALOMON' SYMPHONIES

*The following chapter was prepared in  
collaboration with Charles Humphries and  
George A. Cole of the British Museum.*

## CHAPTER XII

# THE FIRST PERFORMANCES OF HAYDN'S 'SALOMON' SYMPHONIES: A DOCUMENTARY ACCOUNT

### *Chronology of the First Six Symphonies.*

Mandyczewski's listing of the 'Salomon' symphonies, long accepted as correct, is: No. 93, D major; No. 94, G major ('Surprise'); No. 95, C minor; No. 96, D major; No. 97, C major; No. 98, B flat major. Two factors have long been confused, viz. when the symphonies were written, and when they were first performed. It is often forgotten that the six works were spread over *two* seasons, and Pohl (*Haydn in London*) seems to have made grave errors in this respect. For instance, on p. 122 he says that the B flat symphony (No. 98) was performed at the third Haydn-Salomon concert, on 25th March 1791, and, 'according to Haydn's diary the first and last *Allegro . . . encoirt*'. This is quite impossible, for the autograph is dated 1792; and Pohl, on p. 190, correctly states that it was performed at the third concert of the 1792 season. What he has done is to use Griesinger's (undated!) *quotation* of the diary twice, for the season of 1791 as well as that of 1792. Up to the present, only Prof. Oliver Strunk has attempted to separate the two seasons from each other (the author remembers a pleasant conversation in Princeton, in which he exchanged ideas and information on this subject with Prof. Strunk).

The two D major symphonies, Nos. 93 and 96, also appear to have been incorrectly placed, an error which may also be traced to Pohl (p. 120 *et seq.*). In Haydn's letter of 17th November 1791, quoted below, he asks that Marianna von Genzinger 'send the accompanying packet . . . to Herr v. Kees, as it contains the two symphonies I promised . . .' He refers to one of the works as in D. In the first Salomon concert, on 11th March 1791, a symphony in D was performed for the first time. The Kees catalogue tells us which this and the other 'new' symphony were, for on the last page of that document, Nos. 96 and 95 are entered, both marked 'von London gekommen'. The other D major work, No. 93, was performed for the first time on 17th February 1792. Only *two* of the first six 'Salomon' symphonies, *i. e.* Nos. 96 and 95, were performed in the 1791 season; all the others, though partially composed in 1791, were first performed in 1792. With the help of Haydn's diary, the extant autographs and contemporary newspaper reports, the probable chronological order of the first six London symphonies may be estimated as follows:

<i>Work</i>	<i>Date on Autograph</i>	<i>First Performance</i>
No. 96	London, 1791	11th March 1791: Haydn's diary; letter to Polzelli; letter to Genzinger of 17th November 1791; Kees catalogue.
No. 95	London, 1791	Season of 1791: letters to Genzinger of 17th November and 20th December 1791; Kees catalogue.

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<i>Work</i>	<i>Date on Autograph</i>	<i>First Performance</i>
No. 93	(London, 1791) <sup>1</sup>	17th February 1792: Haydn's diary; letter to Genzinger of 2nd March 1792.
No. 94	London, 1791	23rd March 1792: newspaper reports.
No. 98	London, 1792	4th March 1792: Haydn's diary.
No. 97	London, 1792	3rd or 4th May 1792 (see below).

[After having written the above, a curious thematic catalogue, apparently made by Haydn in 1795 (English paper with a watermark date of 1794), has come to light: it contains the themes of all the London symphonies, written at the top of one page, and in the following order:

<u>795</u>	in E mol	in D	in b fa
	[103]	[104]	[102]
<u>794</u>		in E mol	in g
	[101]	[99]	[100]
<u>792</u>			
[originally '791']	[94]	[98]	[93]
<u>791</u>	[95]	[96]	[97]

The arrangement obviously follows the years in which the works were first performed, not necessarily in which they were written (*e. g.*, No. 99, composed in 1793 but performed the next year). There is only one error: No. 97 was written and performed in 1792, not 1791. But the catalogue is valuable in that it confirms the date of 1792 as the year in which No. 93 was first performed. (The MS. was part of the Westley Manning Collection, sold by auction at Sotheby's on 12th October 1954, as item 207: through the kind offices of A. Hyatt King, Esq., of the British Museum, I was able to secure a microfilm from P. A. Muir, Esq., of Elkin Mathews, Ltd., who received it from the purchasers, J. A. Stargardt Co., Marburg/Lahn.)]

The exact order in which Haydn composed Nos. 93, 94, 97 and 98 cannot be determined. The numerous 'New Overtures, M. S.' of the 1791 season comprised two really 'new' works (Nos. 95 and 96), while the others must have been symphonies composed in Esterháza but not yet known in England, *e. g.* Nos. 90-92, which have been preserved in prints by Longman & Broderip (*c.* 1792?) bearing the inscription: 'Performed at Mr. Salomon's Concert'.

The following text was printed in the *Morning Chronicle* and *St. James's Chronicle or, British Evening-Post* of 1st January 1791, being preceded by a similar announcement with only slightly different word-order, in the *Morning Chronicle* of 29th December 1790. The letter is signed by the husband of Mara, the famous singer:

To the MUSICAL WORLD.

London, Dec. 27, 1790.

By a letter just received, on my arrival in Town, from Mr. SALOMON, I am authorised to lay before the Publick an Advertisement, written by Mr. Salomon, at Vienna, which he desires may be immediately inserted in the English Newspapers.

JOHN BAPTISTA MARA.

<sup>1</sup> Date of autograph from Pohl's notes; see above, p. 28.

December, 1790 — January, 1791

"Mr. SALOMON having taken a Journey to Vienna purposely to engage the celebrated HAYDN, Chapel-Master to his present Highness Prince ESTERHAZY, to come to England, most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that he has actually signed an agreement with Mr. Haydn; in consequence, they are to set out together from Vienna in a few Days, and hope to be in London before the end of December when Mr. Salomon will have the honour of submitting to the Publick a Plan of a Subscription Concert, which he flatters himself will meet with its Approbation and Encouragement.

Vienna, Dec. 8, 1790."

On 30th December 1790, the *Morning Chronicle* wrote:

#### MUSIC.

The musical arrangements now making promise a most *harmonious* winter.

Besides two rival *Opera* Houses, a Concert is planned under the auspices of *Haydn*, whose name is a tower of strength, and to whom the *amateurs* of instrumental music look up as the *god* of science. Of this concert *Salomon* is to be the leader, and *Madame Mara* the principal singer...

The same paper says, on 3rd January:

Yesterday arrived at Mr. BLAND'S, in Holborn, the celebrated Mr. HAYDN, the composer from Vienna, accompanied by Mr. SALOMON; and we understand the public is indebted to Mr. BLAND as being the chief instrument of Mr. HAYDN'S coming to England.

Bland had, in fact, attempted to persuade Haydn to come to England, and had even gone to Vienna in 1789 for this purpose; so the report is not as erroneous as might first be supposed. The next day Haydn moved to lodgings at No. 18, Great Pulteney Street, where Salomon had his own flat.

The *Public Advertiser* of 6th January 1791 reports:

Every thing in the musical kind is now puffed in *alt!* — nothing but superlatives will do the business of fiddles — hence we hear of the *Advent* of Hayden [*sic*], and the *Annunciation of the Blessed Opera*...

The paper, on the next day, elaborates this statement:

#### MUSICAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR EVERY DAY IN THE WEEK, THROUGH THE WINTER SEASON.

Never could this country boast of such a constellation of musical excellence as now illuminates our fashionable hemisphere. No one Metropolis can exhibit such a union of Masters as London now possesses; and therefore as Music will be the chief pleasure of the season, we shall endeavour to give a faithful representation of the Performances.

The Meeting, which through the condescension of the Prince of Wales, was to be held yesterday at Carlton House, may finally arrange the great affair of the rival Operas; but there is no doubt from the auspices, but that it will be settled to give the Opera a national establishment.

In the meantime our Readers may be pleased to see what will be the arrange-

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ments of musical pleasures for the week; even if the coalition of the two Operas should not take place.

We shall announce whatever change may be made; at present they stand as follow:

- SUNDAY. — The Noblemen's Subscription, is held every Sunday at a different House.
- MONDAY. — The Professional Concert — at the Hanover-square Rooms — with Mrs. Billington.
- TUESDAY. — The Opera.
- WEDNESDAY. — The Ancient Music at the Rooms in Tottenham street, under the patronage of their Majesties.
- — The Anacreontic Society also, occasionally, on Wednesday.
- THURSDAY. — The Pantheon. — A Pasticcio of Music and Dancing, in case that the Opera coalition shall take place; if not, a Concert with Madame Mara and Sig. Pacchierotti.
- — Academy of Ancient Music, every other Thursday, at Free-Mason's Hall.
- FRIDAY. — A Concert under the auspices of Haydn at the Rooms, Hanover square, with Sig. David.
- SATURDAY. — The Opera.

This is the arrangement for each week throughout the season; and so full is the town of eminent professors in every department of the science, that there may be a double orchestra found of admirable performers, so as to open two places of musical entertainment every evening.

"If Music be the food of Love, play on,  
Give me excess of it; that surfeiting,  
The appetite may sicken, and so die." —

SHAKESPEARE.

On 8th January 1791, the composer writes to Marianna von Genzinger<sup>2</sup>:

... I did not feel the fatigue of the journey till I arrived in London, but it took two days before I could recover from it. But now I am quite fresh and well, and occupied in looking at this mighty and vast town of London, its various beauties and marvels causing me the most profound astonishment... My arrival caused a great sensation through the whole city, and I was sent the rounds of all the newspapers for three successive days. Everyone seems anxious to know me. I have already dined out six times, and could be invited every day if I chose; but I must in the first place consider my health, and in the next my work. Except the nobility, I admit no visitors till two o'clock in the afternoon, and at four o'clock I dine at home with Salomon. I have a neat, comfortable lodging, but very dear... I was yesterday invited to a grand amateur concert, but as I arrived late, when I gave my ticket, they would not let me in, but took me to an ante-room, where I was obliged to remain till the piece which was then being given was over. Then they opened the door, and I was conducted, leaning on the arm of the director, up

<sup>2</sup> Haydn's letters, as in Chapter XI, are given in the standard translation of Lady Wallace; see above, p. 430.

January, 1791

the centre of the room to the front of the orchestra amid universal clapping of hands, stared at by everyone, and greeted by a number of English compliments. I was assured that such honours had not been conferred on anyone for fifty years. After the concert I was taken into a very handsome room adjoining, where tables were laid for all the amateurs, to the number of two hundred. It was proposed that I should take a seat near the top, but as it so happened that I had dined out that day, and ate more than usual, I declined the honour, excusing myself under the pretext of not being very well; but in spite of this, I could not get off drinking the health, in Burgundy, of the harmonious gentlemen present; all responded to it, but at last allowed me to go home. All this, my dear lady, was very flattering to me; still I wish I could fly for a time to Vienna, to have more peace to work, for the noise in the streets, and the cries of the common people selling their wares, is intolerable. I am still working at the symphonies, as the libretto of the opera is not yet decided on, but in order to be more quiet, I intend to engage an apartment some little way out of town... My address is, Mr. Haydn, 18 Great Pulteney Street, London.

The terms of Haydn's contract with Salomon included not only twelve 'new' works (*i. e.* ones not hitherto known in London), which the composer was to conduct, and for which he was to receive 100 Gulden apiece, but also 3000 Gulden for a new opera, to be produced by Sir John Gallini at the King's Theatre. Salomon further guaranteed Haydn £ 200 for a benefit concert. The evening to which Haydn refers was an Academy of Ancient Music, given at Freemasons Hall; Salomon was leader, and Michael Kelly and Nancy (Anna Selina) Storace (both of whom had appeared in the first performance of Mozart's *Figaro* in Vienna) sang. On 12th January, Haydn attended a concert of the Anacreontic Society, at the 'Crown and Anchor' in the Strand, and his enthusiastic reception there was duly registered by the newspapers. *The Times*, for example, reports:

The meeting of last Wednesday evening was not only the fullest, but the most convivial that has been in this season. The company seemed to be in full glee, and determined to be merry.

Mr. HAYDN, from Vienna, was introduced to the meeting, for the first time, and received by Mr. Hankey, the President, with great civility. On entering the Concert room he was greatly applauded, and the band very opportunely played one of his charming concertos [symphonies]. Perhaps Mr. HAYDN never heard his compositions done so much justice to...

[January 14, 1791.]

On 13th January, a report appeared in the *Morning Chronicle* which shows that the rival series, the Professional Concerts, had been busy spreading rumours against their formidable competition:

THE MORNING MIRROR. "THE GLASS OF FASHION." HAMLET.

So many public Concerts, private Concerts, Operas, Balls, and Music Meetings, as are cut out for the winter, and such a shoal of eminent performers as are imported

from the Continent, will render a motto from *Shakespeare's Tempest* highly appropriate to this country. —

— "The Isle is full of noises,  
Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not.  
Sometimes a thousand twanging instruments  
Will hum about our ears."

Upon the arrival of HAYDN, it was discovered that he no longer possessed his former powers. Pity it is that the discovery did not possess the merit of novelty. What less could have been expected from his presence? HORACE mentions some Roman Critics who proceeded upon the same principles of judging,

.... Nisi quae terris remota —  
..... fastidit, et odit.  
..... absens amabitur idem.

HOR.

On 14th January, the *Morning Chronicle* writes:

Since HAYDN'S arrival in this country, he has discovered the remains of several of his early *Concertos* [i. e. Symphonies] that were first kidnapped and afterwards most inhumanely robbed and mangled by some of our *Original Composers*. A Jury of *Amateurs* has sat on the *Bodies*, and brought in a verdict — *Wilful murder by persons unknown*.

We can well imagine the composer's horror at seeing for the first time the 'mangled' remains of Symphonies 53, 62 and the Overture II, 7—all of which had been mixed up with each other to such an extent that, for example, the second subject of No. 53/1 was simply inserted in the Overture II, 7: a description of some of these monstrosities is found in the notes to Series I, Vol. 5 of the Haydn Society's Complete Edition (see comments to Symphony No. 53). Nor were these three works the only ones so treated.

On 15th January, the Haydn-Salomon concerts were announced in the press:

HANOVER SQUARE. MR. SALAMON [*sic*] respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that he intends having TWELVE SUBSCRIPTION CONCERTS in the Course of the present Season. The first of which he on Friday the Eleventh of February next, and so continue on the succeeding Fridays. Mr. HAYDN will compose for every Night a New Piece of Music, and direct the execution of it at the Harpsichord.

The Vocal as well as Instrumental Performers will be of the first Rate, and a List of them will appear in a few Days.

Subscriptions, at Five Guineas, for the Twelve Nights, to be had at Messrs. Lockhard's, No. 36, Pall-Mall.

Tickets transferable Ladies to Ladies, and Gentlemen to Gentlemen.

[*Public Advertiser; Gazetteer; etc.*]

The Queen's birthday, on 18th January, was celebrated by a court ball at St. James; Haydn was present, and in this evening his future



in London's aristocratic society was assured. The *St. James Chronicle* reports that the composer, though not yet presented at court, was, upon entering the room in the company of Sir John Gallini, Mr. Wills and Mr. Salomon, greeted by the Prince of Wales with a bow, whereupon the eyes of the whole company were directed to the composer and everyone paid his respect. The next evening Haydn was invited to participate in a concert at Carlton House, and the *Morning Chronicle* of 20th January comments:

THE PRINCE OF WALES' CONCERT.

Yesterday his Royal Highness had a Concert at Carlton House, at which were Haydn, Salomon, Jarnowick [Giornovichj], David, and the principal performers, vocal and instrumental. — Such a band for a Chamber Concert it would be difficult for any other metropolis to select. — Detached morsels of the most exquisite modern compositions, Quartetts, Catches and Glees, made up the Miscellany of the Musical Feast.

On 26th January, further details of the Haydn-Salomon concerts were announced:

HANOVER-SQUARE. MR. SALOMON respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his FIRST CONCERT will be on Friday the Eleventh of February next, and continue every succeeding Friday. Mr. HAYDN will preside at the Harpsichord, and will compose for every Night a new Piece of Music. Principal Vocal Performers already engaged are, Signor DAVID, And Signora CAPPELLETTI; the Miss Abrams, And Signora STORACE. Principal Instrumental Performers, First Violin, Mr. SALOMON; Second Violin, Mr. HINDMARSH; Violincello, Mr. BREVAL; Piano Forte, Mr. DUSSECK; Oboe, Mr. HARRINGTON; German Flute, Mr. GRAEFF; Clarinet, Mr. ELEY; Bassoon, Mr. HOLMES; And Pedal Harp, Madame KRUMPHOLTZ.

Besides other distinguished Singers, and Instrumental Performers, who will be occasionally provided in the Course of the Season.

Subscriptions, at Five Guineas, for Twelve Concerts, are received at Messrs. Lockhard's, No. 36, Pall-Mall.

Tickets transferable Ladies to Ladies, and Gentlemen to Gentlemen.

[*Gazetteer*, January 26, 28, February 2 and 5; *Public Advertiser*, February 2 and 5; *etc.*]

The anti-Haydn campaign of the Professional Concerts resulted in the following article, printed in the *Gazetteer* of 5th February:

MUSIC.

The *nine days wonder* about Haydn begins to abate. — He has been exhibited at the Anacreontic Society and other music meetings greatly to the amazement of *John Bull*, who expected to hear another *Cramer* or a *Clementi*. — But the truth is, this wonderful *composer* is but a very poor *performer*; and though he may be qualified to *preside* at a harpsichord, we have never heard him celebrated as a leader of a Concert. His pupil *Pleyel*, with perhaps less science, is a more popular composer — from his more frequent introduction of *air* into his *harmonies*, and the general smoothness and elegance of his melodies. How Mr. Haydn and his associate *Salomon*

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came to overlook the talents of Madame Mara in the formation of their orchestra, can only be accounted for from the proverbial *avarice* of Germany.

The Professional Concerts gave their first evening on Monday the 7th of February; Haydn was given a free ticket for the whole series, and out of further courtesy, they played two of his compositions at the opening concert, a quartet and a 'Grand Overture, M. S.' (*i. e.* symphony). The *Morning Chronicle* of the 9th reports:

THE PROFESSIONAL CONCERT.

The Professors had their first Concert on Monday. This Subscription is honoured by the patronage of the PRINCE OF WALES and Duke of YORK; and which, in our regard for distinguished talents, we trust will compensate to them the loss they have sustained by the death of the Duke of CUMBERLAND. A Concert of such pre-eminent ability, and where the Masters combine their skill, as much for the honour of the Art, as the advantages, deserves the highest protection, as it is worthy of the highest praise.

HAYDN was on Monday evening a witness of the taste and liberality of the Professors, for they selected from his unrivalled works some of his best productions; and he, in return, paid them the honest compliment, that on no occasion had he heard their M. S. Concerto [*i. e.* Haydn's own symphony] so admirably performed.

On the 8th, the press announced that 'Tickets [for the Haydn-Salomon-concerts] now ready for Delivery; the Gentlemens are Black, and the Ladies Green' (*Public Advertiser*; also *Gazetteer* on 15th and 17th February). On the 10th, however, the *Public Advertiser* printed notice of postponement of Salomon's first concert:

HANOVER-SQUARE. Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

SIGNOR DAVID and Signor CAPPELLETTE being prevented from Singing at any Place previous to their Appearance at the Opera, Mr. Salomon, by the Desire of the greatest Part of the Subscribers, has postponed his First Concert, which was advertised for the 11th, to the 25th Inst. that no Opportunity might be lost of hearing those eminent Singers.

Mr. HAYDN will preside at the Harpsichord...

Salomon announced details of his first program about a week later:

HANOVER-SQUARE. MR. SALOMON respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his First CONCERT positively takes Place on Friday next, the 25th instant.

PART I.

Overture. — Rosetti.  
Song. — Signora Storace.  
Concerto (Oboe). — Mr. Harrington.  
Song. — Signor DAVID.  
Concerto (Violin). — Mr. Salomon.

February, 1791

PART II.

New Grand Overture. — Haydn.  
Song. — Signora Storace.  
Concerto (Pedal Harp). — Madame Krumpholtz.  
Song. — Signor DAVID.  
Full Piece. — Kozeluch.  
Mr. HAYDN will be at the Harpsichord.  
Leader of the Band Mr. SALOMON.

Doors to be opened at Seven, and to begin at Eight o'Clock. Subscriptions, at Five Guineas, for Twelve Concerts, are received and Tickets delivered at Messrs. Lockhard's, No. [36] Pall-Mall...

[*Public Advertiser*, February 19, 21, 24; *Gazetteer*, February 19; etc.]

On 18th February, Haydn played the clavier part of his cantata *Ariadne* (*Arianna a Naxos*), a special favourite of his. 'The Ladies concert', writes the *Morning Chronicle*, 'was last night held at Mrs. Blair's in Portland Place, and that superb street, as usual,

"Outglared the moon with artificial light"....'

The success was so great that they repeated the work at a concert of the New Musical Fund, held in the Pantheon on the 24th: at this concert a band of 300 persons played a Haydn symphony, and Salomon was first violin in a Haydn quartet. On both occasions the *Morning Chronicle* commented on the cantata:

The Musical World is at this moment enraptured with a Composition which Haydn has brought forth, and which has produced effects bordering on all that Poets used to seign of the ancient lyre. Nothing is talked of — nothing sought after but Haydn's Cantata — or, as it is called in the Italian School — his Scena... It abounds with such a variety of dramatic modulations — and is so exquisitely captivating in its larmoyant passages, that it touched and dissolved the audience. They speak of it with rapturous recollection, and Haydn's Cantata will accordingly be the musical *desideratum* for the winter. [23rd February; Pohl, H in L, p. 118.]

... The modulation [in the cantata] is so deep and scientific, so varied and agitating — that the company was thrown into extasies. Every fibre was touched by the captivating energies of the passion, and Pacchierotti never, in his most brilliant age, was more successful... [26th February; Pohl, H in L, p. 119.]

The opera war between Gallini's house, the King's Theatre, and the rival Pantheon continued, and on 18th February, Walpole writes to Miss Agnes Bury:

The Rival theater [*i. e.* Gallini's] is said to be magnificent and lofty, but it is doubtful whether it will be suffered to come to light: in short, the contest will grow politics; "Dieu et mon droit" supporting the Pantheon, and "Ich Dien" [the Prince of Wales] countenancing the Haymarket. It is unlucky that the amplest receptacle is to hold the minority! [Pohl, H in L, p. 124, note 1.]

In the meantime the subject of Haydn's opera was chosen: it was the Orfeo legend, entitled *L'Anima del filosofo*, book by Carlo Francesco Badini; and despite the uncertainty surrounding the Gallini undertaking, Haydn continued work on his opera throughout the spring. In March, he wrote to his mistress Luiga Polzelli that he had 'finished the second act', and hoped to have the work produced by May of that year. As a result of the Haymarket-Pantheon struggle, however, Salomon was again forced to postpone his opening concert, and to print an open letter *inter alia* in the *Public Advertiser* of 25th February 1791:

HANOVER-SQUARE. Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERTS.

It is with extreme Concern that Mr. SALOMON finds himself obliged to postpone opening his Concerts this Evening.

He thinks it his Duty to state to the Public the unfortunate Situation he stands in.

The Manager of the Opera House having given his Consent, that Signor DAVID should sing at Mr. SALOMON's Concert, even before the Opening of the Theatre, if necessary, Mr. Salomon thought himself justified in publishing the Adver[tise]-ment for the opening [of] his Concert this Evening; but the Manager now finding himself compelled, by the Wishes of the highest Characters among the Opera Subscribers, that Signor David's first Appearance in England should be at the Opera House, has thought it necessary to restrain Signor David from singing at his Concert, until he has made his Appearance at the Opera House. Under these Circumstances Mr. Salomon has thought it his Duty rather to postpone his Concert for a few Nights, than to disappoint his Subscribers by the Non-appearance of Signor David.

The Manager has given Mr. Salomon the most positive Assurance, tha[t] the Opera will open at latest on Thursday the 10th of March; and therefore Mr. Salomon's Concerts will open on the following Evening, Friday the 11th of March, and consequently end on the 3rd of June.

In order to keep the public interest from flagging during the next fortnight, Salomon inserted from time to time in the press notices of the performers, subscription price and the like, such as that of 26th January (see above). In the *Public Advertiser* of 4th March, we have such a list, giving a few small changes in the instrumentalists:

Violoncello — Mr. MENUET [*sc.* Menel]... Clarinet — Mr. FLUGER.

On the 7th, 9th, 10th and 11th of March, the revised first programme appeared in the *Public Advertiser* (11th March in the *Gazetteer* as well):

*FIRST CONCERT: 11th MARCH 1791*

HANOVER-SQUARE. MR. SALOMON respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his CONCERTS will open without further delay on Friday next, the 11th of March, and continue every succeeding Friday.

March, 1791

PART I.

Overture — Rosetti.  
Song — Sig[nor] Tajana.  
Concerto Oboe — Mr. Harrington.  
Song — Signora Storace.  
Concerto Violin — Madame Gautherot.  
Recitativo and Aria — Signor David [Composed by Rusi].

PART II.

New Grand Overture — Haydn.  
Recitativo and Aria — Signora Storace.  
Concertante, Pedal Harp and Pianoforte — Madame  
Krumpholtz and Mr. Dusseck,  
Composed by Mr. Dusseck.  
Rondo — Signor David [Composed by Andreozzi].  
Full Piece — Kozeluck [*sic*].  
Mr. HAYDN will be at the Harpsichord.  
Leader of the Band, Mr. SALOMON.  
Tickets transferable, as usual, Ladies to Ladies and  
Gentlemen to Gentlemen only.  
The Ladies' tickets are Green, the Gentlemen's Black.

The Subscribers are intreated to give particular orders to their Coachmen to set down and take up at the Side Door in the Street, with the Horses' Heads towards the Square.

The Door in the Square is for Chairs only.

And though the King's Theatre was still closed, Salomon kept his word and the concert took place. The new symphony, at the beginning of the second part, was No. 96 in D major (see under Chronology, at the front of this chapter), and Haydn was able to write to Polzelli: 'nel 1<sup>mo</sup> concerto del Signor Salomone io ho fatto un furore con una nuova Sinfonia, loro hanno fatto replicare l'adagio [*i. e. Andante*]...' The *Morning Chronicle*, reviewing the concert on 12th March, says:

SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The First Concert under the auspices of HAYDN was last night, and never, perhaps, was there a richer musical treat.

It is not wonderful that to souls capable of being touched by music, HAYDN should be an object of homage, and even of idolatry; for like our own SHAKESPEARE [*sic*], he moves and governs the passions at his will.

His new *Grand Overture* was pronounced by every scientific ear to be a most wonderful composition; but the first movement in particular rises in grandeur of subject, and in the rich variety of *air* and passion, beyond any even of his own productions. The *Overture* has four movements — An Allegro — Andante — Minuet — and Rondo — They are all beautiful, but the first is pre-eminent in every charm, and the Band performed it with admirable correctness.

Signor DAVID exhibited all the wonders of his voice, and never surely was

<sup>3</sup> March, 1791. The date of 4th March, given by Botstiber, is probably misread for 14th March.

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there heard a tenor of such riches and beauty. His first song was a *Recitativo* and *Aria*, by RUSI; and his second a *Rondo*, by ANDREOZZI.

There was an exquisite *concertante* between M. DUSSECK and Madame KRUMPHOLLZ [*sic*]; Signora STORACE sung two songs in a very fine style.

We were happy to see the Concert so well attended the first Night; for we cannot suppress our very anxious hopes, that the first musical genius of the age may be induced, by our liberal welcome, to take up his residence in England.

*The Diary; or, Woodfall's Register*, also on 12th March, writes:

HANOVER SQUARE.

The long delayed Concert, undertaken this year by Mr. SALOMON, took place last night, and was attended by a numerous and very elegant audience. A musical treat, under the immediate direction of the great HAYDN, promised the connoisseurs an exquisite repast, and they were not disappointed... A new grand overture by HAYDN, was received with the highest applause, and universally deemed a composition as pleasing as scientific. The audience was so enraptured, that by unanimous desire, the second movement was encored, and the third was vehemently demanded a second time also, but the modesty of the Composer prevailed too strongly to admit a repetition...

We have another contemporary report, less reliable, perhaps, than the newspapers but most interesting all the same: it is the diary of Charlotte Papendiek, whose husband taught music to the Royal Family, and who was a prominent figure in social life of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It is quite clear that the section dealing with the supposed first Haydn-Salomon concert is not entirely accurate, and there is reason to believe that the writer confused No. 96 with No. 104 (she wrote this particular portion of her memoirs in January, 1839, shortly before her death): for this reason, we have divided the passage in two parts, the second of which is quoted in connection with No. 104 (see below, p. 569):

....The wished-for night at length arrived, and as I was anxious to be near the performers I went early. Mr. Papendiek followed from the Queen's House, and I got an excellent seat on a sofa at the right-hand side. The orchestra was arranged on a new plan. The pianoforte was in the centre, at each extreme end the double basses, then on each side two violoncellos, then two tenors or violas and two violins, and in the hollow of the piano a desk on a high platform for Salomon with his *ripieno*. At the back, verging down to a point at each end, all these instruments were doubled, giving the requisite number for a full orchestra. Still further back, raised high up, were the drums, and on either side the trumpets, trombones, bassoons, oboes, clarinets, flutes &c., in numbers according to the requirements of the symphonies and other music to be played on the different evenings.

....The second act invariably opened with a new symphony composed for the night. Haydn of course conducted his own music, and generally that of other composers, in fact all through the evening.

The Hanover Square Rooms are calculated to hold 800 persons exclusive of the

March, 1791

performers. By the beginning of the second act we concluded that all had arrived who intended to come, and though we knew that Salomon's subscription list was not full, we had hoped for additions during the evening. But no; and I regret to make this observation of my countrymen, that until they know what value they are likely to receive for their money they are slow in coming forward with it...

Now the anxious moment arrived, and Salomon having called 'attention' with his bow, the company rose to a person and stood through the whole of the first movement.

The effect was imposingly magnificent. The instruments might all be said to have an obbligato part, so perfectly was the whole combination conceived and carried out... Salomon was wound up to a pitch of enthusiasm beyond himself. The applause was great. The public was satisfied, and Haydn was very properly taken up.

*Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte: being the Journals of Mrs Papendiek, Assistant Keeper of the Wardrobe and Reader to Her Majesty. Edited by her Grand-daughter, Mrs Vernon Delves Broughton, London, 2 vols., 1886-7, II, pp. 294 ff.]*

SECOND CONCERT: 18th MARCH 1791

HANOVER-SQUARE. Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

THE SUBSCRIBERS are respectfully acquainted, that the Second Performance will be This Day.

PART FIRST.

Overture, MAZANT [*i. e.* Mozart?].

Aria, Signor TAJANA.

Concerto (German Flute), Mr. GRAEFF.

Aria, Signora STORACE.

New Quartetto for two Violins, Tenors, and Violincellos, by Messrs. Salomon, Damen, Hindmarsh, and Menel. — Haydn.

PART SECOND.

(By particular Desire) the new Symphony of HAYDN will be repeated, as performed on the first Night.

Scena Recitative Aria, Signor DAVID.

Concerto (Bassoon) Mr. KUCHLER.

(Being his first Appearance in England.)

Duetto Sig. David and Sig. Storace — Paisiello.

Full Piece, Pleyel.

Mr. HAYDN will be at the Harpsichord...

[*Public Advertiser*, 18th March.]

The *Morning Chronicle* of 19th March reports:

SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The second Concert was honoured with the presence of the PRINCE of WALES, who came just in time to join in the triumph of HAYDN. The Concerto [*i. e.* Symphony No. 96], which had so powerful an effect on the Company on the first night, was repeated; and its influence was equally felt. It is a sublime composition — as much from the rich variety of the subject as the grandeur with which it is managed. Every instrument is respected by his Muse, and he gives to each its due propor-

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tion of efficacy. He does not elevate one, and make all the rest contributory as a mere accompaniment; but the subject is taken up by turns, with masterly art, and every performer has the means of displaying his talent.

His new Quartetto is exceedingly beautiful, and was well executed.

The celebrated KUCHLER made his first appearance in this country on the *Bassoon*, and performed a very fine Concerto. He is a great accession to the musical band of this kingdom, and, we trust, will be added to the Orchestra of the King's Theatre.

It is impossible to speak of the execution of DAVID in terms of adequate praise. He sung two songs and a duet with STORACE.

**THIRD CONCERT: 25th MARCH 1791**

HANOVER-SQUARE. Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The Subscribers are respectfully acquainted that the Third Performance will be THIS DAY, the 25th instant.

PART THE FIRST.

Overture — Clementz [*sic*].

Quintetto, for two Violins, two Tenors and a Violoncello,  
Messrs. Salomon, Damer [*sic*], Hindmarsh, Bolack [*sic*], and Memet [*sic*]. — Pleyel.

Aria, Signora Storace.

Concerto (Violin) Mr. Salomon.

Aria, Signor David.

PART THE SECOND.

Grand Symphony, Haydn.

Scena, Signor David.

New Concerto Piano Forte, Mr. Dusseck.

New Cantata, Signora Storace. — Haydn.

Full Piece (La Chas[s]e), Hoffmeister.

Full Piece, Pleyel.

Mr. HAYDN will be at the Harpsichord . . .

[*Gazetteer*, 25th March.]

The cantata was probably *Ariadne*, and the new symphony an earlier work not yet known in England (*e. g.* No. 90). Of this concert, the *Gazetteer* writes, on the next day:

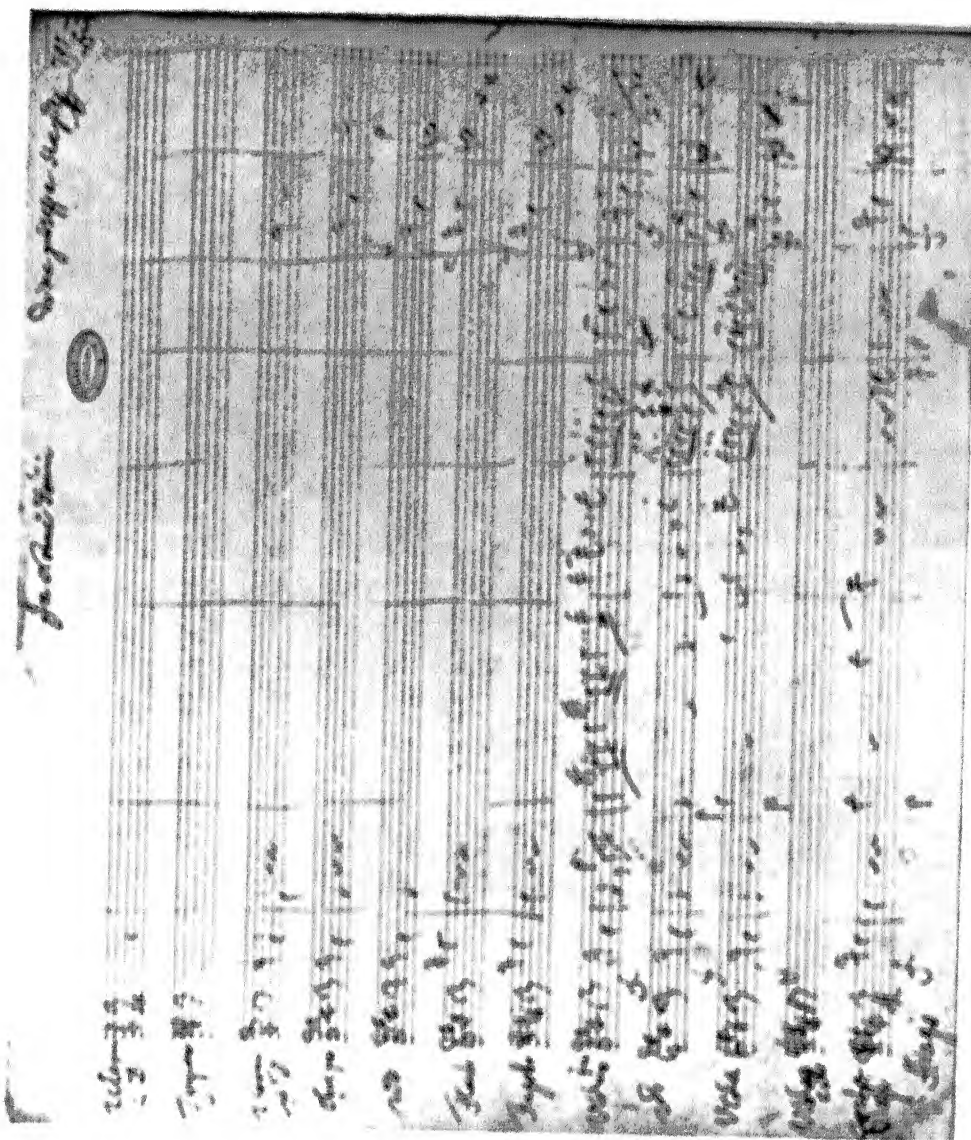
SALOMON'S CONCERT. In the Concert of last night, which was attended by a numerous and fashionable audience, a very charming *Cantata*, the composition of Haydn, was sung by Signora Storace with much elegance of manner. David's *Aria* was greatly admired, as was Dusseck's Piano Forte Concerto. Salomon's violin was highly distinguished in his *Solo*; and a new symphony of Haydn's afforded a new proof of the fertility of this great master's genius in instrumental composition.

**FOURTH CONCERT: 1st APRIL 1791**

HANOVER-SQUARE. Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The Subscribers are respectfully acquainted, that the FOURTH Performance will be This Evening:

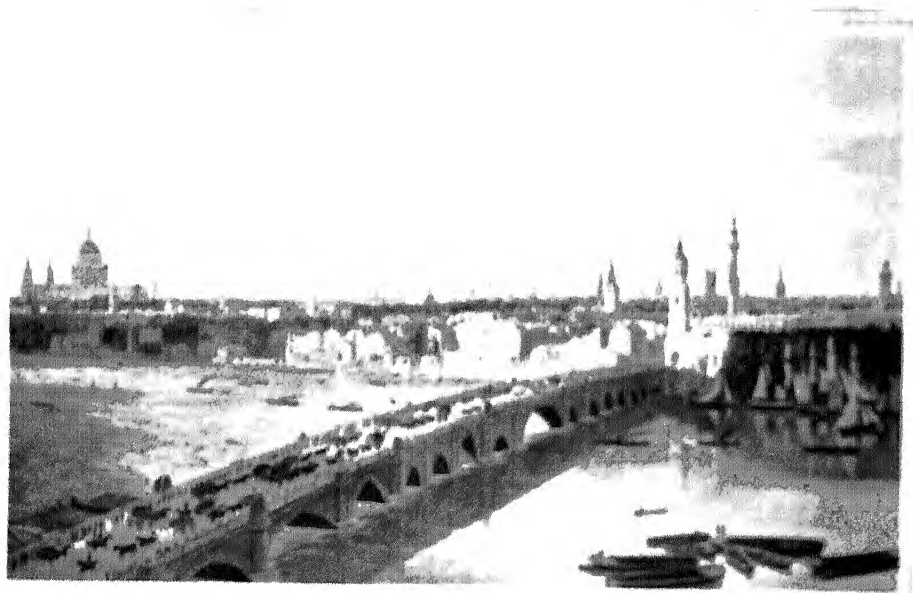




1111 1111 1111 1111  
 No. 1191 Autograph be-  
 longing to the Royal  
 Philharmonic Society in  
 the British Museum,  
 London



XXXIII The Hanover Square Rooms, London. Watercolour drawing by T. H. Shepherd, 1831. (Grace Collection, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, British Museum).



XXXIII A London, looking westward from London Bridge. Coloured lithograph by W. Daniell, 1805. (Grace Collection, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, British Museum).

April, 1791

PART I.

Overture. Girovetz [*sic*].  
New Quartetto, M. S. for two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello,  
by Messrs. Salomon, Damen, Hindmarch, and Menel. — Kotzeluch [*sic*].  
Aria. Signor Tajana.  
Concerto Corni Bassetti. Messrs. Divorsack, and Springe [*sic*].  
Aria. Signor David.

PART II.

New Grand Overture. Mr. S. Hadyn [*i. e.* MS. Haydn].  
Duetto, the Miss Abrams.  
Concerto, Pedal Harp. Madame Krumpholtz.  
Scena Recitative and Aria, Signor David.  
Symphony. Pleyell [*sic*].  
Mr. HAYDN will be at the Harpsichord...  
[*Public Advertiser, and Gazetteer,*  
1st April.]

It is possible that the new symphony was No. 95 in C minor, although this can equally well have been performed for the first time on the 29th of April. Both works, *i. e.* that performed on the 1st as well as that played on the 29th, were repeated 'By particular Desire'. It remains an open question exactly which older symphonies Haydn introduced during this season; possibly Nos. 88, 89 as well as Nos. 90 and 92, though when he performed the latter at Oxford it seems, to judge from press comments, to have been for the first time; but it may have been played before, at one of Salomon's subscription concerts.

The *Diary; or, Woodfall's Register* writes, on 2nd April:

HANOVER SQUARE.

The Fourth performance of the Concerts under the direction of the celebrated HAYDN and Mr. SALOMON, took place at these rooms last night, and was such as might be expected from the great musical talents employed in the conduct of them.

Of the instrumental pieces, though all excellent, nothing occurred that could bear any comparison with the new overture of HAYDN, which exhibited all the fire and perfection of his genius.

The whole of this charming composition, was received by the most intelligent amateurs, with the highest admiration...

FIFTH CONCERT: 8th APRIL 1791

HANOVER SQUARE. Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The SUBSCRIBERS are respectfully acquainted, that the Fifth performance will be This EVENING.

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

PART I.

Overture — Kozeluch.  
Aria — Signor Tajana.  
Concertant for Clarinet and Bassoon — Messrs. Flieger and Holmes.  
Recitative and Aria — Signora Theresa Negri.  
(Being her first appearance in this Country.)  
New Divertimento, MS. for Two Violins, Two Tenors, One  
Oboe, One Flauto, One Violoncello, One Double Bass,  
and Two French Horns. — Haydn.  
Aria — Signor David.

PART II.

By Particular Desire.  
The New Overture, M. S. — Haydn  
As performed last Friday, will be repeated.  
Recit. and Aria. — Signore Theresa Negri.  
Concerto Pedal Harp — Madame Krumpholtz.  
Recitative Aria — Signor David.  
Full Piece — Rosetti.  
Mr. Haydn will be at the Harpsichord...

[*The Diary; or, Woodfall's Register,*  
8th April.]

The divertimento played in the first half is one of the notturni for the King of Naples (1790), Haydn having rewritten the lyra parts for flute and oboe. A short report of the concert appeared the next day in the *Morning Chronicle*:

SALOMON'S CONCERT was last night most numerous attended; and its attraction was more than usually great; for to all the invitations of HAYDN and DAVID, there was the curiosity of a new vocal performer[,] Signora THERESA NEGRI.

*SIXTH CONCERT: 15th APRIL 1791*

HANOVER-SQUARE. Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The Subscribers are respectfully acquainted that the Sixth Performance will be THIS EVENING:

PART the FIRST.

New Overture — Demacchi.  
Aria, Signor Tajana.  
New Quartetto; M.S. for Two Violins, Tenor, and Violoncello,  
by Messrs. Salomon, Damen, Hindmarsh, and Menel — Haydn.  
Recitativo e Aria, Miss Corry (being her first appearance in public).  
Concerto Violin, Master Bridgetower.

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PART the SECOND.

(By particular Desire) the new Overture, M. S. (Haydn)  
performed on the first and second nights will be repeated.

Recit. e Aria, Signor David.

Sonata, Piano Forte, Mr. Dusseck, with an  
accompaniment, for a Violin, Tenor, and Violoncello, by  
Messrs. Salomon, Hindmarsh, and Menel.

Duetto, Miss Corry and Signor David.

Full Piece, Pichl.

Mr. HAYDN will be at the Harpsichord . . .

[*Gazetteer*, 15th April.]

In a review of this concert, the *Gazetteer* of 18th April writes:

MUSIC. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The musical world will rejoice to hear, that the celebrated *Haydn* has determined to fix the seat of his *empire* in this metropolis. The great encouragement of Salomon's Concert[s], under the *auspices* of Haydn, and his reception every where in private assemblies, has impressed him with a high opinion of the taste and liberality of the English nation.

The performance of Friday was distinguished by the first appearance of *Miss Corri*, who received the rudiments of her musical education under the skilful tuition of her father, which she has cultivated by studying the style of the best singers who have occasionally visited the Italian stage. Her manner seems to have been formed chiefly on that of the celebrated *Marchesi*. Her voice is pleasing and flexible, and it has considerable compass. Her ear is admirably correct; and in her duet with *David* she evinced much skill as a musician. Upon the whole, *Miss Corri* promises to become a very distinguished ornament of the profession.

The grand Overture of Haydn [Symphony No. 96], which has excited so much admiration, was again repeated; and every time it is heard with new pleasure. Little Bridgetower's violin concerto was a masterly performance; and *Dusseck's* sonata on the piano forte, if it had less *affectation* of expression, would have resembled the affecting simplicity of the much lamented *Schroeter*<sup>4</sup>.

SEVENTH CONCERT: 29th APRIL 1791

HANOVER-SQUARE. Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The Subscribers are respectfully acquainted, that the SEVENTH Performance will be This Evening.

PART I.

Overture. Girovetz [*sic*].

Aria. Signora Theresa Negri.

Quintetto M. S. for a Violin, an Oboe, two Tenors, and a Violoncello,  
by Messrs. Salomon, Harrington, Hindmarch, Polack, and Menel —  
Baumgarten.

Aria, Signor David.

Concerto Violoncello. Mr. Menel.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 460.

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PART II.

New Grand Overture. Mr. S. Hadyn [*i. e.* MS. Haydn].

Aria. Signora Theresa Negri.

Concerto, Pedal Harp. Madame Krumpholtz.

Recitative and Aria. Signor David.

Symphony, Pleyell [*sic*].

Mr. HAYDN will be at the Harpsichord . . .

[*Public Advertiser*, 29th April.]

The new symphony was either No. 95 or an earlier work; see comment to fourth concert. This is perhaps the place to mention Haydn's friendship with the Viennese composer, Adalbert Gyrowetz (1763-1850), who had arrived in London at the end of October, 1789, after a short stay in Paris (where he had discovered to his astonishment that a G major symphony of his was known and printed as a work of Haydn: see *supra*, p. 3). In his sympathetic autobiography, Gyrowetz tells us how he was able to assist Haydn in entering London society (Gyrowetz was, for example, befriended with the Prince of Wales). Haydn repaid the gesture by playing Gyrowetz's symphonies and other works whenever the opportunity presented itself.

*EIGHTH CONCERT: 6th MAY 1791*

HANOVER SQUARE. Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The SUBSCRIBERS are respectfully acquainted, that the Eighth performance will be THIS EVENING, May 6.

PART I.

Overture — Rosetti.

Aria, — Miss Corri.

New Quartetto MS. for two Violins, Tenor, and Violoncello.  
by Messrs. Salomon, Damen, Hindmarsh, and Menel — Haydn.

Recitative Aria, Signor David.

Piano Forte — Mr. Dusseck.

PART II.

By particular desire.

The New Overture, M. S. — Haydn,

Performed last Friday, will be repeated.

Scena — Miss Corri.

Concerto Violin, Mr. Salomon. — Salomon.

Duetto, Miss Corri, and Sig. David.

Full Piece — Hoffmeister.

Mr. Haydn will be at the Harpsichord . . .

[*The Diary; or, Woodfall's Register*, 6th May.]

*The Morning Chronicle*, on 9th May, says:

May, 1791

SALOMON'S CONCERT.

Miss CORRI made her second essay on Friday evening, and again fascinated the audience by the graces and volume of her voice. She sung a Duet with DAVID, and even with all his powers, she maintained her influence on the ear. It is truly pleasant thus to find such an acquisition to our vocal amusement in a country woman, who at the age of sixteen, has the polished manner and execution of the Italian school.

NINTH CONCERT: 13th MAY 1791

HANOVER-SQUARE. The Subscribers are respectfully acquainted, that the NINTH Performance will be This Evening.

PART I.

New Overture, M. S. — Clementi.

Aria, Signora Tajana.

(By particular desire) the new Quartetto, (Haydn,) as performed last Friday, will be repeated.

Cantata, Signora Storace. — Haydn.

Concerto, German Flute, Mr. Greaff [*sic*].

PART II.

Grand Overture. — Haydn.

Recitativo Aria, Signor David.

Concerto, Pedal Harp, Madame Krumpholtz.

Terzetto, Signor[a] Storace, Signor Tajana, and Signor David.

Finale. — Pechl [*i. e.* Pichl].

Mr. HAYDN will be at the Harpsichord . . .

[*Public Advertiser; Gazetteer*, 13th May.]

The cantata may have been *Ah, come il core*, for soprano and orchestra, published by Artaria. The numerous string quartets announced in the 1791 season were undoubtedly culled from Opus 64 (1790), not known in England at that time, though it is possible that London may also not have heard Opera 54 and 55.

Haydn had originally scheduled his benefit concert for 7th April, but had to postpone it until 16th May. Announcement of it was in the *Public Advertiser* on the 12th and 16th, and in the *Gazetteer* of the 16th; the latter reads:

HANOVER-SQUARE.

MR. HAYDN respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his CONCERT will be THIS EVENING, the 16th instant.

PART I.

New Grand Overture, Haydn.

Aria, Signora Storace.

New Concertanti for Violin, Oboe and Flute Obligati,

Messrs. Salomon, Harrington, and Caravoglia — Haydn.

New Aria, with Oboe, and Bassoon obligati, Signor David — Haydn.

Concerto Violin, Mr. Giornavichi [*sic*].

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PART II.

(By particular desire) the new Grand Overture, — (Haydn) as performed at Mr. Salomon's first Concert.

Cantata, Signor Pacchierotti — Haydn.

Concertante for Piano Forte and Pedal Harp, Mr. Dusseck, and Madam Krumpholtz.

Duetto, Signor David, and Signor Pacchierotti.

Finale, HAYDN.

Mr. HAYDN will be at the Harpsichord...

Symphony No. 96 was here performed for the fourth time, and the cantata was *Ariadne*, already the 'musical *desideratum* for the winter'. The aria for David is separately listed in Haydn's catalogue of his works composed in England as 'Aria for Davide'; its scoring shows that it was in fact newly composed, and not one of the numbers in *Orfeo*.

The song written by HAYDN for DAVID, and which he sung on Thursday last, is the theme of every Amateur. It can only be equalled by the Cantata which he brought out at Mrs. BLAIR'S.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 16th May.]

*The Times* of 17th May carries an announcement of the King's Theatre, which says that

...Signor David will sing the new Song composed for his benefit by Mr. Haydn, who will be at the harpsichord.

The most intriguing piece is the 'New Concertant[e]' for violin, flute and oboe: this remains to be discovered. Earlier announcements listed a work, without composer, for two basset horns (Messrs. Springer and Dworzack).

HAYDN'S CONCERT. HANOVER SQUARE.

The great talents of HAYDN received on Monday night a very flattering support at this place, as the room was entirely occupied by a very elegant company, and the apartments contiguous were also well stored with visitors. The instrumental pieces were compositions of HAYDN, and they were performed with great spirit by a very correct orchestra...

[*Diary; or, Woodfall's Register*, 18th May.]

*The Times* of 19th May comments that 'HAYDN'S Benefit proved so completely crowded, that during the evening his OWN were the only MOVEMENTS practicable!'

Haydn now had lodgings in Lisson Grove, between the present Edgware Road and Regent's Park, on the north-west border of London; he still, however, preserved his flat at Great Pulteney Street. It may be surmised that he had now completed his opera *Orfeo*, but his industry was for naught: the work was never performed during his lifetime.



May, 1791

TENTH CONCERT: 20th MAY 1791

HANOVER-SQUARE. Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The Subscribers are respectfully acquainted, that the TENTH Performance will be This Evening.

PART I.

New Overture, M. S. — Hassler [*i. e.* Haesler].

Aria, Miss Corri.

New Concertino for two Violins, Oboe, Flute, two Tenors,  
two French horns, Violoncellos and Double Bass. — Haydn.

Recitativo Aria, Signor David.

Concerto Oboe, Mr. Harrington.

PART II.

Grand Symphony — Haydn.

Sonata, Piano Forte. — Mr. Dusseck.

Aria, Miss Corri.

Concerto Violin, Mr. Demachi,  
(Being his first appearance in this country.)

Cavatine, Signor David.

Finale, Kozeluch.

Mr. HAYDN will be at the Harpsichord...

[*Public Advertiser; Gazetteer*, 20th May.]

The 'New Concertino' was one of the concerti or notturni for the King of Naples, the lyra parts having been rewritten for flute and oboe.

The *Diary; or, Woodfall's Register* of 24th May and the *Public Advertiser* of 25th May printed the following notice:

OXFORD. SUNDAY, May 22.

Hayward's Concert last Wednesday was most numerous attended. Mr. HAYDN, the composer, whose name appeared in the bill, was the attraction of the evening.

No Mr. Haydn, however, appearing, the Music Room was for some time a scene of much confusion and riot; and it was not till after a due apology had been made, that the performances were suffered to go on. It seems, that Haydn had given a solemn promise of attending; and the violation of his word is bitterly and justly complained of in Hayward's *thanksgiving* advertisement.

Three grand musical performances are expected to take place here, in the first week of July...

Hayward was one of the members of the Oxford band. His announcement, inserted in Jackson's *Oxford Journal* of 21st May, reads:

Mr. Hayward... is exceedingly sorry for the Disappointment occasioned by Mr. Haydn's not attending the Musick Room that Evening, contrary to a solemn Promise given, as he had actually said, he would be ready to get into the Carriage with the Singers, and Mr. Buntebart, who was to have come with him at an early Hour; but when the Carriage went to take him up at Lisson Green, near Paddington, he begged Mr. Torezani to acquaint Mr. Hayward, that he was obliged to attend a Rehearsal of an Opera that Morning, but that he would follow afterwards in

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a Post Chaise, so as to get to Oxford by Seven o'Clock. Why he did not come Mr. Hayward will endeavour to learn, in order to give every satisfaction imaginable to the Company present that Evening at the Room.

[J. H. Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe*, p. 134.]

Haydn was forced to issue an apology, which duly appeared in the local press at Oxford:

Whereas at the Request of Mr. Jung, an Acquaintance of mine from Vienna, I faithfully promised to play the Harpsichord at Mr. Hayward's Benefit Concert, the 18th, Instant (*which Day I had appointed myself*), but was prevented from coming on Account of a Rehearsal at the Opera House, which lasted from Two till Half-past Four on that Day, I take the Liberty by this Paper to express the greatest Sorrow for not having been able to stand to my Promise. As the University of Oxford, whose great Reputation I heard abroad, is too great an Object for me not to see before I leave England, I shall take the earliest Opportunity of paying it a Visit, and hope at the same Time to make a personal apology to those Ladies and Gentlemen who were kind enough to honour Mr. Hayward with their Company. — Joseph Haydn.

[*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 28th May; Pohl-Botstiber III, pp. 24 f.; J. H. Mee, *The Oldest Music Room in Europe*, pp. 134 f.]

**ELEVENTH CONCERT: 27th MAY 1791**

HANOVER-SQUARE. Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERTS.

The Subscribers are respectfully acquainted, that the ELEVENTH Performance will be This Evening.

**PART I.**

Overture. — Rosetti.

Aria, Signora Theresa Negri.

Concerto Violin, Mr. Salomon.

Aria, Signor David.

Concerto Flute and Bassoon, Messrs. Kuierler [sc. Kuchler?].

**PART II.**

New Grand Overture. — Haydn.

Cantata, Signor[a?] Storace. — Haydn.

By particular desire, the New Quttello [Quartetto], M. S.

Haydn, as performed on the 6th Night.

Aria, Signora Theresa Negri.

Concerto Pedal Harp, Madame Krumpholtz.

Recitative and Aria, Signor David.

Finale. — Rosetti.

Mr. HAYDN will be at the Harpsichord...

[*Public Advertiser; Gazetteer*, 27th May.]

On 30th May, an extra concert was held, in which Haydn's oratorio *The Seven Words* — listed as *Passione instrumentale* — was given for the first time in England. The concert, in three parts, was first announced for the King's Theatre, but had to take place at the Hanover Square Rooms. In the first and third parts a symphony of Haydn was

May—June, 1791

given, the second part consisted solely of the oratorio. Signor David, Signora Negri and Madame Krumpholtz assisted, Salomon was the leader and Haydn presided, as usual, at the harpsichord. (Pohl, H in L, pp. 130 f.)

*TWELFTH CONCERT: 3rd JUNE 1791*

HANOVER SQUARE. Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The Subscribers are respectfully acquainted, that the TWELFTH and LAST Performance will be To-morrow Evening.

PART I.

Overture. — Girovetz [*sic*].  
Aria, Madame de Sisly [*sic*],  
(Being her first appearance in public.)  
New Concerto Piano Forte, Mr. Dullick [*Dusseck*].  
Aria, Signor David.  
Concerto Violin, Mr. Salomon.

PART II.

(By particular desire) the New Grand Overture, — Haydn, —  
as performed last Friday, will be repeated.

Aria, Madame de Sisley.  
Concerto Pedal Harp, Madame Krumpholtz.  
Scena, Signor David.  
Finale. — Kozeluch.

Mr. HAYDN will be at the Harpsichord...

[*Public Advertiser*, June 2; *The Oracle, Bells' World*, June 3.]

Haydn was full of the impressions he had gained at the great Handel festival, given in Westminster Abbey on the 23rd, 26th and 28th of May, and the 1st of June. The performing forces numbered 1000 persons, and included double bassoons, 'large double Basses', 'double bass Kettle drums' (tuned an octave lower than the normal timpani) and a gigantic collection of wind instruments, so that we can well imagine that 'the sight was really very fine, and the performance magnificent; but the chorus and kettle-drums for four hours were so thunderfull, that they gave me a head-ache, to which I am not at all subject' (Walpole to Sir H. Mann, speaking of an earlier festival held in 1786). But what an impression the Handel programmes must have made on Haydn — *Zadock the Priest*, *Israel in Egypt*, *Messiah*, organ concerti, an oboe concerto, extracts from *Saul*, *Esther*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Deborah*, *Joseph*, *Jeptha*, *Joshua*, *Occasional Oratorio*, *Athalia* and *Samson*. It is reported that Haydn had a box near the King's, and when all rose to the 'Hallelujah Chorus' in *Messiah*, he 'wept like a child', crying out 'he is the master of us all'. To William Shield, the English com-

poser with whom Haydn was befriended, he said, after hearing 'The Nations Tremble' from *Joshua* at one of the Concerts of Ancient Music, that 'he had long been acquainted with music, but never knew half its powers before he heard it, as he was perfectly certain that only one inspired author ever did, or would, pen so sublime a composition'<sup>5</sup>.

The first season of the Haydn-Salomon concerts had finished in triumph, and the success of the undertaking was such that Salomon could announce that they would continue their collaboration together ('with the assistance of Mr. Haydn') in the next season. Speaking of the present year, the *Oracle* of 8th June writes:

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERTS.

Are at length closed for the present season, and due praise must be recorded in the ORACLE.

For Selection, this amusement has had to boast perhaps a taste superior to any of its rivals. — Their execution, though it might be equal, certainly was, either vocally or instrumentally considered, by no means superior.

Mr. SALOMON, as a Leader, is brilliant and neat; but we owe him other obligations — we owe to him the personal knowledge of HAYDN, and of DAVID.

Every lover of harmony will wish a renewal next Season of an entertainment so refined, so highly patronized, and so highly worthy of such patronage.

The *Diary; or, Woodfall's Register* of 6th June also includes a short comment on this last concert:

SALOMON'S CONCERT.

This charming entertainment concluded for the season on Friday last at the Hanover Square rooms...

The other exertions of the Concert were worthy of an entertainment in which the great HAYDN took a part, and which was conducted by the taste and genius of Salomon...

On 10th June, the young violinist Franz Clement (b. 17th Nov. 1780), for whom Beethoven wrote his Violin Concerto in 1806, gave a benefit concert. Signor David, Signora Negri and Signora Storace sang, Salomon was leader, and Haydn sat at the harpsichord. Clement played his own Violin Concerto, there was a Haydn symphony, *MS.*, and *The Seven Words* were repeated. (Pohl, H in L, p. 141.)<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> From W. Shield's Appendix to his *Introduction to Harmony*, London, 1800. Cf. Hadden, *op. cit.*, p. 92 and note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Haydn wrote in Clement's album: 'London, 22 June Ao:1791', added the theme of *The Seven Words* at the point where the text has 'consummatum est', and signed the entry 'Joseph Haydn/ dein ächter Freund'. (Pohl-Botstiber III, p. 23.)

June, 1791

On 15th June, Miss Corri, the young singer who had made her debüt at the sixth Haydn-Salomon concert, gave her benefit concert at Hanover Square. Salomon was again leader, and Haydn presided at the keyboard.

The *Oracle* writes on 18th June:

HANOVER-SQUARE.

Miss Corri, though postponed, has not escaped our attention — At her outset, we praised her skill, and the delicate sweetness of her tone and taste. — We think at present all these considerations improved. — Her benefit, we were happy to see well attended, and the charming execution of the whole, left the loss of DAVID easily compensated by the kind efforts of STORACE.

STABILINI, the Edinburgh Leader, gave a Concerto of his own composition with very superior taste, and a stop exceedingly true indeed. His tone was brilliant, and a considerable applause attended him throughout.

HAYDN'S MS. Overture was highly relished. — The approbation of the audience was received with the utmost modesty by that Gentleman, who himself presided in the Orchestra.

The *Morning Herald* of 16th June says:

HANOVER-SQUARE.

The attraction of last night at this place was a Concert for the benefit of Miss Corry, whose family is celebrated for musical talents, and who herself possesses abilities calculated to augment its reputation. The opening piece was a beautiful Overture by Girovetz, a composer of great genius, and proportionate modesty. Miss Corry sung her allotted airs with promising taste and expression. One of them was a favourite air of Cimarosa, in which Marchesi acquitted himself with singular merit. To follow such a performer, was an arduous undertaking, but Miss Corry succeeded very well.

Storace sung instead of David, who was prevented by illness, and the audience of course made every reasonable allowance. As a performer on the Piano Forte, Miss Corry displayed much ability. A fine manuscript overture of Haydn was highly admired, and it was gratifying to observe with what zeal the audience endeavoured to shew their sense of this composer's exquisite genius, and the modesty with which Haydn received their eager eulogiums.

A few days after his arrival in England, Haydn had been taken by Salomon to meet the great English musicologist, Charles Burney, who had, upon Haydn's arrival, published a long poem celebrating the fact. Now, in the *Monthly Review or Literary Journal*, Vol. 5, p. 223, printed in London sometime in 1791, Burney writes:

... His compositions, long before arrival in this country, had been distinguished by an attention, which we do not remember to have been bestowed on any other instrumental music before; but at the concerts in Hanover square, where he has presided, his presence seems to have awaked such a degree of enthusiasm in the audience as almost amounts to frenzy. [Pohl, H in L, p. 105.]

\* \* \*

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

Mrs. Schroeter presents her compliments to Mr. Haydn, and informs him, she is just returned to town, and will be very happy to see him whenever it is convenient for him to give her a lesson. James str. Buckingham Gate. Wednesday, June 29th 1791.

With this letter begins a charming love-affair between Haydn and the widow of Johann Samuel Schroeter (1750-1788), who had in 1782 succeeded J. C. Bach as Master of the King's Music. 'He married a young lady of considerable fortune, who was his scholar, and was in easy circumstances; but there was a langour discoverable in his looks... several years before his disease' (Rees' *The Cyclopaedia, or Universal Dictionary*, London, 1819-1820, from Pohl, H in L, p. 349). His widow's correspondence with Haydn, preserved for the 1791-1792 season, is too lengthy to be presented here. It shows a steadily increasing warmth (16th June 1792: 'Every moment of your company is more and more precious to me now your departure is so near...'); Haydn's answers, if any, have not been preserved. (Pohl, H in L, pp. 216 ff., also 347 ff.; Pohl-Botstiber, Vol. III, Appendix, where all the letters are reproduced in English; H. E. Krehbiel printed them before this, in the *New York Tribune*, and subsequently in his *Music and Manners from Pergolese to Beethoven*, London, 1898, pp. 57 ff.)

At the beginning of July, Haydn went to Oxford to receive the degree of Doctor of Music, *honoris causa*. Salomon — though not performing — and Dr. Burney, in large part responsible for having brought about this honour, accompanied him there. In connection with the ceremonies, there were three concerts (6th, 7th and 8th July), in each of which a Haydn symphony was played. The orchestra, consisting largely of the Professional Concerts under William Cramer, was supplemented by local musicians and was directed by Dr. Hayes, Professor at Oxford. The first concert, on the 6th, was supposed to include a new *MS.* Haydn symphony, but there being no time for rehearsal, an older symphony was hastily substituted.

MUSICALS.

The MUSIC MEETING at OXFORD commenced, for the season, on Wednesday last, in the University Theatre, before a numerous and very elegant audience.

Mrs. Crouch was unfortunately taken dangerously ill on the road, with a sore throat and violent fever. She was left under proper care at Henley, and a physician was despatched to her from Oxford.

The Concert commenced with an Overture and Chorus from *Acis and Galatea*. "Total Eclipse" was next sung with great expression by Kelly. One of Pleyel's beautiful quartets followed; in which Cramer, Dance, Blake, and Sperati, distinguished themselves with the best effect. The First Act concluded with an air of Sarti "Numi possenti Numi", by Storace, who acquitted herself very well.

Oxford: July, 1791

A New M.S. Overture by Haydn, was to have introduced the Second Act; but as Haydn did not reach Oxford [in] time enough for a rehearsal, one of his former pieces was the substitute, and the Composer himself sat at the Organ... [*Morning Herald*, 8th July.]

The *St. James's Chronicle*<sup>7</sup>, July 7 to July 9, commences with the same two opening paragraphs as the *Morning Herald*, then adds:

The whole was received with strong marks of approbation, which the performances amply deserved. Cramer played and led the band, after travelling all the preceding night. Many of the Professional Band assisted on this occasion.

Dr. Ayrton and Dr. Dupuis wore the Commemoration medals, which his Majesty has graciously permitted them to assume on all occasions.

Haydn was introduced to the audience by Dr. Hayes, and received with a degree of respect and attention worthy [of] his genius.

For the second concert, there was a rehearsal in the morning, so that the 'new' symphony specially chosen by Haydn for the Oxford celebrations could be performed. It was Symphony No. 92 in G major, written in 1788 for the Comte d'Ogny but apparently unknown in England. Herewith an oft-repeated error is corrected; *the 'Oxford' Symphony was not substituted for a new one which could not be rehearsed, quite the contrary: another symphony, already known, was substituted for the 'Oxford'*. The *Morning Herald* of 9th July writes:

#### MUSICALS.

The SECOND PERFORMANCE of the MUSIC MEETING at OXFORD, was more crowded [*sic*] with visitors on Thursday last, than on the preceeding day.

Mrs. CROUCH remains in such a dangerous state at Henley, that all hope of her adding her assistance was relinquished.

The Concert began with the Overture to Samson, to which the band did ample justice. Master MUTLOW then sung "So much beauty" from ESTHER. His voice is good, and his execution tolerable. SPERATI followed with a Solo on the Violincello, in a very good stile, but by no means calculated to eradicate the remembrance of CROSDILL. The next in order was a song by STORACE, "*Quel desir che amor un di*", the composition of her brother, and very creditable to his talents. The first Act ended with a Chorus from ALEXANDER'S FEAST, "The merry round, etc." which was well sustained; but the superior energy of the Abbey Chorusses are of too recent date to allow of much impression.

The new Overture of HAYDN, prepared for the occasion, and previously rehearsed in the morning, led on the second Act, and a more wonderful composition never was heard. The applause given to HAYDN, who conducted this admirable effort of his genius, was enthusiastic; but the merit of the work, in the opinion of all the Musicians present, exceeded all praise. DAVID followed, with "Fell Rage" from Saul, which he sang with great ability, and was unanimously encored.

<sup>7</sup> The *Morning Chronicle* and *Diary*; or, *Woodfall's Register* bring this and the following reports in almost exactly the same wording.



*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

The musical prodigy, young CLEMENT, then performed a Concerto on the Violin, with such execution, as appeared incredible to those who heard it. — KELLY sung "*Donne chi Vuo Vedere*", an air of Mengozzi, with his usual skill and spirit. — The next was, "From silent Shades", in Purcell's *Mad Bess*, by STORACE, who was much applauded. — The second Act concluded with "He gave them Hail-stones"; and at this time *hail-stones* would indeed have been acceptable to the company, as the room was prodigiously hot.

Between the acts, WEBB, BELLAMY, and KELLY, sung a very pleasing Glee.

After STORACE had sung "Whither my Love", a beautiful Concertante of PLEYEL, began the third act; and CRAMER, DANCE, PATRIA, SPERATI, and BLAKE, rendered the performance fully correspondent with the excellence of the composition.

DAVID followed, with a song of SARTI, well sung, but rather too long. The act concluded with the song, "Let the bright [Seraphim], etc." by STORACE, and grand chorus, "Let their celestial, etc." from SAMPSON. An attempt was made, to leave out the second part, on account of want of sufficient light; but the young gentlemen of the *Square-Cap* would not suffer the omission.

The band is, of course, conducted by CRAMER, with CONDELL as his *Aid de Camp*; DANCE plays the second Violin, BLAKE is principal Tenor, SPERATI the Violoncello, and PATRIA the Oboe, who all exert themselves very ably. There are besides, BOND, PARKINSON, HACKWOOD, HILL, and others of the Professional Band: so that the combined talents of the Orchestra cannot be exceeded, if equalled, by any other set of performers.

HAYDN expressed himself very handsomely to CRAMER on the manner in which his OVERTURE was performed; and SALOMON, who was present, joined very liberally with the great Composer, in high praise of the spirit, exactness, and promptitude of that very able Leader.

It is expected, that tomorrow (Friday), the University will confer an honorary degree on HAYDN, as a testimony of the high esteem in which his character and talents are held.

To this may be added an extract from the *Public Advertiser* of 12th July:

OXFORD, THURSDAY, July 7.

The second GRAND MUSICAL FESTIVAL was this evening highly applauded by a very numerous audience at the Theatre. Haydn's MS. Overture was performed, and met with great approbation. The receipt of this, and the preceding, evening, has cleared the expenses of the preparations; so that whatever money may be received to-morrow evening, will be a well-earned profit to Dr. Hayes.

The next morning the degree was conferred upon Haydn. Between the speeches and the age-old ceremony, the band played small selections, and Nancy 'Storace and other of his musical friends waved to him from the orchestra' (Griesinger, pp. 60 f.). The *Public Advertiser* of 12th July writes:

FRIDAY, July 8.

The PRIZE PRODUCTIONS were this morning recited at the Theatre, which was immensely crowded [sic] on the occasion. After several honorary Degrees had been publicly bestowed, among which that of Doctor of Musick was voluntarily and



Oxford: July, 1791

liberally conferred on Haydn, Mr. Crowe, the Publick Orator, paid the usual compliments, in a Latin speech, to the Founders, &c. of the Institution...

The report in the *Morning Herald* of 11th July tells us of the ceremony and also of the concert that evening:

On Friday morning the annual Commemoration took place at OXFORD, when the celebrated HAYDN was admitted to a DOCTOR'S DEGREE in a manner highly flattering to him and creditable to the University, being the free gift and unanimous desire of that learned body.

Between the parts of the Latin and English oration, upon this occasion the band performed pieces adapted to the situation. On the return of the procession from the theatre, and on HAYDN'S retiring, the applause which arose, was perhaps equal to any that ever attended a similar occasion.

At five in the evening the concluding Concert took place; and several performers were all well received on their entrance, particularly CRAMER, who was honored with warm tokens of general respect.

The opening piece was the Overture from ESTHER, performed with great spirit. KELLY followed with "why does the Go[d], etc." from Samson, with good expression. MATTHEWS and BELLAMY, then sung "The Lord is a Man of War" tolerably. The next in order was, a beautiful Cantata<sup>8</sup> by HAYDN, who appeared in his gown and conducted it;—this charming air used to be finely sung by MARCHES[I]; therefore STORACE was injudicious in attempting it on this occasion; and indeed, obtained less applause than HAYDN'S *Doctorial Robe*. The first act terminated with the Recitative "Search round the, etc." and Chorus "May no rash, etc." from Handel's Solomon by KELLY. This was repeated.

A new Overture by PLEYEL led on the second act. The composition was much admired and the Band played it with very great correct[n]ess and spirit, though they never saw it till that evening. STORACE then sung, "The Prince unable to conceal, etc." from Alexander's Feast, with such *expressive gesture* that the young gentlemen in the *Black Gowns* were highly gratified and unanimously *encored* it. The next was a Concerto on the Violin by CRAMER, executed in his best style, and with such brilliancy that the applause was very great from all quarters. DAVID was followed with "Comfort ye my People", but not with such success as he gave at the Abbey. This act concluded with the Chorus, "And the Glory, etc.".

KELLY before the third act sung an Italian Air, the music of which was not very striking; and he made as much of it as it deserved.

The last act commenced with an Overture of HAYDN, very fine, but well known. HAYDN was not present at this performance. STORACE followed with the Air "with lowly suite" in which she was very deservedly *encored*. DAVID next sung "Penza che in [campo] etc." an Air of PAESIELLO, but in too flourishing a style of execution with a want of neatness in his divisions. The whole ended with the CORONATION ANTHEM. This was repeated.

When the performers quitted the Orchestra, they were severally greeted with much applause, and CRAMER in particular. It seemed to be the general opinion, that no performance at this place ever went with better success. The company were said to exceed the number of visitors usually present for many years.

Mrs. Crouch who continues at Henley, is pronounced out of danger, and the merit of her recovery is attributed to Dr. HALL of Oxford.

<sup>8</sup> Probably *Ah, come il core*.

The *Public Advertiser* of 12th July, under the heading 'OXFORD, July 8', describes the festivities of the final concert as follows:

In the evening, the third, and last GRAND MUSICAL FESTIVAL attracted a crowded [*sic*] and elegant audience to the Theatre.

They were in excellent humour; and when Haydn appeared, and, grateful for the applause he received, seized hold of, and displayed, the gown he wore as a mark of the honour that had in the morning been conferred on him, the silent emphasis with which he thus expressed his feelings, met with an unanimous and loud clapping...

'I really could have wished', related Haydn to Griesinger (p. 60), 'that my Viennese acquaintances might have seen me in my gown'. He had to wear this three days, as specified by the laws of the University, and he told his biographer Dies (p. 134), 'I felt rather silly in it.' In his diary he carefully noted the costs for 'bell ringing' (1½ guineas) and the gown (½ guinea): 'the trip cost me six guineas'. In the evening, when he entered the third concert, he was greeted by loud cries of 'bravo', and answered in English, 'I thank you' (Dies, p. 133; Griesinger, p. 61). Later, he sent to the University the *Canon cancricans a tre* 'Thy Voice, O Harmony, is divine', as his doctor's exercise. (Pohl, H in L, pp. 141 ff.)

Haydn's diary tells us that 'in the month of August' he 'had lunch on an East-Indian merchant ship with six cannon. I was wonderfully served... In this same month I accompanied Mr. Fraser on [a boating party on] the Thames, from Westminster Bridge to Richmond, where we supped on an island; we were 24 persons, besides a wind band.'

On 16th August, the *Morning Chronicle* carried the notice:

Dr. Haydn and Salomon are to continue their concerts on the same plan which gave them so much celebrity last winter...

In August, Haydn paid a long visit to the banker Nathaniel Brassey and his family at their house, Roxford, about a mile from the village of Hertingfordbury in Hertfordshire. In his diary Haydn writes: 'NB. Mr. Brasey [*sic*] once cursed that it had been too easy for him on this earth'. To his biographer Dies (pp. 121 ff.) he enlarged the cryptic entry in his diary. Brassey, to whose daughter Haydn had, in London, given pianoforte instruction, invited him in typical English fashion for a long visit to his country estate. There, Haydn evidently related to the banker the hardships and misfortunes of his early days in Vienna, for after one of these episodes, Brassey sprang from the table and, with 'terrible oaths, swore that he would shoot himself on the spot if he

only had loaded pistols'. Haydn, thinking that Brassey intended to shoot him as well, called for help. 'He thought', says Dies, quoting Haydn's characteristic understatement, 'that he only had one life, and it appeared to him too soon for it to end.' Brassey's wife and other persons appeared, and attempted to calm him, asking him what was the reason for this outburst. 'The banker refused for a long time to give any answer', continues Dies, 'but finally, with tears in their eyes', they managed to elicit the following explanation: Brassey wanted to shoot himself, he said, because he had never been unhappy, had never known the experiences of want, hunger, or poverty; and, as he now realized, had never been truly happy, but knew only how to stuff himself and drink; he had been surrounded with plenty, and this now disgusted him.

Except for this one interlude, however, the visit seems to have been a peaceful one, for Haydn writes to Marianna von Genzinger on 17th September:

I have received no reply to my two letters of July 3, entrusted to the care of a composer, Herr Diettenhofer, by whom I likewise sent the pianoforte arrangement of an *Andante* in one of my new symphonies... I have been residing in the country, amid lovely scenery, with a banker, whose heart and family resemble the Genzingers, and where I live as in a monastery. God be praised! I am in good health, with the exception of my usual rheumatic state. I work hard, and in the early mornings, when I walk in the wood alone with my English grammar, I think of my Creator, of my family, and of all the friends I have left — and of these you are the most valued of all... Oh, my dear good lady, how sweet is some degree of liberty! I had a good Prince, but was obliged at times to be dependent on base souls. I often sighed for release, and now I have it in some measure. I am quite sensible of this benefit, though my mind is burdened with more work. The consciousness of being no longer a bond-servant sweetens all my toils. But, dear as my liberty is to me, I do hope on my return again to enter the service of Prince Esterházy, solely for the sake of my family... You shall receive my promised new symphony two months hence; but in order to inspire me with good ideas, I beg you to write to me, and a long letter too...

Towards the end of September, Haydn returned to London (the industrious Pohl found a notice in Haydn's own hand for 26th September in the books of J. Broadwood, the pianoforte makers: see H in L, p. 155). Shortly after he arrived, the press announced that, as he was too feeble to bring forth anything new, the Professional Concerts had decided to engage his former pupil, Ignaz Pleyel, who would soon arrive in England to supplant the decrepit Haydn<sup>9</sup>. Apparently vicious

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Dies, pp. 87 f.

rumours had circulated as far as Vienna, for on 13th October, Haydn writes to Marianna:

... Among other things, Herr v. Kees writes to me that he should like to know my position in London, as there are so many different reports about me in Vienna. From my youth upwards I have been exposed to envy, so it does not surprise me when any attempt is made wholly to crush my poor talents; but the Almighty above is my support. My wife wrote to me that Mozart depreciates me very much, but this I will never believe. If true, I forgive him... Rest assured that, if I had not met with a kind reception, I would long since have gone back to Vienna. I am beloved and esteemed by everyone, except, indeed, the *Professionals* [i. e. Professional Concerts]...

On 5th November, Haydn attended the new Lord Mayor's dinner, and, on the 9th, the farewell dinner for the retiring Lord Mayor. 'No health was drunk as much as that of Mr. Pitt', he notes in his diary.

Haydn and Salomon seem to have made a short trip to Cambridge, to hear the 'cellist, Dahmen Jr, brother of the violinist, J. A. Dahmen, who had played in the concerts of the 1791 season. Young Dahmen made his first appearance in London on 2nd March 1792 (see p. 478). The *Cambridge Chronicle* of 19th November reports:

We understand that the celebrated musical composers, Mr. Haydn and Mr. Salomon, came here last week to hear a private performance on the Violin and Violoncello by Messrs. Dahmen, who are lately arrived from Germany. They expressed the highest [approbation] of the superior skill and abilities of these performers, and immediately engaged them for their concerts in Hanover Square. We are glad to hear that Messrs. Dahmen will have a public concert in Cambridge before they leave this part of the country. [O. E. Deutsch, *Haydn in Cambridge*, p. 312.]

On 17th November, he writes to Marianna:

I write in the greatest haste, to request that you will send the accompanying packet, addressed to you, to Herr v. Kees, as it contains the two new symphonies I promised... I beg you will ask Herr v. Kees to have a rehearsal of both these symphonies, as they are very delicate, particularly the last movement [of that] in D, which I recommend to be given as *pianissimo* as possible, and the tempo very quick... I have only returned here to-day from the country. I have been staying with a *mylord* for the last fortnight, a hundred miles from London.

About the middle of November, Haydn attended a performance of Dr. Arne's opera *Artaxerxes*, given, with Mara as guest, at the King's Theatre. On the 23rd, he went to the Marionette Theatre in Saville Row ('the figures were well directed; the singers were bad, but the orchestra quite good'), and on the next day he was invited, by the Prince of Wales, to Oatlands, castle of the Duke of York ('... many marks of graciousness and honour, not only from the Prince of Wales but also from the Duchess'). On the 30th, he wrote in his diary:

'I spent 3 days in the country, 100 miles from London, at the house of Sir Patrik Blak [*i. e.* Patrick Blake]'. *En route* to Langham, the Blake's estate, he again visited Cambridge ('... The King's Chapel is famous for its carving... all of stone, but so delicate that nothing more beautiful could have been made of wood'). On the 30th, the Dahmen brothers held their promised concert at Cambridge, which Haydn probably attended: the programme opened with a symphony by Vanhal and closed with one by Haydn; each brother played a concerto (*Deutsch, op. cit.*).

On 10th December, he heard *The Woodman*, by William Shield, performed with Mrs. Billington in Covent Garden. On the 14th, his diary notes: 'I lunched for the first time at Mr. Shaw's. His wife is the most beautiful woman I ever saw...'. On the 20th, he wrote another long letter to his friend in Vienna:

I am much surprised that you did not get my letter at the same time as the two symphonies, having put them myself into the post here... I trust, however, that the letter reached you soon afterwards... The scores were to be given up to you [after being copied], so that you may prepare a pianoforte arrangement of them, if you are so disposed. The particular symphony intended for you will be finished by the end of February at latest... To return to the aforesaid symphonies, I must tell you that I sent you a pianoforte arrangement of the *Andante* [from that] in C minor by Herr Diettenhofer. It is reported here, however, that he either died on the journey, or met with some serious accident... I must take this opportunity of mentioning that three weeks ago the Prince of Wales invited me to his brother's country seat... I stayed two days there... on the second... [the Duchess of York] remained beside me from ten o'clock at night, when the music began, till two hours after midnight. No compositions were played but Haydn's. I directed the symphonies at the piano. The sweet little lady sat close beside me at my left, and hummed all the pieces from memory, having heard them so repeatedly in Berlin. The Prince of Wales sat on my right hand, and accompanied me very tolerably on the violoncello. They made me sing too... On the third day, as I could not get any post-horses, the Duke of York sent me two stages with his own.

Now, dear lady, I should like to reproach you a little for believing that I prefer London to Vienna... I am far from hating London, but I could not reconcile myself to spend my life there; no, not even to amass millions; my reasons I will tell you when we meet. I think of my home, and embracing once more all my old friends, with the delight of a child; only I deeply lament that the great Mozart will not be of the number, if it be true, which I trust it is not, that he is dead. Posterity will not see such a talent as his for the next hundred years! ... Eight days hence... I was attacked by English rheumatism, and so severely that sometimes I could not help crying aloud; but I hope soon to get quit of it, as I have adopted the usual custom here, and have wrapped myself up from head to foot in flannel...

In his diary we may follow the leading events in Haydn's life to the end of the year:

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

Mozart [sic] died on 5th Dec. 1791.

The 23rd Dec. Pleyl [sic] arrived in London.

The 24th I dined with him.

The 31st Dec. I was with Pleyl [sic] in the Pantheon. They played *La Pastorella* Noble by Guglielmi...

The English press, meanwhile, continued to discuss the relative merits of Haydn-Salomon and Pleyel-Professionals. On 5th January 1792, the *Public Advertiser* writes:

Haydn and Pleyel are to be pitted against each other this season; and the supporters of each are violent partizans. As both these Composers are men of first-rate talents, it may be hoped that they will not participate in the little feelings of their respective admirers.

On 17th January, Haydn writes to Marianna von Genzinger:

If you could only see how I am importuned to attend private concerts, causing me great loss of time, and the mass of work with which I am burdened, you would indeed, dear lady, feel the utmost compassion for me. Never in my life did I write so much in one year as during the last, which has indeed utterly exhausted me, and it will do me good to be able to take a little rest when I return home. At present I am working for Salomon's concerts, and feel bound to take all possible trouble, for our rivals of the Professional Society have sent for my pupil Pleyel from Strassburg, to direct their concerts. So a bloody harmonious war will now commence between master and scholar. All the newspapers have begun to discuss the subject, but I think an alliance will soon ensue, my reputation here being so firmly established. Pleyel, on his arrival, displayed so much modesty towards me that he gained my goodwill afresh. We are very often together, which is much to his credit, and he knows how to appreciate his 'father'; we will share our laurels fairly, and each go home satisfied.

The following notice appeared in the *Oracle* of 27th January:

HAYDN, though in instrumental composition so various and original, has yet but slender merit as a Writer for the *Force*. He once wrote, however, an *Opera* at Vienna, and the late EMPEROR would not hear of its being performed.

The opera referred to is *La Fera Costanza*, which was ordered by the theatre in Vienna but withdrawn by Haydn after he saw that, through intrigue, the parts were to be given to second-rate artists<sup>10</sup>. It is very likely that this paragraph was responsible for the composition of *The Storm*, for soli, chorus and orchestra, first performed at the second Haydn-Salomon concert, on 24th February.

The following notices speak for themselves:

MUSICAL CARICATURE

in

PRIVATE CIRCULATION

This admirable piece of humour, which is now handing about in the Musical Circles, is a lampoon on the taste which the Germans have introduced, for trick.

<sup>10</sup> Griesinger, pp. 62 f.



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artifice, surprize, and difficulty, instead of simplicity and nature. The idea is exemplified by a contrast between the German and Italian style of composition. It is entitled, "Deux Trios en different style, par un Amateur d'Amsterdamme."

The one has all the perplexity of the modern German; the other all the tenderness of the Italian. It is just possible for a dexterous Musician to play the one, and every body may play the other.

But that which makes the whimsical satire most captivating, is the *Dignette* in the title. A balance and scales are held by the Deity — In the one scale are the simple notes — in the other a vast number of notes covered with flowers. — The three simple notes weigh down the multitude, while, from the sky, Beams of Genius illuminate them, and below a Band of Loves accompany on the violin, the flute, *etc.* in a gay landscape, where doves coo, and lambskins gambol. The other scale is enveloped in gloom, while under it a band of German figures, with immense hats, are bursting their cheeks in blowing the bassoon, the horn, *etc.* — a peacock is singing on a tree — a bear beats time, and there is a full chorus of frogs.

We are not displeased to see this piece of humour; for it must be granted, that the Germans have seen riot in their *instrumentalities*. We wish, however, that the Italians, with all their sacred regard to simplicity, would, now and then, merely for the sake of their characters, indulge in a little novelty. Their melodies would not be worse for being original; and it would very much heighten the charm if their airs occasionally were made unlike one another.

We suspect the author of this piece of genuine satire to be that wicket wit GIARDINI; we have no information, however, on which to ground this conjecture.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 31st January.]<sup>11</sup>

#### MUSIC.

"Strange that such discords there should be  
Twixt tweedledum and tweedledee."

The musical rage which has produced such zealous and active contention between rival concerts, is further inflamed by ungenerous animosities, personal and degrading. We lament to see them daily jarring into harsh invectives; so that the science which more than any other is the soother and softener of life, is made to irritate and disturb its feelings. The bitterness of faction is introduced into the scene devoted to harmony, and the soul is agitated by party where it ought to be moved only by the concord of sweet sounds.

<sup>11</sup> Dies. pp. 111 *f.* tells us of an answer to this satire, made by an organist of the Royal German chapel, who had the following scene engraved in copper: '... The best known German composers were placed in a sun, and in its surrounding rays. J. S. Bach stands in the centre; nearest to him, in a circle, are Handel, Graun and Haydn. In each of the farthest rays of the sun, there is to be read the name of a German composer. Under the sun there is an Italian owl, shrinking away from the light of the sun; on the side, however, an Italian capon faces a German cock in antagonistic pose. It is true that Haydn saw this page, and was very satisfied with the place accorded him on it.' Apart from the reference to Haydn, this engraving is significant in that it shows beyond any doubt that J. S. Bach, far from being forgotten, was, even about 1800, held by the Germans in reverence. A number of similiar tributes to J. S. Bach may be found in contemporary magazines: some of these appear not to be known to-day. This is a point which I should like to elaborate on another occasion.

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We happily and honourably for our opulence if not for our taste, enjoy for the present season, not only the most sublime and fascinating composers of the world, but the finest performers. There is room enough for them all — for Haydn as well as for Pleyel — for the Professional as well as for Salomon's band; for the Opera in the Little Theatre [the Pantheon had just burned down] as well as the Pasticcio of Chevalier Gallini. But let not our sympathies be wounded by little wretched squabbles. No man whose emotions have been roused by the magic of HAYDN will suffer calumnies to pass on the "god of their idolatry"; — or if we are to have war, let us have war with wit in it. If it were confined to a sportive display of talents no one would be angry, however keen the conflict. Who for instance could seriously be angry at the exquisite couple of Trios by a Dutch amateur, — Even HAYDN, the Shakespeare of Music, must himself confess that the severity of that satire is as much recommended by its truth as its whim.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 31st January.]

The Haydn-Pleyel conflict was for a moment forgotten when the London publisher Napier issued a set of Scottish songs, for which Haydn had provided accompaniments for clavier, violin and 'cello. The firm had been in danger of bankruptcy, but as a result of the instantaneous success of the songs, which Haydn had delivered without payment, Napier was rescued and could soon pay the composer the handsome remuneration of 50 guineas, which sum he doubled when ordering a second collection shortly afterwards<sup>12</sup>. The papers printed the following review of these songs:

HAYDN.

Nothing, perhaps, can be a stronger instance of the superior genius of this great master than the facility with which he seized the wild, but natural and affecting beauties of the Scots airs now in great forwardness for publication, the taste with which he has entered into their genuine spirit, and the felicity of adaptation, with which he has harmonized, as if the original composers had possessed science enough to add the charm of harmony to their own melodies.

This work will be a striking and lasting proof of how little the merit of HAYDN was confined to inventing, or conquering instrumental difficulties.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 31st January;  
*Public Advertiser*, 1st February.]

One also suspects that this is intended as an answer to the *Oracle's* criticism of 27th January.

On 2nd February, there was a concert at the Hanover-Square Rooms for the benefit of the popular composer Raimondi, and on the next day the *Morning Herald* reports:

<sup>12</sup> Griesinger, pp. 56 f., Dies, p. 156. See, however, Hopkinson-Oldman, *Haydn in Napier and Whyte's Collections* (Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, Vol. III, pt. 2, 1954), pp. 88 f.



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#### HANOVER-SQUARE ROOMS.

Mr. RAIMONDI'S Benefit Concert of last night, if not extremely numerous, was at least very scientifically attended, hardly a name of eminence in the world of music being absent. We particularly, and with pleasure, remarked the two great heroes of the ensuing musical campaign, we mean Messrs. HAYDN and PLEYEL, sitting together all the evening, not as contending rivals, but Chiefs associating in the same pursuit.

The celebrated Battle piece of Mr. RAIMONDI, went off with its usual applause, and is an eminent instance of the power of imitation in instrumental music... Madame de' MARIGNY'S [Musigny?] Pedal Har[p] was heard for the first time in these Rooms; and if we say that it was heard with interest, even by those who have been accustomed to the exquisite touch of KRUMPHOLTZ, it will be thought sufficient praise.

In the meantime, the Salomon concerts were announced, the following notice being reprinted frequently:

#### Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

##### HANOVER-SQUARE.

MR. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his Concert will open on Friday, the 17th instant, and continuing on the succeeding Friday, upon the same grand scale as last year.

Dr. Haydn, who is engaged for the whole Season, will give every night a New Piece of his Composition, and direct the Performance of it at the Piano Forte.

The principal vocal Performers already engaged are, SIGNOR SIMONI, (being his first appearance in England.)

And SIGNOR ALBERT TARELLI [*sic*], MISS CORRI, And MADAME MARA, (who is to return by the middle of March;) Besides other distinguished vocal Performers, who will be introduced in the course of the season.

Principal Instrumental Performers, who will alternately perform Solo Concertos and Concertantes, on their respective Instruments, are, — Violin, Messrs. Salomon and Janievicz — Violoncello, Messrs. Menel, Shram, and Damer [*sic*] — Piano Forte, Messrs. Dussac and Haessler — Oboe, Mr. Harrington — Flute, Messrs. Graeff and Ash[e] — Clarinet, Mr. Hartman — Bassoon, Mr. Holmes — And Pedal Harp, Mesdames Krumpholtz and Delaval.

Subscriptions at Five Guineas for the Twelve Nights are received, and Tickets delivered at Messrs. Lockhart's, Bankers, No. 36, Pall-mall. Tickets transferable, as usual, Ladies to Ladies, and Gentlemen to Gentlemen.

The Ladies' Tickets are red, and Gentlemen's blue.

[*Oracle*, January 13, 25, 29 and February 2;  
*Morning Herald*, February 2, 4 and 9;  
*Morning Chronicle*, January 5, February  
2, 4, 10, 13 and 15; *etc.*, *etc.*]

The Pleyel-Professional concerts had been announced, too, and the newspapers continued to discuss the relative merits of Haydn and his pupil. The *Oracle* of 4th February writes:

... PLEYEL has, in addition to Fame so worthily won, composed some charming thoughts for the PROFESSIONAL — How they executed, he had no conception, till he heard a *Practice* [*i. e.* rehearsal].

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HAYDN "*Princeps Cujus Scientiae*" has also written for SOLOMONS [*sic*], what will never be surpassed, if it be ever equalled...

The *Public Advertiser* of the 6th prints this notice, probably at the instigation of Salomon:

HAYDN. At Vienna a Grand Concert has lately been given in honour of this favourite Composer, at which were present the Princes, the principal Nobility, and all the great masters and amateurs; two symphonies composed last winter, for Salomon's Concert were performed, at the end of each an eulogium, written in praise of this extraordinary genius was spoken. The whole was received with a thunder of applause. Mr. Haydn's picture illuminated, was exhibited in the Concert-room, and over the door of entrance were written in the German language, "Profound Silence".

The symphonies can only have been Nos. 96 and 95, which Haydn had sent to his friend and patron von Kees, and which are entered in the Kees catalogue as 'NB von London gekommen'.

On 9th February, Gyrowetz gave his benefit concert, which Salomon conducted; we may be sure Haydn took the time to attend, even though none of his works was performed. The programme included an overture, two symphonies and a 'Concertante' for violin, viola and 'cello, played by Salomon, Hindmarsh and Menel. Lazzarini and Mrs. Billington sang, and the brilliant violinist, Felix Yaniewicz, made his first appearance in London. The first four works were, of course, by Gyrowetz. (Pohl, H in L, p. 48.)

The Professional Concerts announced their opening night, to be held on the 13th:

PROFESSIONAL CONCERT, HANOVER-SQUARE.

The Committee respectfully acquaint the Subscribers, that the FIRST CONCERT will be on Monday next, February the 13th.

ACT I.

Overture — HAYDN.

Song — Signor LAZZARINI.

Concert Violin — Mr. CRAMER.

Song — Mrs. BILLINGTON.

Grand Symphony, composed for the occasion, Mr. PLEYEL.

ACT II.

Concerto Violoncello — Mr. LINDLEY.

Song — Signora NEGRI.

Concerto French Harp — Madame MUSEGNY [*sic*].

Duetto — Signor LAZZARINI and Mrs. BILLINGTON.

Symphony MOZART.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Morning Herald*, February 9, 10 and 13;  
*Oracle*, February 7—11 and 13; *etc.*]

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As in the previous season, Haydn was given a complimentary ticket to the whole series. The criticism in the *Morning Herald* of the 14th reads:

HANOVER-SQUARE.

The PROFESSIONAL CONCERT opened last night with its usual *eclat*, and had such a brilliant train of Subscribers as occupied the Room.

The first Piece was an Overture [*i. e.* Symphony] of HAYDN, performed with admirable correctness. LAZZARINA [*sic*] sung his favourite air from the Opera of ARMIDA. CRAMER'S Violin Concerto exhibited such merit as may enable him to withstand any novelty that may appear against him.

Mrs. BILLINGTON gave the beautiful Air of GYROWITZ [*sic*], which she sung at the benefit of that Composer. The first Act concluded with a very fine Overture composed on purpose for this Concert, by PLEYEL; it abounded with beautiful passages, and was elegant, interesting, and scientific... The PRINCE of WALES came very early in the evening, and seemed highly gratified by the exertions of this admirable band.

The next day, Salomon's first concert was announced. It will be noticed that the courtesy of the Professional Concerts, in placing a symphony of Haydn at the head of the programme, was promptly returned by Haydn and Salomon:

*FIRST CONCERT: 17th FEBRUARY 1792*

Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

HANOVER SQUARE.

Mr. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his first Concert will be on Friday next, the 17th instant.

Part I.

Overture, Pleyel.

Song, Mr. Nield.

Concert Oboe, Mr. Harrington.

Song, Signor Calcagni, (being his first appearance in this Country.)

Concert Pedal Harp, Madame Delaval.

Song, Miss Corri.

Part II.

New Grand Overture [M. S.], Haydn.

Song, Signor Calcagni.

Concerto Violin, Mr. Janieviez.

Duetto, Miss Corri, and Mr. Nield.

Finale, Gyrowetz.

The doors to be opened at Seven...

[*Oracle*, February 15; *Morning Chronicle*,  
February 16; *Morning Herald*, February  
15, 16 and 17; *etc.*]

*The Times* of 20th February carries the following criticism:

SALOMON'S CONCERT

The first Subscription Concert took place last Friday, at Hanover Square.

The established musical judges present all agreed that it went off with surprising effect and rigid exactness. No Band in the world can go better.

A new Overture from the pen of the incomparable *Haydn*, formed one considerable branch of this stupendous musical tree.

Such a combination of excellence was contained in every movement, as inspired all the performers as well as the audience with enthusiastic ardour.

Novelty of idea, agreeable caprice, and whim combined with all *Haydn's* sublime and wonten grandeur, gave additional consequence to the *soul* and feelings of every individual present.

The Critic's eye brightened with additional lustre — then was the moment that the great Painter might have caught — that, which cannot be thrown on the human frame, but on such rare and great occasions.

*Calcagni*, the *sweet Soprano* just arrived was warmly received, and pronounced to be excellent, particularly in the low notes of his *dulcet* pipe. — His stile is elegant and chaste, joined to a very agreeable figure.

*Nield*, who is *Harrison's* elegant walk, was remarkably interesting in an air of *Bach's*. — The tones were perfectly flowing and thoroughly in tune.

Miss *Corri* came forward with all the charms and fascination that a most melodious volume of voice, great judgement, and elegant manner and person can give.

Madam *Deval* struck out with her "*flying fingers*", such effects from the Harp, as confirming all the Poets insist on of the Antients [*sic*] performance on that noble and sublime instrument.

The great Violinist, *Yanievich*, next demands our highest praise, who wrapt us all in Elysium throughout his whole Concerto; he possesses in a superlative degree a firm real tone, a bow arm capable of giving effect to the wonderful execution that he interlards in his beautiful airs of simplicity and wildness. The *Adagio* gave high pleasure to all the *Cognoscenti*, and the Rondo let all the Ladies on the tip-toe of musical motion — His popularity will be very high no doubt.

The duet between Miss *Corri* and *Nield*, was *duo in uno* — a happy combination of sweetness and skill.

The Orchestra under the direction of SALOMAN [*sic*], produced an effect that may with propriety be said, was A SOUL AND BODY OF HARMONY.

*The Morning Herald* of 18th February writes:

HANOVER SQUARE.

Mr. SALOMON'S Concert opened for the season last night to a very elegant audience. The want of room will not permit us to do justice to the excellence of this Concert, which was indeed admirable.

The novelty was, Signor CALCAGNI, first Soprano to the King of Sweden. His voice is full and well toned, and of vast compass. — JANIEICZ [*sic*] played a Concerto on the Violin with such power of execution as astonished the connoisseurs.

The new grand Overture of HAYDN was a composition of very extraordinary merit; and proved that his genius, active as it has been, is as vigorous and fertile as ever.

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Miss CORRI is an improving singer, and only wants a little animation. The other performances merit more praise than we have now an opportunity for allotting.

The *Diary; or, Woodfall's Register* of 18th February reports:

HANOVER SQUARE.

The Concert under the firm of HAYDN and SALOMON commenced for the season last night, before a very brilliant auditory, and was such as might be expected from the union of talents so distinguished. We have not room to expatiate on the merits of this agreeable treat, but it would be highly improper to pass over the excellence of HAYDN'S new Concerto [*i.e.* Symphony], which exhibited all the fire of his bold imagination, and which in the opinion of every musical critic, was a composition at once grand, scientific, charming and original...

The new symphony was No. 93 in D major, composed in the summer or autumn of 1791 and here performed for the first time (see comment in Haydn's diary after third concert). The *Largo* was encored.

The second concert of the Professionals —

PROFESSIONAL CONCERT, HANOVER-SQUARE.

The Committee respectfully acquaint the Subscribers, that the SECOND CONCERT, will be on MONDAY next, the 20th instant.

PART FIRST.

Overture — HAYDN  
Song — Signor LAZZARINI.  
New Quartetto, M. S. — PLEYEL.  
Song — Mrs. BILLINGTON,  
Accompanied by Mr. CRAMER.  
New Grand Overture, M. S. — PLEYEL.

PART SECOND.

Concertante for a Clarinet and Bassoon by  
Messrs. MAHON and PARKINSON.  
Song — Signora NEGRI.  
Concerto Violoncello (by particular desire) Mr. LINDLEY.  
Terzetto, by Signora LAZZARINI, Signora NEGRI, and  
Mrs. BILLINGTON. — — GUGLIEMI.  
FULL PIECE.

[*etc., etc.*]  
[*Morning Herald*, February 17, 18  
and 20; *etc.*]

was reviewed by the *Morning Herald* on the 22nd as follows:

Want of room prevented our noticing yesterday the last performance of the PROFESSIONAL CONCERT, on Monday evening, which was indeed highly entitled to a critical praise.

The new compositions were a very fine overture, and a quartetto of PLEYEL,

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which were warmly applauded. There is certainly much general resemblance in the music of PLEYEL, to the style of HAYDN; but this was to be expected, as the former received his musical education under the latter, and holds his master in laudable reverence.

The Concerto on the Violoncello, by young LIN[D]LEY, was repeated, and so much admired, that the Committee here thought [it] proper to retain him for the season... The room was so well attended, as to shew that "music has charms to soothe" the rigours of WINTER, with all his present repulsive severity.

*SECOND CONCERT: 24th FEBRUARY 1792*

Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

HANOVER-SQUARE.

Mr. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that the Second Performance will be on FRIDAY next, the 24th instant,

PART I.

Overture, CLEMENTI. — Song, Miss POOL[E].

New Quartetto M. S. for Two Violins,  
Tenor and Bass, Messrs. SALOMON, DAMER [*sic*], HINDMARSH,  
and MENEL. — Gyrowetz.

Song, Mr. NIELD.

(with an Accompaniment of a Bassoon Obligato, by Mr. HOLMES.)

Concerto, German Flute, Mr. ASH[E].

(Being his first appearance in London.)

PART II.

The new Grand Overture M. S. HAYDN.

(as performed last Friday.)

Song, Miss CORRI.

New Concerto Pedal Harp, Madame KRUMPHOLTZ —  
Dusseck

Song, Signor CALIAGNI [*sic*].

THE STORM.

A new Quartetto, composed by HAYDN, for four voices, and  
a Full Band.

Sung, by Miss CORRI, Miss POOL[E], Messrs NIELD, and  
BELLAMY.

(The words by an eminent English Author.)

FINALE.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Morning Herald*, February 22, 24;

*Morning Chronicle*, February 22, 24;

*Oracle*, February 22, 24;

*Public Advertiser*, February 23; *etc.*]

The new symphony, No. 93, was again performed, and the first movement and *Largo* repeated (see comment to third concert below); *The Storm* was, of course, not a 'Quartetto' but a composition for four-part vocal ensemble, divided into soli and tutti (*i. e.* solo voices

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and chorus), on a text by John Wolcot (pseudonym: Peter Pindar). Of this concert no less than four reviews are extant:

#### SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The second Concert was exceedingly spirited, and by the Overture of the matchless HAYDN, was distinguished above all common competition. It was original, various, and interesting, — and was received with the most marked applause. — And in addition to this, he gave a very wonderful composition from the following words, in which he combined the strongest effects of his art, horror and pity: —

Hark! the wild uproar of the winds, and hark,  
Hell's Genius roams the regions of the dark;  
And thund'ring swells the horrors of the main.  
From cloud to cloud the moon affrighted flies,  
Now darken'd and now flashing through the skies —  
Alas! bless'd calm, return, return again.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 27th February.]

#### HANOVER-SQUARE.

The report of SALOMON'S Second Concert last night is briefly an admirable musical treat, and a very numerous and brilliant audience. The instrumental excellence was chiefly a beautiful Quartetto of GYROWETZ; the new grand Overture of HAYDN, and a new Chorus and Quartetto by the same excellent composer.

Mr. Ashe appeared for the first time, and performed a Concerto on the Flute in such a style, as places him on a rank with any of his competitors. Madame KRUMPHOLTZ being ill, a Harp Concerto was played by Madame DELAVAL. Miss CORRI, Mr. NIELD, and Signor CALCAGNI, were the vocal performers, and they all received a flattering portion of applause.

The new Chorus and Quartetto of HAYDN is the first attempt of that great Master on English words, and he has succeeded admirably in representative harmony — his *storm* and *calm* being wonderfully expressed in the composition he has adapted to the following words, which are ascribed to PETER PINDAR... [here the text follows].

[*Morning Herald*, 25th February.]

#### MUSICALS.

The second Subscription Concert, under the direction of SALOMON, took place last night at the Hanover Square Rooms, and had a large and splendid auditory.

The prominent excellence in the point of composition, was a charming quartetto of GYROWITZ [*sic*], a new grand overture of HAYDN, which was performed at the last concert, and a new piece entitled THE STORM, composed also by HAYDN. This piece is an exquisite specimen of imitative harmony, adapted to English words; the horrors of a tempest, contrasted with the gradual serenity of a calm, were finely represented, and highly admired...

[*Diary; or, Woodfall's Register*, 25th February.]

#### SALOMON'S CONCERT.

This admirable Concert is a display usually of all the collective Genius in the Country. — Last night its captivations were so numerous, that to particularise them in the present crouded [*sic*] state of the Oracle, is impossible.

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HAYDN, of whose wonderful powers rapture alone should be permitted to speak, gave his grand OVERTURE, M.S., himself presiding at the Harpsichord. — We have no hesitation to say, that, for the most powerful effects of the Science, no one of his Compositions can compare with it.

His *Storm*, a quartetto accompanied, had a great deal of imitative merit about it — the Performance was perfect; the words were Dr. WALCOTT's [*i. e.* Wolcot].

Ash[e] is a fine clear flute, of equal execution and taste.

Miss CORRI's *Sposa Amata* had a sweet sensibility and charming style to distinguish the Singer, who was loudly applauded and certainly with sincerest justice.

A very fashionable attendance distinguished the Rooms; and the general effect gave the most entire satisfaction.

[*Oracle*, 25th February.]

The third Professional Concert was held on the 27th: as usual, a symphony of Haydn opened the programme; Pleyel's new *MS.* symphony which had been performed the first night was repeated, and a new *Concertante* of his was given its first hearing. The *Oracle* of 28th February notes:

PROFESSIONAL CONCERT.

THIRD PERFORMANCE.

Last night the attractions were as various as fancy could wish for. The novelty of the evening was a *Concertante* by PLEYEL, for six Instruments. The subject extremely easy, airy, and well calculated for the *obligati* of the different Instruments which succeed each other — all varied with profound skill, and producing the most delightful effects. CRAMER led the first Performance with that consummate ability which has placed him in our esteem the first of Leaders.

The New Grand Symphony of the first night was repeated, and of this and the *Concertante* it will be sufficiency of praise to say, that HAYDN might own with honour these works of his Pupil. It was the triumph of both — The Master was there, seemingly proud of his Work; the Scholar, himself only second, was very sensibly affected by the applause... The Room was very brilliant indeed, and crowded [*sic*].

THIRD CONCERT: 2nd MARCH 1792

Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

HANOVER-SQUARE

Mr. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his third Performance will be on FRIDAY, March 2.

PART I.

New Overture, M. S. GYROWETZ.

Song, Signor ALBERTARELLI.

Quartetto for Clarinet, Violin, Tenor and Violoncello,

Messrs. HARTMAN, SALOMON, HINDMARSH.

and MENEL. — — Michel.

Song, Miss CORRI.

Concerto Violoncello. Mr. DAMER [*sic*] — (Pleyel)

(Being his first appearance in this country.)



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PART II.

New Grand Overture M. S. HAYDN  
Song, Signor CALCAGNI.  
Concerto Violin, Mr. YANIEWICZ.  
Terzetto, Signor CALCAGNI, Signor ALBERTARELLI,  
and Miss CORRI — — Tarchi.  
FINALE.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Morning Herald*, February 29,  
March 1 and 2; *Oracle*, February  
29, March 2; *etc.*]

The new symphony was No. 98 in B flat major, written in 1792. Haydn's diary says, of the first three concerts: 'In the first concert, the *Adagio* [*i. e. Largo*] of the new Symphony in D [No. 93] was repeated; in the second concert, the chorus [*The Storm*] and the first *Allegro* and the *Adagio* of the above symphony [No. 93] repeated; in the third concert the new Symphony in B flat major [No. 98] was given, and the first and last allegros encored.' In the finale of No. 98 Haydn wrote for himself a short solo for the cembalo, used as a 'shimmery' (Marion Scott) accompaniment to the last strophe of the theme. Miss Scott (*Music & Letters*, XIII [1932], p. 126) quotes part of Samuel Wesley's *Reminiscences* (1836 *et seq.*) which appears to refer to this solo:

His Performance on the Piano Forte, although not such as to stamp him a first rate artist upon that Instrument, was indisputably neat and distinct. In the Finale of one of his Symphonies is a Passage of attractive Brilliancy, which he has given to the Piano Forte (*sc.* cembalo), and which the Writer of this Memoir remembers him to have executed with the utmost Accuracy and Precision.

[B. M. Add. 27593, f. 70.]

On 2nd March 1792, Haydn writes of the latest events to Vienna:

Yesterday morning I received your valued letter, and also the long-looked-for symphony [No. 91 in E flat]. I humbly kiss your hands for sending it so safely and quickly [*sic*]. I had indeed received it six days previously from Brussels, through Herr v. Kees; but the score was more useful, as a good deal must be altered in it to suit the English taste... Owing to various urgent causes I am unable to send you as yet the new symphony dedicated to you. First, because I wish to alter and embellish the last movement, which is too feeble when compared with the first. I felt this conviction myself quite as much as the public, when it was performed for the first time last Friday; notwithstanding which, it made the most profound impression on the audience. The second reason is that I really dread the risk of its falling into other hands. I was not a little startled when I read the unpleasant intelligence about the sonata. By Heavens! I would rather have lost twenty-five ducats than have suffered such a theft, and the only

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one who can have done this is my own copyist... It is equally impossible for me to send Herr v. Kees the promised symphonies at present, for here too there is a great want of faithful copyists. If I had time, I would write them out myself, but no day, not a single one, am I free from work, and I shall thank the good Lord when I can leave London; the sooner the better. My labours are augmented by the arrival of my pupil Pleyel, who has been summoned here by the Professional Society to direct their concerts. He brought with him a number of new compositions, which were, however, written long ago! He accordingly promised to give a new piece every evening. On seeing this, I could easily perceive that there was a dead set against me, so I also announced publicly that I would likewise give twelve different new pieces; so in order to keep my promise, and to support poor Salomon, I must be the victim, and work perpetually. I do feel it, however, very much. My eyes suffer most, and my nights are very sleepless, but with God's help I will overcome it all. The Professionals wished to put a spoke in my wheel because I did not join their concerts, but the public is just. Last year I received great applause, but this year still more. Pleyel's presumption is everywhere criticized, and yet I love him, and have gone to his concert each time, and been the first to applaud him... The time draws near to put my trunks in travelling order... Please apologize to Herr v. Kees for want of time preventing my sending him the new symphonies. I hope to have the honour of directing them myself in your house, at our next Christmas music.

Haydn seems to have confused the dates of the Salomon concerts; either the letter refers to No. 98, performed for the first time on 2nd March, the date of the letter, or, more likely, to No. 93. In the latter case, however, Haydn's comment '.... when it was performed for the first time last Friday [*i. e.* 24th February]' is mistaken, for as Pohl<sup>13</sup> correctly points out, the new D major symphony was performed 'last Friday' for the *second* time, as the extant programme clearly indicates. Haydn's diary reveals that the first *and last* movements of No. 98 were encored, a sure sign of the public's approval of the finale, and it is, therefore, almost certain that No. 93 is meant. The audience would hardly have encored a movement which they felt was 'too feeble compared with the first'.

The next day, the Professional Concerts announced their fourth concert, to be held on the 5th with the following programme:

FIRST ACT.

New Overture — HAYDN.

Song — Signor LAZZARINI.

New Quartetto, M. S. for two Violins, Tenor, and Violoncello,  
by Messrs. CRAMER, BORGHI, BLAKE, and SMITH. — PLEYEL.

Song — Mrs. BILLINGTON.

New Overture, M. S. — PLEYEL.

<sup>13</sup> H in L, p. 188.



XXXXIV Muzio Clementi. Engraving by J. Neidl after the painting by Thomas Hardy, 1793.



XXXXV Ignaz Pleyel. Engraving by J. Neidl after the painting by Thomas Hardy, 1793.



XXXXI (Left)  
Wilhelm Cramer.  
Engraving by  
Thomas Hardy,  
1791.

XXXXII (Right)  
Adalbert Grotz.  
Engraving  
by J. C. Mans-  
feld, 1793.



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SECOND PART.

Concerto French Horn — Mr. PIELTAIN.

Song — Mrs. BILLINGTON.

Concerto Harp — Madame de MUSIGNY.

Song — Signor LAZZARINI.

Finale.

[etc., etc.]

[*Morning Herald*, March 3;

*Oracle*, March 3 and 5; etc.]

PROFESSIONAL CONCERT.

*Hanover-Square.*

There is so much excellence in the general performance of these Concerts, that the brilliant patronage they receive is the necessary operation of eminent talents, employed on admirable materials.

The fine Overture of HAYDN, which opened last night, was, we believe, the first piece he produced after his arrival in this country, at SALOMON'S Concert, last year [*i. e.* Symphony No. 96 in D]. It is a grand composition, and was well supported.

The new pieces of last night, were by PLEYEL; the first a very pleasing Quartetto, to which CRAMER, BORGHI, BLAKE and SMITH did ample justice; the other, a grand Symphony... The last piece was a very pretty symphony of GYROWITZ [*sic*], a composer of deserved repute.

Lord ADINGDON [*i. e.* Abingdon] who was one of the earliest patrons of the charming Concert was last night one of its most applauding auditors. The report of the room, we sincerely hope is ill-founded, which announced the death of poor STORACE. [*Morning Herald*, 6th March.]

MUSIC.

The fourth performance of the Professional Concert at Hanover square, last night, was distinguished for excellent music, and a very brilliant attendance. An overture of HAYDN was the opening piece, and it was a work equally pleasing and scientific... [*Diary; or, Woodfall's Register*, 6th March.]

FOURTH CONCERT: 9th MARCH 1792

Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

Mr. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his Fourth Performance will be TO-MORROW, Friday, March 9, 1792.

PART I.

Overture — KOZELUCK [*sic*].

Song, Mr. NIELD.

Concerto, German Flute, Mr. GRAEFF.

Song, Miss CORRI.

New Concerto M. S. for [Violin], Violoncello, Oboe and Bassoon,  
Messrs. SALOMON, MENEL, HAR[R]INGTON, and  
HOLMES. — HAYDN.

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PART II.

(By desire) The New Overture, M. S. HAYDN,  
as performed last Friday.  
Song, Signor CAIAGNI [*sic*].  
New Concerto Pedal Harp, Madame KRUMPHOLTZ  
— Dusseck.  
Duetto, Miss CORRI and Mr. NIELD.  
FINALE.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle*, 8th March; *Morning Herald*, 8th March; *etc.*]

Symphony No. 98 was repeated, and the new work was the *Sinfonia Concertante* in B flat major, written in 1792 at top speed, as the scrawled autograph (entitled, like the contemporary programmes, *Concertante*) in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek shows. We have a number of contemporary criticisms:

SALOMON'S CONCERT.

FOURTH NIGHT.

Haydn directed for the first time the Performance of a New *Concertante* — the third movement of which seemed expressly calculated to shew the brilliancy of SALOMON'S, and the sweetness of his tone.

The prevailing manner of this Master pervaded every movement — it had all his usual grandeur, contrasted by the levity of airy transition, and the sudden surprises of abrupt rests.

GRAEFF executed a Flute Concerto with very powerful tone and rapidity of finger. It was noticed that he played upon a Flute not of the new construction; it had no greater compass than D below.

Madame KRUMPHOLTZ delighted everybody by the brilliancy of her Harp Concerto. — She is without doubt the first Player we have. — There is an additional charm in manner; that too is her own. — We should wish she might please highly, if we did not know that she certainly would.

Miss CORRI, in a very delicate Air of SARTI,

“Ah non sei qual pena sia”,

was universally admired — her style is extremely delicate and pure.

Mr. NIELD acquitted himself very respectably.

Signor CALCAGNI sung from SACCHINI

“non odi il segno”

and a Duo of SARTI with Miss CORRI, very ably. His lower tones are remarkably clear and firm.

The Company were very brilliant.

[*Oracle*, 10th March.]

MUSIC.

The last performance at SALOMON'S Concert deserves to be mentioned as one of the richest musical treats which the present season has afforded. A new concertante from HAYDN combined with all the excellencies of music; it was profound, airy, affecting, and original, and the performance was in unison with

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the merit of the composition. SALOMON particularly exerted himself on this occasion, in doing justice to the music of his friend HAYDN.

GRAEFF played a concerto on the common German Flute, but in a style of uncommon excellence. KRUMPHOLTZ, who has been kept from the Public by illness, made ample atonement for her absence by a delicious concerto on the harp.

NEILD [*sic*], CALCAGNI, and Miss CORRI, were the vocal performers, and they all acquitted themselves very ably.

The room had a very brilliant attendance.

[*Morning Herald*, 12th March.]

#### MUSIC.

Mr. SALOMON gave his fourth Concert on Friday night, in which HAYDN shone with more than his usual lustre.

A new *Concertante*, for a Violin, Violoncello, Oboe, and Bassoon, was performed for the first time with admirable effect. The *solo* parts were finely contrasted with the "full tide of harmony" of the other instruments, and they were very ably sustained by the respective performers.

The new Overture of the former Friday was repeated; it is one of the grandest compositions we ever heard, and it was most loudly applauded; the first and last movements were encored.

Madame KRUMPHOLTZ played a new Concerto on the harp, which she executed with much elegance. Miss CORRI sung charmingly. She has much the manner of MARCHESI, and with the judicious instruction of her father, she could not have chosen a better model.

It was near twelve o'clock before the concert was finished.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 12th March.]

The fifth Professional Concert was held on 12th March, with the following programme:

#### FIRST PART.

Overture — HAYDN.

Song — Signor LAZZARINI.

Quartetto, M. S. for two Violins, Tenor, and Violoncello,  
by Messrs. CRAMER, BORGHI, BLAKE and

Smith. — RAWLINS, Junior.

Song — Mrs. BILLINGTON.

New Concertante M. S. for two Violins, by Messrs.  
CRAMER — PLEYEL.

#### PART SECOND.

Grand Symphony, M. S. — PLEYEL.

Song — Mrs. BILLINGTON.

Concerto Violoncello, Mr. LINDLEY.

Song, Signora NEGRI.

Finale — ROZETTI [*sic*].

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle and Morning Herald*,  
12th March; *etc.*]

#### PROFESSIONAL CONCERT.

Last Night produced in the first Act two Novelties — A Quartetto by RAWLINS, jun. a very pretty imitation of HAYDN, and of course, promising much.



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PLEYEL had written a Concertante for two Violins, to usher into public the young CRAMER, who sustained with great skill the responsive part to his Father, and often when his timidity subsided, evinced his hereditary value. The second movement was highly applauded, and had abundant merit.

LINDLEY is a prodigy of excellence.

Mrs. BILLINGTON executed with wonderful rapidity and sweetness, two charming Compositions —

“Ah non sai mio bene amato”,

and in the Second Act, from ANFOSSI,

“Dove povera me”.

LAZZARINI took a Scene from PAESIELLO, and Signora NEGRI one from ANDREOZZI. Of the latter we have to say, that her chaste and feeling style appealed very successfully to *true* taste; there was not much of it, however, in the majority.

[*Oracle*, 13th March.]

MUSIC.

The PROFESSIONAL CONCERT held its fifth performance for the present season at the Hanover-Square Room last night, and had a large and splendid train of subscribers. The opening piece was one of the most favourite Overtures of HAYDN, and nothing could be more delicious than the manner in which it was performed...

[*Diary; or, Woodfall's Register*, 13th March.]

*FIFTH CONCERT: 16th MARCH 1792*

Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

HANOVER-SQUARE.

Mr. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his Fifth Performance will be THIS EVENING, the 16th instant.

PART I.

Overture M. S. (from last year) HAYDN.

Song, Mr. NIELD.

Quartetto for two Violins, Tenor, and Violoncello, Messrs. SALOMON, DAMEN, HINDMARSH, and MEMEL [*sic*]. — HAYDN.

Song, Miss POOL[E].

Concerto Violoncello, Mr. SHRAM.

New Recitativo and Aria, Signor CALCAGNI. — HAYDN.

PART II.

New Concerto Piano Forte, Mr. HAESSLER. — HAESSLER.

Cantata, Miss CORRI — HAYDN.

(By desire) the New Concertante, M. S. for Violin, Violoncello, Oboe, and Bassoon, Messrs. SALOMON, MENEL, HARRINGTON, and HOLMES.

— HAYDN. (As performed last Friday.) — — The Storm,

New Chorus and Quartetto, the principal Vocal Parts by Miss CORRI, Miss POOL[E], Mr. NIELD, and Mr. BELLAMY. — HAYDN.

FINALE.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle, Morning Chronicle and Morning Herald* of March 14 and 16.]



March, 1792

The symphony 'from last year' was either No. 95 or one of the earlier works (*i. e.* Nos. 90, 92, *etc.*) which Haydn had brought with him and introduced in the season of 1791. It was not No. 96, which is more exactly described (see ninth concert, below). The quartet was probably from Opus 64. The 'new' recitative and aria may have been from *Orfeo*, or it may have been one of those mentioned in Haydn's catalogue of his works written in England—though the latter is not likely. The cantata was possibly *Ariadne*, more likely 'Ah, come il core'. The *Sinfonia Concertante* and *The Storm* are easily identified. Of this concert, the *Morning Herald* of 17th March writes:

#### MUSIC.

There has hardly ever been a more beautiful musical treat than the fifth performance of SALOMON'S Concert, at the Hanover-Square Room, last night. No less than six Pieces of HAYDN were performed, exhibiting a richness and variety of genius that far exceed all modern Composers. Of these admirable works, the *Concertante* and the *Storm*, were certainly the best.

In the *Concertante*, SALOMON distinguished himself very eminently. The *Storm* is a fine effort of musical painting; the vicissitude of the calm, and the tempest are remarkably striking.

A Concerto on the Violoncello was well performed by Mr. SCHRAM.

Mr. HAESSLER, in a Concerto on the Piano Forte, evinced extraordinary execution and finished taste.

Miss CORRI, Miss POOLE, and NIELD, were all deservedly applauded for their Vocal exertions.

The *Diary; or, Woodfall's Register* of 17th March reports:

#### HANOVER SQUARE.

The fifth Performance of the Concerts, under the direction of SALOMON and HAYDN, was held at this place last night, and a more delicious assemblage of harmonic excellencies, we never attended...

HAYDN appeared with usual *eclat*, for six of his own compositions were performed, and they were all character[i]zed by beauty, expression, and originality. Of these pieces, a *Concertante*, and the fine representation of harmony, entitled, *THE STORM*, were the most striking; but particularly the latter, which was alternately tremendous and delightful, according to the predominance [*sic*] of the imitation hurricane, or the approaching calm...

On the 20th, Haydn presided at a concert of the Misses Abrams ('Leader of the Band Mr. SALOMON. The Whole to be conducted by Dr. HAYDN'). The programme (*Oracle*, March 15, 17, 19 and 20; *etc.*) reads:

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A CONCERT  
OF VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

ACT I

Overture — Gyrowetz.  
Glee — *Sevema*.  
Song, — Mr BARTLEMAN  
Quartetto — Messrs. SALOMON, DAME[N], W. ABRAMS, and MENELL [*sic*]  
— HAYDN.  
Duetto — Miss ABRAMS — Sarti  
Concerto, Piano Forte, Miss E. ABRAMS — Janievicz.

ACT II

New Overture, M S — Haydn  
Quartetto — Messrs. SALOMON, RAIMONDI, MENELL [*sic*], and  
GRAEFF — Raimondi  
Aria — Signor CALCAGNI  
Concerto Harp — Mad. DELAVAL.  
Tortetto — The Miss ABRAMS — Cimarosa  
Symphonie — Haydn  
[etc, etc]

Underneath this announcement, the *Oracle* printed the following notice:

'The true admirers of HAYDN always forget his Doctorate. First-rate excellence lones all *Prologue* to the NAME.'

SIXTH CONCERT: 23<sup>rd</sup> MARCH 1792

Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT  
HANOVER SQUARE.

Mr. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his Sixth Performance will be on FRIDAY next, the 23<sup>rd</sup> instant

PART I

Grand Overture M S HAYDN  
Song, Signor ALBERTARELLI  
Quartetto for two Violins, Tenor, and Violoncello,  
Messrs. SALOMON, DAMER [*sic*], HINDMARSH, and MEMEL [*sic*]  
— CAMBINI  
Scena, Miss CORRI  
New Concerto Violin, Mr. YANIEWICZ.

# HAYDN'S

## Symphonies

*Celebrated*

Composed for & performed at Mr. Salomon's Concert  
Hanover-Square

Adapted for the

### PIANO-FORTE

with new Accompaniment  
for

### VIOLIN & VIOLONCELLO

(and Libretto)

No. 94

Printed at the  
Celebrated Stationers Hall

To be had at Mr. Hanover-Square, Vienna & at Messrs. Corni, Frankfurt  
No. 94, 65, Neumarkt-Platz, as Haymarket and Adelphi-Street  
Edinburgh.

Adagio

SINFONIA III

HAYDN

Violins

Violas

Cellos & Double Basses

2. Flauto

The first two pages of what is probably the first edition of Haydn's Symphony No. 94 ('Surprise') in an arrangement for piano, violin and 'cello (watermark date: 1795). Salomon's signature is at the bottom of the first page of music. (Author's collection.)

PART II.

New Grand Overture, M. S. HAYDN.

Aria, Signor CALIAGNI [*sic*].

(By desire) the new Concerto Pedal Harp, Madame  
KRUMPHOLTZ — DUSSECK, as performed on the 4th night.

Terzetto, Miss CORRI, Signor CALIAGNI [*sic*], and

Signor ALBERTARELLI

FINALE.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Morning Herald*, March 21; *Times*,  
March 21 and 23; *Oracle*, March  
21 and 23; *Morning Chronicle*,  
March 20, 22 and 23; *etc.*]

The new symphony was No. 94 in G major, and the title 'Surprise' seems to have been applied to the work immediately, as will be seen in the ensuing press notices. It is not clear which symphony opened the programme; the 'fine printed' quartet is listed in one review as Haydn, not Cambini (there may have been a last-minute change of programme). It is interesting to speculate why Haydn should have held up No. 94, composed in 1791, in favour of other works written in 1792. The following reviews have been preserved:

HANOVER SQUARE.

The Subscription Concert under the management of HAYDN and SALOMON, evidently rises in the esteem of the musical world, for the number of visitors augments on every performance.

The compositions of last night were chiefly from HAYDN. The opening Overture was not new, but very fine. A quartetto was also excellent. The third piece of HAYDN was a new Overture, of very extraordinary merit. It was simple, profound and sublime. The *andante* movement was particularly admired...

[*Diary; or, Woodfall's Register*, 24th March.]

MUSIC.

The great name of HAYDN, and the general excellence of the Concerts under the direction of SALOMON, have a suitable operation upon the world of taste and fashion. The Room was crowded last night, and by a very elegant assemblage.

A new composition from such a man as HAYDN is a great event in the history of Music. — His novelty of last night was a grand Overture, the subject of which was remarkably simple, but extended to vast complication, exquisitely modulated, and striking in effect. Critical applause was fervid and abundant.

YANIEWICZ, who is a wonderful performer on the Violin, far exceeded all his former performances, in his Concert of last night.

Madame Krumpholtz gave her last admirable Concerto, and judiciously omitted the second movement.

Miss Corri is a pleasing singer, but she should try to become more animated; for her voice and taste, though both good, are considerably affected by a kind of *languid drawl*, which too often accompanies her performance.

The concluding piece of GYROWITZ [*sic*] has all the delicacy, taste and science, for which his works are distinguished.

[*Morning Herald*, 24th March.]

March, 1792

SALOMON'S CONCERT.

SIXTH NIGHT.

The Selection was uncommonly elegant instrumentally. The first Act commenced with the delightful Overture M.S. HAYDN. — A fine printed Quartetto, also HAYDN [*sic*].

YANIEWICZ, absolutely the most brilliant Performer we have ever heard upon the Violin, played his Concerto in that fascinating style of contrasted strength and beauty, which delights the Amateur.

Miss CORRI, with infinite sweetness and expression, sang a charming Scena; and ALBERTARELLI in his Aria [of] GUGLIEMI, proved what he could do upon the Stage of our Opera.

Act 2d opened with a first performance of the GRAND OVERTURE composed by HAYDN for that evening.

The Second Movement was equal to the happiest of this great Master's conceptions. The surprise might not be unaptly likened to the situation of a beautiful Shepherdess who, lulled to slumber by the murmur of a distant Water-fall, starts alarmed by the unexpected firing of a fowling-piece. The flute obligato was delicious.

Mad. KRUMPHOLTZ played her Harp Concerto like an Angel, omitting the heavy second movement of the *Tom Tom Gongs*, and other funereal Instruments imitated so dolefully on the fourth night.

The *terzetto* [of] GUGLIEMI, from certain classic rests of conception touching the character of ENEAS, we could not taste[,] so perhaps it merited —

Del furor mi sento oppresso,  
L'era mia non so frenar.

[Oracle, 24th March.]

Such a famous movement as the 'Surprise' or, as it became known in Germany, 'mit dem Paukenschlag', received a great deal of comment in the authentic biographies; together with the sardonic remarks of Neukomm and the explanation of Gyrowetz, the space devoted to this movement in Dies and Griesinger shows that the original joke had long lost its savour. Haydn no longer knew quite what to say about the harmless *Andante*:

I asked [Haydn] once in jest if it were true that he wrote the *Andante* with the kettledrum beat in order to awaken the English public that had gone to sleep at his concert. 'No', he answered me. 'Rather it was my wish to surprise the public with something new, and to make a *début* in a brilliant manner so as not to be outdone by my pupil Pleyel, who at that time was engaged by an orchestra in London (in the year 1792) which had begun its concert series eight days before mine. The first *Allegro* of my symphony was received with countless bravos, but the enthusiasm reached its highest point in the *Andante* with the kettledrum beat. *Ancora, Ancora!* sounded from every throat, and even Pleyel complimented me on my idea.' [Griesinger, pp. 55 f.]

Haydn noticed, even in the first concerts . . . , that he had done well to stipulate that the performance of his works should take place in the second part. The first

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part was generally disturbed in various ways by the noises of the late-comers. Not a few persons came from a well-laid table (where the men, after the fashion of the country — the ladies having betaken themselves after the meal to another room — remained over their drinks), took comfortable seats in the concert hall, and were so overcome with the magic of the music that sleep stole over them... Haydn saw to his annoyance that even in the second part the God of Sleep spread his wings over the company; he saw in this an insult to his muse and resolved to revenge himself, and composed for this purpose a symphony in which he, in the *Andante* — where one would least expect it — arranged to contrast the softest *piano* with *fortissimo*. To make the effect as surprising as possible he accompanied the *fortissimo* with kettledrums... Haydn had told the kettledrummer to take his sticks and use them without any mercy, and the latter fulfilled entirely [Haydn's] expectations. The sudden thunder of the whole orchestra shocked the sleepers, all awoke and looked at each other with disturbed and surprised expressions... [Dies, pp. 91 f. The story goes on, in Dies' usual way, to give details of a woman fainting, etc.]

Neukomm (*Bemerkungen zu den Biographischen Nachrichten von Dies*) has this to say about Dies' version:

This long and rather silly story is really restricted to the fact that H[aydn] had noticed an old man, who occupied the same seat at every concert and who regularly went to sleep at the very beginning. H[aydn] allowed himself the joke of awakening the sleeper by a single drum beat [musical example] — everything else is silly nonsense and not worthy of repetition. [A page earlier Neukomm says:] I should like to remark that all the information I [have] from Haydn, for the most part at our tête à tête conversation over meals, is from an earlier time than that of the visits of my friend Dies; at a time when H[aydn] was strong enough to write that huge work 'Die Jahreszeiten'.

Gyrowetz, in his autobiography (*op. cit.*, p. 75), says:

...the [Salomon] concerts often lasted until well past midnight, and so it happened that the ladies not infrequently fell asleep. This suggested to Haydn the idea of composing something which should arouse them from their nap, and so for this occasion he wrote the celebrated *Andante* with the drum beat, as a result of which the ladies were really awakened, and from some was even heard a loud cry. As Haydn was just composing this *Andante*, Gyrowetz arrived to pay his respects. Haydn was so pleased and delighted with his own idea that he forthwith played the *Andante* on his square pianoforte, laughing as he did so, and prophesying: 'there the women will jump'...

On 26th March, Miss Corri gave her benefit concert; the *Diary*; or, *Woodfall's Register* of 2nd April writes:

HANOVER-SQUARE ROOMS.

Miss CORRI'S Concert was attended on Saturday evening by a very numerous and genteel audience... A Grand Overture of Haydn's was most powerfully played, and highly relished.

Salomon lead [sic] the band with his wonted spirit and ability.

EXE.

March—April, 1792

Haydn's diary has a curious tale to relate in connection with this concert. He describes it—wrongly, as Pohl<sup>14</sup> points out—as a concert of the violinist F. H. Barthelemon, which actually took place on 28th May 1792. It will be seen that the 'highly relished' Symphony was No. 75 in D major, for Haydn writes:

The 26th March 1792, at the concert of Mr. Barthelemon [*i.e.* Miss Corri], there was an English pastor who, as he heard my *Andante* [music ex.: No. 75/II], became sunk in the deepest melancholy, because he had the night before dreamt of such an *Andante* which should proclaim his death. He left the company immediately, took to his bed, and to-day I learned from Mr. Barthelemon that this Protestant cleric has died.

In the meanwhile, Salomon thought it best to postpone his next concert, and the press carried the following explanation:

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

MR. SALOMON being still disappointed in Madame MARA's arrival, has by the advice of many of his Subscribers, who wish to enjoy the additional pleasure of her Performance at all the remaining Concerts, and in hope of meeting the approbation of the Subscribers in general deferred the 7th Concert to April the 13th, the Friday in Easter Week; when Madame MARA, as well as Signor SIMONI, will perform; and that a number of Mr. SALOMON's friends, who, from a variety of circumstances were prevented from subscribing to the whole of the 12 concerts, may not be deprived of the opportunity of hearing such acknowledged merit, he has been particularly requested to accommodate them with Subscriptions for the remaining six Nights; and which, from the deep obligations he feels himself under to those friends, he has the greatest satisfaction in doing...

Haydn, who was hard at work on Symphony No. 97 and on the revision of No. 91, the score of which had arrived on 1st March, must have found this postponement welcome. On 12th April, a day before the seventh concert, the *Public Advertiser* printed the following statement:

Haydn finds the *good cheer* of this country in such concert *pitch* with his own *great taste*, that he has declared his intention of concluding the *finale* of his days, with the "*Roast Beef of Old England*."

SEVENTH CONCERT: 13th APRIL 1792

HANOVER-SQUARE.

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

MR. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Subscribers, that his Seventh Concert will be THIS EVENING, FRIDAY, April 13.

<sup>14</sup> H in L, p. 193.



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PART I.

New Grand Overture, M. S. HAYDN.

Song, Mrs. [sic] CORRI.

Quartetto M. S. for two Violins, Tenor, and Violoncello, Messrs.

SALOMON, DAMER [sic], HINDMARSH, and MEMEL [sic]. — GYROWETZ.

Song, Signor SIMONI,

(Being his first appearance in England.)

New Concerto Piano Forte. Mr. DUSSECK. — DUSSECK.

PART II.

By desire, the new Grand Overture, M. S. — HAYDN.

As performed on the Fourth Night.

Song, Miss CORRI.

Sonata Pedal Harp, Madam Delaval.

Song, Signor SIMONI.

FINALE — KOZELUCK [sic].

[etc., etc.]

[*Morning Herald*, April 12 and 13;

*Morning Chronicle*, April 12 and 13; etc.]

MUSIC.

The Concerts under the *firm* of SALOMON and HAYDN, were resumed last night at the Hanover Square Rooms, before the usual assemblage of elegant and fashionable visitors. A new Overture of HAYDN had all the taste, richness, and originality, which usually distinguish the compositions of that great master.

The vocal novelty was Signor SIMONI, a very fine tenor. His voice is strong, extensive, and well toned, and he sings with great expression. He was much admired on the Continent, and is in no danger of lessening his reputation in this country.

Mrs. [sic] CORRI sung two Italian airs with such taste, that we wonder she has not more musical fame. A Harp Sonata, by Madam DELAVAL, was charmingly performed, and had the support of SALOMON's exquisite accompaniment on the Violin. DUSSECK played a Concerto on the Piano Forte, which was wholly recommended by rapid *execution*. The last movement was borrowed from a Russian Air of JARNOVICH. A Quartetto of GYROWETZ, very pretty in itself, was admirably performed. The band is greatly improved in general spirit and precision.

[*Morning Herald*, 14th April.]

SALOMON'S CONCERT.

This admirable Concert was further strengthened on Friday evening by the addition of M[r.] SIMONI, a vocal performer who has gained great applause at the *Theatre de Monsieur* in Paris, and who will justly be ranked as one of the finest voices which we have in England. His voice is full, and rich tenor — It is of extensive power and vigorous tone. He sung two songs in a very fine style, and was received with great admiration and applause.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 16th April.]

HANOVER SQUARE.

The powerful attraction of the Concert, under the direction of SALOMON and HAYDN, was visible last night, in a large attendance of the fashionable world...

The new overture composed by HAYDN for the evening, was worthy this admirable and original musician...

[*Diary; or, Woodfall's Register*, 14th April.]



April, 1792

From the above criticisms, especially that of the *Diary*, we learn that, contrary to Haydn's usual practice, a new symphony 'composed... for the evening' seems to have opened the concert. It would appear that the work was No. 91 in E flat major, which he had so long expected from Frau von Genzinger; because it could not compete in brilliance and effect with the newest works, Haydn was clever enough to place it at the beginning of the evening, rather than at the opening of the second part, reserving the latter place for Symphony No. 98. This can be the only explanation for the abrupt *volte-face* of Haydn's previous insistence that all the new works be reserved till after the interval.

*EIGHTH CONCERT: 20th APRIL 1792*

HANOVER-SQUARE.

Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

MR. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Subscribers, that his Eighth Concert will be TO-MORROW, April the 20th.

PART I.

By particular desire, the New Overture, M. S. HAYDN,  
as performed on the Sixth Night.

Song, Miss CORRI.

New Sonata Piano Forte, Master HUMMEL,  
with a Violin and Violoncello Obligato, Messrs. SALOMON  
and MENEL. — HAYDN

Song, Signor SIMONI.

Concerto German Flute, Mr. ASH[E].

PART II.

By particular desire, the New Overture, M. S. HAYDN,  
As performed on the First and Second Nights.

Concerto Violin, Mr. JANIEWETZ [*sic*].

Song, Signor SIMONI.

FINALE.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Morning Herald*, April 19 and 20;  
*Oracle*, April 19 and 20; *etc.*]

The first 'New Overture, M. S.' was Symphony No. 94 ('Surprise'), the second No. 93. The pianoforte trio ('Sonata') was that in A flat (Larsen No. 14; B. & H. No. 24), published by Artaria in 1790 as Op. 61; we are able to identify it exactly by the Longman & Broderip print, which contains the note: 'as performed by Master Hummel at Mr. Salomon's concert' (Larsen, HUB, p. 181, n. 36).

On 24th April, Haydn wrote to Marianna von Genzinger:

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

Yesterday evening I received with much pleasure your last letter of 5th April, with the extract from the newspaper, extolling my poor talents to the Viennese. I must confess that I have gained considerable credit with the English in vocal music, by this little chorus (*The Storm*), my first attempt with English words. It is only to be regretted that, during my stay here, I have not been able to write more pieces of a similar nature, but we could not find any boys to sing [the soprano and alto parts of the chorus] at our concerts, they having been already engaged for a year past to sing at other concerts, of which there are a vast number in spite of the great opposition of my musical enemies, who are so bitter against me, more especially leaving nothing undone with my pupil Ployel this winter to humiliate me, still, thank God! I may say that I have kept the upper hand. I must however, admit that I am quite wearied and worn out with so much work, and look forward with eager longing to the repose which will soon take pity on me. I thank you, dear lady, for your kind antipathy about me. Just as you thought, I do not require to go to Paris at present, from a variety of reasons, which I will tell you when we meet. I am in daily expectation of an order from my Prince, to whom I wrote lately, to tell me where I am to go. It is possible that he may summon me to Frankfurt; if not, I intend (*entre nous*) to go by Holland to the King of Prussia at Berlin, thence to Leipzig, Dresden, Prague, and last of all to Vienna, where I hope to embrace all my friends.

**NINTH CONCERT: 27th APRIL 1792**

**HANOVER-SQUARE**

**MR SALOMON'S CONCERT**

MR SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Subscribers, that his Ninth Concert will be TO-MORROW, April 27th.

**PART I**

**Grand Overture, M S HAYDN**

Divertimenti for Violon, Oboe, Flauto, two Viola, two Corni, Violoncello  
Obligati [*etc.*]. — MESS SALOMON, HARRINGTON, ASHE, HINDMARCH, POLLOCK,  
PIOLTAIN [*etc.*], LEANDER, MENEL. — HAYDN

Song, Signor SIMONI

Concerto Violoncello, Mrs. DAMER [*or* Mr. Dohmen]

Song, Madam MAHA

**PART II**

By particular desire, the Favourite Overture, — HAYDN,

As performed last Season, on the First and Second Nights

Song, Signor SIMONI

Concerto Violin, Mr. JANIEWETZ [*etc.*]

Song, Madam MAHA

Finale — HAYDN

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Morning Herald*, April 26 and 27;

*Oracle*, April 26 and 27;

*Morning Chronicle*, April 26; *etc.*]

The first symphony was probably an earlier one, while the second was the favourite No. 96. The new divertimento was another nocturno for the King of Naples (1790), with the lyra parts transcribed for oboe

April—May, 1792

and flute. There are, of course, two violin parts, not one (see tenth concert).

On the same day as the concert appeared the following paragraph in the *Morning Herald*:

To Mr. *Clagget*, musical Museum, Greek street, Soho. — Sir! I called at your house, during your absence, and examined your improvements on the Pianoforte, and Harpsichords, and I found you had made them perfect instruments. I therefore, in justice to your invention, cannot forbear giving you my full approbation, as by this means you have rendered one of the finest instruments ever invented, perfect, and therefore the fittest to conduct any musical performance, and to accompany the human voice. I wish you to make this known through such channels as may appear to be most advantageous to you. I am etc. Josephus Haydn. [Pohl, H in L, p. 194.]

On the 3rd of May, Haydn gave his benefit concert:

HANOVER-SQUARE.

For the BENEFIT of Dr. HAYDN.  
THIS EVENING, the 3rd of May, 1792,  
will be performed a Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music.

PART I.

Grand Overture, M. S. HAYDN.  
Aria, Signor CALCAGNI.  
Concertante for Violin, Violoncello, Oboe, Bassoon. Messrs.  
SALOMON, MENEL, HARRINGTON, and HOLMES. — HAYDN.  
Cantata, Miss CORRI. — HAYDN.  
Concerto Violin, Mr. JANEIWETZ [*sic*].

PART II.

Grand Overture, M. S. HAYDN.  
Song, Signor SIMONI.  
Concerto Pedal Harp, Madam KRUMPHOLTZ.  
Song, Madam MARA.  
Finale the Earthquake. — Haydn.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle*, April 20 and  
May 1; *Morning Chronicle*,  
April 30; *Morning Herald*,  
April 30, May 2 and 3; *etc.*]

The two symphonies cannot be identified, but they were probably works already known through the Salomon concerts; again, however, it is possible that No. 97 was first performed, for it will be seen that the announcement for the concert of 6th June refers to the 'Grand Overture, M. S. HAYDN, as performed on his own night.' The evidence, however, rather points to the next concert, where a new Haydn symphony was first performed, and promptly repeated at the succeeding evening, a week later:

**TENTH CONCERT: 4th MAY 1792**

HANOVER-SQUARE.

Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The Subscribers are respectfully acquainted, that the Tenth Performance will be on FRIDAY, May 4, 1792.

PART I.

Overture M. S. HAYDN.

Song, Signor SIMONI.

(By particular desire) the Divertimento, as performed last Friday, for two Violins, Oboe, Flute, two Tenors, two French Horns, and Violoncello — Mess. SALOMON, DAMER [*sic*], HARRINGTON, ASHE, HINDMARCH, POLACK, PIELTAIN, LEANDER, and MENEL. — HAYDN.

Song, Madam MARA.

Concerto German Flute, Mr. GAEFFE [*i. e.* Graeff].

PART II.

New Overture, M. S. HAYDN.

Song, Signor SIMONI.

Concerto Piano Forte, Mr. DUSSECK.

Song, Madam MARA.

Finale. — HAYDN.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Morning Herald*, May 2 and 4; *etc.*]

**ELEVENTH CONCERT: 11th MAY 1792**

HANOVER-SQUARE.

Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

THE Subscribers are respectfully acquainted, that the Eleventh Performance will be on FRIDAY, the 11th of May, 1792.

PART I.

Overture GYROWETZ.

New Divertimento for two Violins, Oboe, Flute, two Tenors, two French Horns, Violoncello, and Double Bass — Messrs. SALOMON, DAMEN, HARRINGTON, ASHE, HINDMARCH, POLACK, PIELTAIN, LEANDER, MENEL, and DRESSLER. — HAYDN.

Song, Signor SIMONI.

Concerto Violoncello, Mr. SHRAM.

Song, Madam MARA.

PART II.

(By particular desire) the New Overture, M. S. HAYDN, as performed last Friday.

Song, Signor SIMONI.

New Concerto Piano Forte, Mr. HAESSLER.

Song, Madam MARA.

Finale — HAYDN.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Morning Herald*, May 9; *Oracle*, May 9 and 11; *etc.*]

May, 1792

The 'New Divertimento' was, of course, one of the eight extant notturni for the King of Naples, the lyra parts adapted for flute and oboe.

*The Times* of 14th May contains the following notice of the eleventh concert:

SALOMON'S CONCERT.

By far the best of the kind in England, had its ELEVENTH meeting on Friday night. MARA sung in the most enchanting strain, and received general applause. In return, it is her duty to shew every respect to those who contribute to support her, by a decent deportment in the orchestra. Turning her back, and leaning on the harpsichord, has too much the air of negligence and contempt. We are sorry to observe, that most of our principal singers need to be often reminded in this respect.

Salomon led the band with his usual spirit and accuracy, but we would advise him to banish Mr. Haesler's concertos: his performance on the harpsichord was the most wretched attempt we ever heard. There might be skill, but harmony was wholly forgotten.

*TWELFTH CONCERT: 18th MAY 1792*

HANOVER-SQUARE.

Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

THE Subscribers are respectfully acquainted, that the Twelfth Performance will be THIS EVENING, the 18th of May.

PART I.

(By desire) the Overture, M. S. HAYDN,

As performed last season, the seventh night.

New Notturmo for two Violins, two Flutes, two Tenors, two Horns,  
Violoncello, and Double Bass — Messrs. SALOMON, DAMER [*sic*],

ASH[E], FLORIA [*sic*], HINDMARCH, POLACK, PIELTAIN,

LEANDER, MENEL, and DRESSLER. — HAYDN.

Song, Signor SIMONI.

Concerto Duetto, for Oboe and Bassoon, Messrs.

HARRINGTON and HOLMES.

Song, Madam MARA.

PART II.

(By desire) the Overture, M. S. HAYDN,

As performed the first night this season.

Song, Signor SIMONI.

Concerto Pedal Harp, Madam KRUMPHOLTZ.

Song, Madam MARA.

Finale — HAYDN.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Morning Herald*, May 18;

*Oracle*, May 15, 17 and 18; *etc.*]

The opening symphony was either No. 95 or an earlier work (see comment to seventh concert, 1791), while the other symphony was

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

No. 93. We are able to identify this nocturno for the King of Naples exactly, since it is the only one Haydn arranged for two flutes, rather than flute and oboe: it is in C major, and authentic parts of the work are still in the King's Music Library in London; recently, the work was edited for the Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag by Ernst Fritz Schmid.

A short comment on the above concert was printed in the *Oracle* on the next day:

SALOMON'S CONCERT.

FULL as the *Oracle* is, we will yet give in two lines, the report of Mr. SALOMON'S closing Concert. The most varied excellence that was ever combined, as amply patronized. HAYDN, SALOMON, MARA, and KRUMPHOLTZ, were applauded last night, as the French say, *à tout rompre*.

From the steady entries in Haydn's diary, most of which concern such matters as the price of fowl, the amount of coal burned in London annually, or a punch recipe from a party at the Prince of Wales, we shall include one amusing entry of May, 1792:



A bunch of mostly crippled rowdies, singing this song at the top of their lungs, yelled so loudly that you could hear them a thousand steps away from the street, in any nook or cranny.

Salomon gave his benefit concert on the 21st of May:

HANOVER-SQUARE.

For the BENEFIT of Mr. SALOMON.

On MONDAY the 21st instant, will be performed a GRAND CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

PART I.

Grand Overture, MS. HAYDN.

Song, Signor SIMONI.

Concerto Grand Piano Forte, Mr. DUSSECK.

Song, Madame MARA.

Concerto Violin, Mr. SALOMON.

PART II.

Grand Overture, MS. HAYDN.

Song, Signor SIMONI.

New Concerto Pedal Harp, Madame KRUMPHOLTZ.

Song, Madame MARA.

Finale, the Earthquake — HAYDN.

[etc., etc.]

[*Oracle*, May 14 and 19; *Morning Herald*, May 19 and 21; *Morning Chronicle*, May 19 and 21; etc.]

May, 1792

Haydn was, of course, at the keyboard. What compositions were played remains to be discovered. In the concert of 6th June, it will be noted that one of the symphonies is described as 'Grand Overture, M. S. HAYDN, as performed at Mr. Salomon's Benefit.' This work may have been Symphony No. 97, but it can just as well have been another new work.

The next day Haydn went to hear the venerable violinist Felice Giardini, who gave, as his last benefit concert, a performance of his oratorio *Ruth*, in the interval of which he played a violin concerto. Earlier, Haydn had wished to make Giardini's acquaintance, and a Lord promised to introduce them; when they were waiting in Giardini's rooms, however, they heard the voice of the seventy-six-year-old man saying, in a loud voice through the half-open door, to his servant (in Italian): 'I don't want to know that German dog'<sup>15</sup>. Here is the notice of the concert in Haydn's diary:

On 21st [i. e. 22nd] May 1792, Giardini gave his concert in Ranelagh Gardens; he played like a pig.

On the next day, the following report appeared in the London papers:

HANOVER SQUARE.

Mr. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

BY Desire of many of the SUBSCRIBERS, who wish to hear some of those Performances repeated, which have been most admired during the Season, Mr. SALOMON is induced to offer to his Friends, and the Public in general, one more CONCERT on Saturday next, the 26th instant; for which Tickets, at 10s 6d each, may be had at the Rooms. And as many of the Subscribers, from different circumstances, have been deprived of the opportunity of using some of their Tickets in the course of the Season, Mr. Salomon begs leave to assure them, he shall feel himself much gratified, by their doing him the honour of using them on that evening.

[*Oracle*, May 23 and 24; *Morning Chronicle*, May 23 and 24; etc.]

No wonder that Salomon was beloved for his generosity. (Beethoven wrote to his pupil Ries in London: 'Salomon's death pains me a great deal, for he was a noble human being...')<sup>16</sup> Shortly afterwards, however, Salomon was forced to postpone the concert, and we read:

<sup>15</sup> Dies, pp. 105 f.; Griesinger, p. 62; Pohl, H in L, pp. 197 f.

<sup>16</sup> Pohl, H in L, p. 85, from Wegeler and Ries; *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven*, Coblenz, 1838.

HANOVER-SQUARE.

MR. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that having had an Intimation from the Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household, that there would be an impropriety in opening the Rooms To-morrow, his intended CONCERT is unavoidably POSTPONED.

[*Oracle*, May 25; *etc.*]

HANOVER-SQUARE.

MR. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that the CONCERT which was intended for Saturday last, will certainly take place on Wednesday the 6th of June, when the most favourite Performances of the season will be repeated.

[*Oracle*, May 28; *Morning Herald*, May 29 and 31; *etc.*]

Both Haydn and Salomon were continually in demand as conductor-leader. On 28th May, they played at the benefit concert of F. H. Barthelemon, the violinist and celebrated interpreter of music of the baroque era. A symphony of Haydn was on the programme; the young Bridgetower played a violin concerto of Viotti; Mrs. Barthelemon sang arias of Sacchini and Handel; Salomon, Barthelemon, Hindmarsh and Shram performed a string quartet of Barthelemon; and Barthelemon himself played 'by particular Desire' a sonata by Corelli (Pohl, *H in L*, pp. 198 *f.*). Two days later, the 30th of May, J. W. Haesler, who had so often appeared on the Haydn-Salomon programmes, gave his benefit concert. Two 'Grand Overtures M. S.' of Haydn were played; a new cantata of Haesler was performed, and he played two piano concerti, one by W. A. Mozart and one of his own composition. 'Haesler', says Pohl<sup>17</sup> 'did not really feel at home in England, although he was much appreciated there.' In November, 1792 he wrote to his relatives in Erfurt (his birth-place): 'the people are much too cold here, I shall go to Russia'; and in April, 1793, the *Berliner Musikzeitung* reported him as 'Harpichordist to the *Grossfürsten* of Russia', with a salary of 1000 roubles a year.

On 31st May, Haydn had another opportunity to hear Handel's *Messiah*, performed under the direction of Dr. Arnold, with Cramer as leader, in the Church of St. Margaret in Westminster. The forces numbered nearly 300 persons; the King and Queen were there, and the finest artistic standard seems to have prevailed; the 'Hallelujah' and 'Worthy is the Lamb' choruses were, as usual, repeated. (Pohl, *H in L*, pp. 201 *ff.*)

<sup>17</sup> *H in L*, pp. 200 *f.*



June, 1792

The next day, 1st June 1792, was Mara's benefit concert, at which Salomon was leader and Haydn presided at the harpsichord (piano-forte):

#### HANOVER-SQUARE.

MADAME MARA's Night will be on Friday the 1st of June, 1792. PART I. Grand Overture M. S. HAYDN. — Quartetto for two Violins, Tenor and Bass, Messrs. SALOMON, DAMER [*sic*], HINDMARCH, and MENEL. — HAYDN. — Aria, Sig. SIMONI. — Concerto Pedal Harp, Mr. MEYER, Jun. — Song, Madame MARA.

PART II. Grand Overture, M. S. HAYDN. — Song, Mad. MARA. — (By desire) "From rosy bower" — PURCELL. — Concerto Violin, Mr. SALOMON — SALOMON. — The favourite song in *Idalide*, Madame MARA, with an accompaniment on the French Harp, by Mr. MEYER, Jun. — Finale — HAYDN...

[*Morning Herald*, May 29 and 31;  
*Oracle*, May 30 and June 1;  
*Morning Chronicle*, May 31 and  
June 1; *etc.*]

Haydn's diary has this to say about the concert:

On 1st June 1792 was Mara's benefit concert. They played two of my symphonies, and I accompanied a very difficult [*eine sehr difficult*] English aria of Purcell quite alone on the pianoforte. The Company was very small.

The *Morning Herald* of 2nd June tactfully omits mention of the 'small' attendance, and reports:

#### MARA'S BENEFIT.

There was a fine show of elegance and scientific visitors at the Hanover-square Rooms last night, to grace the Concert of this accomplished performer. The repast was such as might be expected, considering that it was her night, and that it was under the tasteful arrangement of SALOMON.

MARA sung three airs, one of ARFOSSI [*i.e.* Anfossi], a fine *bravura*; the second, an irregular, impassioned, and pathetic song by PURCELL; and the third, the delightful *rondeau* from the Opera of IDALIDE. — They were all given in her best style, and the latter was *encored*.

SALOMON played a Violin Concerto in a manner that may be compared with the most renowned performers. Young MEYER gave a charming Harp Concerto of KRUMPHOLTZ, with admirable skill, though under evident embarrassment from diffidence, and the vexation arising from the breaking of several strings.

The other accidents of the evening, were the fall of an *infirm sofa*, and the consequent *prostration* of some *venerable beaux*, and the *lodgement* of a whole cup-full of hot tea down the neck of MARA, by the sudden movement of some awkward arm.

The extra concert, postponed from 26th May, finally took place, as scheduled, on 6th June:

HANOVER-SQUARE.

MR. SALOMON'S LAST CONCERT for the Season will be TO-MORROW, Wednesday, the 6th of June.

PART I.

Grand Overture, M.S. HAYDN, as performed on his own night. — Song, Signor SIMONI. — Sonata Pedal Harp, Mr. MEYER. — Song, Madame MARA. — Concerto Violin, Mr. SALOMON. — Song, by desire, "Rosey Bowers" — PURCELL, Madame MARA.

PART II.

Grand Overture, M.S. HAYDN, as performed at Mr. Salomon's Benefit. — Song, Signor SIMONI. — New Concertante, M.S. for a Violin, Oboe, Flute, Bassoon, and Violoncello Obligati, Messrs. SALOMON, HARRINGTON, ASHE, HOLMES, and MENEL. — GYROWETZ. — Aria, Madame MARA. — By desire, the favourite Air in Idalide, accompanied on the Harp, by Mr. MEYER. — Full piece, HAYDN...

[*Morning Herald*, June 5 and 6;  
*Morning Chronicle*, June 5;  
*Oracle*, June 5 and 6; etc.]

Unfortunately, we cannot identify the two Haydn symphonies played at this final concert, but despite the confusing descriptions ('as performed on his own night', 'as performed at Mr. Salomon's Benefit'), it seems likely that we are dealing with works already well known, such as Nos. 93, 94, 96 or 98, though it may be that the new 'Salomon' symphony, No. 97, or perhaps even No. 91, was played. It is a pity that only these two latter symphonies cannot be placed exactly in the season of 1792. The Gyrowetz 'Concertante', in G major, was later published by André (Offenbach/Main) as Opus 34: it is first listed in André's catalogue of 1798 and was presumably printed in that year. The work, which André lists as a symphony, is scored for a large orchestra, including second flute, oboe and bassoon parts, with horns, trumpets, timpani, and strings. Haydn and Salomon performed the work again, at the twelfth concert of the 1794 season (12th May).

The *Morning Herald* of 8th June, discussing this final concert, writes:

MUSIC.

SALOMON finished his season on Wednesday night, at the Hanover Square Room, with the greatest *eclat*. His own violin concerto, with Young MEYER'S fine performance on the harp, and MARA'S three grand songs, the last of which, the charming air from IDALIDE, was *encored*, constituted one of the richest harmonic repasts, we ever attended. ASHE'S flute was so exquisite in tone, and so correct in performance, that we lamented we did not hear more of it. The instrumental pieces of HAYDN were received with an extacy [*sic*] of admiration; and MARA on quitting the room, had equal honours. A beautiful concertante of GYROWETZ was much and deservedly admired.

June, 1792

The *Diary; or, Woodfall's Register* of 7th June reports:  
HANOVER SQUARE.

To gratify the wishes of his Subscribers, SALOMON last night had an additional Concert for the purpose of repeating the more favourite Pieces of HAYDN, which had been performed through the Season...

The overtures of HAYDN were warmly applauded, and some of the movements *encored*.

This appears to have been Haydn's last concert of the season: we can well imagine how he must have looked forward to a few weeks of rest and travel. Before leaving London, however, he attended Mara's second benefit concert; his diary notes:

On 12th June 1792 I was at Mara's benefit concert in the Haymarket Theatre. *Dido*, with music by Sarti, was performed. NB. Only a terzetto, a few recitatives and a small aria were by Sarti, the rest was by six other, various composers. The *prima donna* sang an old aria by Sacchini.

On 14th June, Haydn went to Windsor ('...the view from the terrace is heavenly'), and attended that day the races at Ascot Heath: he devoted three pages of his diary to this event. The next day he visited Dr. Herschel, the astronomer, in Slough, 'where I saw the great telescope. It is 40 feet long and 5 feet across... Sometimes [Herschel] sits 5 or 6 hours in the greatest cold under the open sky.' In London, Haydn attended the Charity School's Anniversary in St. Paul's Cathedral, where the chant by John Jones was sung by 4000 children. This event, which usually occurred on the first Thursday of each June, seems to have affected Haydn intensely; his diary reports: 'I was never in my life more profoundly moved than by this reverent and innocent [music]. All the children are newly clothed, and enter in procession; the organist played the melody very well and with simplicity, then everyone began the chant at the same time.' Later he told Dies (p. 128): 'I stood there and wept like a child.'

The news of Haydn's sensational successes soon reached the Continent, and German musical periodicals carried reports from London which often contain pieces of information not provided in English newspapers of the time. The *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, Berlin (Zweites Heft, Stück XVII-XIX, 1793) carries a long letter in three instalments, written by an English correspondent, and the *Berlinische Musikalische Zeitung*, Ein und Zwanzigstes Stück, 29th June 1793, prints a letter from London, dated 18th May, which is continued in the next number (6th July 1793). Some extracts from the latter provide us with invaluable evidence of the size of Salomon's band:

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

Latest Report on Concert- and Theatre-music in London. Extracts from a letter sent from London on 18th May 1793.

The best concert in London is that of which *Salomon* is the entrepreneur, and which is, therefore, known as *Salomon's Concert*. The orchestra consists of 12 to 16 violins, 4 violas, 5 violoncellos and 4 contrabasses, flutes, oboes, bassoons, horns, trumpets and kettledrums — about 40 persons in all. The room in which it is held is perhaps longer than that in the Stadt Paris in Berlin, but broader, better decorated, and with a vaulted ceiling. The music sounds, in the hall, beautiful beyond any description. The band is seated *en amphitheatre*. *Salomon* was always a good interpreter, but now one can say that he is superb. Perhaps, however, the presence of Haydn, who has been here the last two Carneval seasons and personally conducted his symphonies at *Salomon's* concerts, is in part responsible. In each concert two, often three, Haydn symphonies are played. Madame *Mara* sings two arias; Signor *Bruni*, a castrato from the Italian opera here, the same; *Viotti* or *Salomon* plays a violin concerto. There is usually, besides this, a concerto for oboe, flute, harp or violoncello — a Concerto Grosso, or a quartet. The whole concert is in two parts, beginning at 8 o'clock in the evening and lasting until 11 or half-past 11.... *Harrington*, a Sicilian, and pupil of the late *Lebrun*, is an oboist equally at home in concerti as well as ripieni. He has the nice, round tone of his teacher, but is somewhat weaker in sound.... *Hindmarsh*, an Englishman and pupil of *Salomon*, plays the viola delightfully...

[Continuation in the issue of 6th June 1793:] .... Mr. *Parke*, an Englishman, plays the oboe not quite so beautifully as *Harrington*, but has a fuller tone. *Lindley*, an Englishman, plays the violoncello as beautifully, as cleanly, and as assuredly as *Hansmann*, but without the latter's fire; he seems, however, to be still very young.

*Holmes*, an Englishman, plays the bassoon, has the fullest tone I have ever heard, and executes both soli and ripieni very neatly; but he does not on the whole possess the exceptional elegance and class of execution which so delighted me in *Ritter's* playing (in the Königliche Capelle at Berlin)...

The exact date when Haydn left London is recorded neither by Dies nor by Griesinger: presumably, his departure may be fixed about the end of June<sup>18</sup>. He returned *via* Frankfurt, where Prince Esterházy was attending the coronation of Franz II (Franz I of Austria). In Bonn (more exactly: Godesberg), the Elector's orchestra gave a dinner in honour of Haydn, and Beethoven submitted a cantata to the elderly composer, who praised it and encouraged the young man to continue his studies. In November of that year, Beethoven came to Vienna to be Haydn's pupil. It appears that Haydn intended to return to London in 1793, taking Beethoven with him, for the *Berliner Musikzeitung* of 26th October 1793 reports:

Bonn.

In November of last year [1792] Lud. van Beethoven, the second Court Organist and without doubt one of the first pianists we have, journeyed at the expense of

<sup>18</sup> On 13th June, he wrote to Luiga Polzelli: 'I shall leave London at the end of this month, and will write to you from Frankfurt...'

our *Churfürst* to Haydn in Vienna, to perfect under the latter's direction his knowledge of composition. Haydn intended taking him with him on his second trip to London; but nothing has come of this trip so far.

Undoubtedly the numerous reports in the English journals of 1791 and 1792, that Haydn intended to move to England permanently, were true. On his return to Vienna, however, he must have changed his mind, for he bought a little house in Gumpendorf, then a suburb of Vienna. Frau Haydn had intended this to be the house in which she would 'live out her days as a widow', as she tactfully wrote to her husband.

The events in Haydn's life during the latter part of 1792 and the whole of 1793 may be summed up briefly:

On St. Catharine's day, in November, 1792, Haydn conducted twelve German dances and twelve minuets for a grand ball in the small Redoutensaal in Vienna (see below, p. 563). Early in 1793, Haydn's beloved friend Marianna von Genzinger died (see below, p. 558). During 1793, Haydn wrote the six quartets of Opera 71 and 74 (which should not be treated as two sets), Symphony No. 99 and part of Nos. 100 and 101, in addition to pieces of chamber music and the like. But the fascination of London was as strong as ever, and Haydn decided to undertake a second visit. The circumstances are reported by Dies (pp. 146 f.):

When Haydn asked permission of Prince Anton [Esterházy]... to make a second trip to London, he found considerable difficulties barring the way. The Prince did not require Haydn to perform any duties, but he was well disposed towards him, and was of the opinion that Haydn had acquired enough fame for himself; he should be satisfied with what he had, and at an age of sixty and one years should not expose himself to the dangers of a journey, and to the annoyances arising, in London, out of inflamed jealousies. Haydn of course realized that all these opinions of Prince Anton arose from a noble mind; still, since he knew the extent of his powers, and since a busy life attracted him more than the quiet life in which the Prince had placed him, it was natural that his wishes could not agree with those of the Prince. Besides all this was the circumstance that Haydn had made 12,000 Gulden in cash during his first sojourn in London, and knew that the English public was still very well disposed to his Muse; moreover, he had contracted to write another six symphonies for Salomon, who was no longer in connection with Gallini; finally, he had made very advantageous contracts with various publishing houses: all these and more points were important reasons for him to contradict the wishes of the Prince, who finally sacrificed his will for the benefit of Haydn, and allowed him to make the trip, which began on 19th January 1794.

This time, Haydn took with him Johann Elssler, to act as valet and copyist, and the travellers proceeded through Schärding and Passau to Wiesbaden. Dies, asking Haydn about the trip, 'learned that

this was made in a great hurry, so that Haydn had no time to stop, *en route*, in order to make the acquaintance of famous men.' The first concert was announced for 3rd February, but Haydn did not arrive until the next day. Shortly after his arrival, he learned that Prince Anton had died, to be succeeded by his son, now Prince Nikolaus II.

### *Chronology of the Second Six Symphonies.*

As will be seen by the documents that follow, the second set of six symphonies which Haydn wrote for London may be easily divided in two parts: those for the season of 1794 (Nos. 99, 100, 101) and those for the season of 1795 (Nos. 102, 103, 104). His autographs often have two dates, the one on the outside cover referring to the year it was performed, the one at the right-hand top corner of the first page of music referring to the date of composition. Thus, No. 99 is inscribed outside '794' and inside '793'. Examination of the watermarks of the symphonies performed in 1794 shows that No. 99 was written entirely in Vienna, on the usual Italian paper, while parts of Nos. 100 and 101 were composed on Italian paper (*i.e.* probably in Vienna) but completed and signed in London. We are able to identify with considerable certainty the exact dates when each of the six works was first performed. On the basis of this information, the Mandyczewski numbering requires slight alteration:

<i>Work</i>	<i>Date on Autograph</i>	<i>First Performance</i>
No. 99	[Vienna,] 1793 (outside cover: 1794)	10th February 1794. Aut.: Italian paper. See criticism in <i>Morning Chronicle</i> 19th February. Date 1794 refers to year of performance.
No. 101	London, 1794 (but see comment)	3rd March 1794. Aut.: partly Italian, partly English paper; therefore, begun in Vienna (?) and completed in England.
No. 100	(Vienna and London) 1794	31st March 1794. See criticism in <i>Morning Chronicle</i> 9th April. Minuet on Italian paper (composed in Vienna?).
No. 102	London, 1794 (outside cover: 1795)	2nd February 1795. Date on outside cover of aut. refers to year of performance. Written entirely on English paper.
No. 103	London, 1795	2nd March 1795; see criticism <i>Morning Chronicle</i> 3rd March ('The Introduction excited the deepest attention...').
No. 104	London, 1795 'The 12th I have composed in England.'	13th April 1795(?); Cf. comment in Haydn's diary on his benefit concert ('the twelfth and last of the English').

Haydn's second London sojourn was without the excitements of the Salomon-Professional rivalry which so coloured the season of 1792. The Professional Concerts under Cramer had played, it is true, to

January, 1794

crowded halls, and Pleyel's compositions had been warmly received; but it was Haydn who emerged as the undoubted victor. It is seldom that a great composer was so fêted, so appreciated, and so handsomely remunerated in his own lifetime as was the venerable Haydn during his second English journey. It remains England's happy accomplishment that she should have understood and encouraged the greatest living composer of the age; where, in the history of music, has it occurred that the press writes of a masterpiece, performed the night before: 'What shall we say of HAYDN, and the sublime, the magic Overture with which he began the second act?' Where has it occurred that the leading newspaper can report: 'Another new Symphony, by Haydn, was performed for the second time; and the middle movement was again received with absolute shouts of applause. Encore! encore! encore! resounded from every seat...'? If this second London visit lacks the sensational character of the first, it is doubly rewarding to the student of Haydn; in view of the squalor and poverty which has dogged the footsteps of so many great composers, it is indeed heart-warming to see the record of one to whom old age brought honour and universal recognition.

The beginning of the London concert season may best be described by the newspapers of 1794:

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT, HANOVER-SQUARE.

MR. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his CONCERTS will open on Monday the 3rd of February next, and continue on every succeeding Monday (Passion and Easter Week excepted).

Dr. HAYDN will supply the Concerts with New Compositions, and direct the Execution of them at the Piano Forte.

Principal Vocal Performers are, MADAME MARA, and Mr. FISCHER, One of the King of Prussia's principal opera Singers, who never appeared in this Country before.

Principal Instrumental Performers, who will play Concertos and Concertantes on their respective Instruments, are — Violins, Signor Viotti and Mr. Salomon — Piano Forte, Mr. Dussek — Oboe, Mr. Harrington — German Flute, Mr. Ash[e]. Pedal Harp, Madame KRUMPHOLTZ.

Besides other distinguished Performers, who will appear occasionally.

Subscriptions at Five Guineas for the Twelve Concerts received, and Tickets delivered, at Messrs Lockarts, Maxtone, Wallis, and Clark, Pall Mall.

The Ladies' Tickets are blue, and transferable to Ladies; and the Gentlemen's are red, and transferable to Gentlemen only.

[*Oracle*, January 10, 23 and 25; *Public Advertiser*, January 22; *Morning Chronicle*, January 10, 16, 21 and 25, etc.]

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

CONCERTS, SINGERS, &c.

The Professional is dropt, — in consequence SALOMON'S will be entirely unopposed until after Easter, when the promised Concert at the Opera House is to be given.

Thus the HANOVER SQUARE will have had *ten* nights performance completely unrivalled. HAYDN is to be at the Piano Forte, and every nerve is to be exerted to leave an impression deeper than ever of this excellent band.

FISCHER is an admirable Singer — His voice is more *even* than DAVID'S; it is a bass running up into a tenor without *falsetto* — it is expected, he will be more to the English taste, than any singer they have ever heard.

HAYDN recommended him many years back to this country, however, other pursuits have kept him till now from the knowledge of our countrymen — Some Italians of fine taste have heard him in private, and they express most liberally their astonishment at his science and power.

The DOCTOR [Haydn] has been writing with all his original fancy and fertile combination; and the present winter will perhaps give us works, which shall advance even the higher celebrity of HAYDN.

VIOTTI has been selecting some fine thoughts for *Concerto playing*, which for sublimity and simplicity is unequalled — *Duetti*, so much admired between SALOMON and himself, will be of course pursued . . .

[*Oracle*, 25th January.]

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT, HANOVER-SQUARE.

MR. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that Dr. HAYDN'S and Mr. FISCHER'S arrival in this country having been unexpectedly retarded, he has by the advice of many respectable friends been induced to postpone the opening of his Concerts from Monday next to Monday se'nnight the 10th of February, when the first performance positively will take place . . .

[*Oracle*, January 31 and February 3; *Morning Chronicle*, February 3; *The Times*, February 3; *Sun*, January 31; *etc.*]

The celebrated HAYDN's arrival was yesterday announced in the musical circles.

[*Oracle*, 6th February.]

*FIRST CONCERT: 10th FEBRUARY 1794*

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT, HANOVER-SQUARE.

MR. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his FIRST CONCERT will be on MONDAY next, the 10th Instant.

PART I.

Grand Overture, Rosetti.

Aria, Mr. Florio, jun.

(being his first Performance at these Concerts.)

New Concerto, Piano Forte, Mr. Dussek.

Scena, Madame Mara.

PART II.

New Grand Overture, Haydn.

Aria, Madame Mara.

New Concerto, Violin, Signor Viotti.

Scena and Duetto, Madame Mara and Mr. Florio.

Finale.



February, 1794

Dr. HAYDN will direct his Compositions at the Piano Forte.

Leader of the Band Mr. SALOMON.

N. B. Mr. SALOMON is extremely sorry, that Mr. FISCHER is not arrived yet; but he flatters himself that nothing will prevent his performing at the next Concert...

[Oracle, February 8 and 10; *Morning Chronicle*, February 10; *Morning Post*, February 10; *World*, February 6 and 10; etc.]

The new symphony was No. 99 in E flat major, composed at Vienna in 1793 for this series.

#### SALOMON'S CONCERT. OPENING NIGHT.

We must of necessity be brief. And after all it may be best, when the *chef d'œuvre* of the great HAYDN is the subject.

"Come then, expressive SILENCE, muse his praise."

VIOTTI gave a Concerto, *simple* and *affecting*, like his genius. MARA sang[:]  
*c'est assez dire.*

[*Oracle*, 11th February.]

#### SALOMON'S CONCERT.

This superb Concert was last night opened for the season, and with such an assemblage of talents as make it a rich treat to the amateur. The incomparable HAYDN, produced an Overture of which it is impossible to speak in common terms. It is one of the grandest efforts of art that we ever witnessed. It abounds with ideas, as new in music as they are grand and impressive; it rouses and affects every emotion of the soul. — It was received with rapturous applause.

VIOTTI produced a new Concerto, in which his own execution was most delicate and touching; nothing could be more exquisite than his tones in the second movement. We have no doubt but both these pieces will be called for again; for they are to be ranked among the finest productions of which music has to boast.

DUSSEK had also a new Concerto on the *piano forte*, in his best manner; and Madame MARA sung divinely.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 11th February.]

#### SALOMON'S CONCERT.

Last night was the first of this years Subscription to this admirable Concert. HAYDN presided at the Piano Forte, and the management of the whole reflects the highest credit on Mr. SALOMON, who has not spared expense to render it deserving of the patronage it has received. Of Mr. FLORIO we have before spoken in terms of approbation, which his duet the last evening with Madam MARA, fully justified; his voice is strong and impressive, and an excellent Counter-tenor; MARA was never in better voice, and VIOTTI greatly surprised the Amateurs by his Concerto on the Violin. The whole went off with great spirit.

Mr. FISCHER is not arrived; report, however, speaks high in his favour, and he is expected in time for the next performance.

[*Morning Post*, 11th February.]

#### HANOVER-SQUARE.

The Concerts under the management of HAYDN and SALOMON commenced for the season last night, and we were glad to see the taste of the Public manifested in a large and elegant Audience. Indeed, it would be wonderful if a Concert, which can boast the united powers of HAYDN, VIOTTI, SALOMON, and MARA, with an ample and a[d]mirable Band, did not excite a very liberal patronage. The

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grand instrumental trial of last night was a New Overture by HAYDN, a composition of the most exquisite kind, rich, fanciful, bold, and impressive. VIOTTI displayed all his fine taste and astonishing execution in a Violin Concerto, which, though deeply scientific, was no less pleasing. MARA'S excellence is too well known to require eulogium. Her two *Airs* were from *Anfossi* and *Gugliemi*; she also joined in a Duet with young FLORIO. FLORIO seemed rather indisposed, and perhaps, being a young Performer, was not a little awed by the consciousness of the crowd of Critics that attended. The Concert was worthy of the high name of the Conductor.

[*Sun*, 11th February.]

SECOND CONCERT: 17th FEBRUARY 1794

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT. HANOVER-SQUARE.

The Subscribers are most respectfully acquainted, that the Second Performance will be THIS EVENING, February 17.

PART I.

Grand Overture, Kozeluck [*sic*].

Aria, Mr. Huttenes — Sacchini.

New Quartetto, M. S. for two Violins, Viola and Violoncello

— Messrs. Salomon, Damen, Fiorillo, and Damen, jun. — Haydn.

Scena, Madame Ducrest — Sarti.

(Madame Mara being taken ill with a violent cold and hoarseness.)

PART II.

The Grand New Overture, M. S. Haydn, which was performed last Monday.

Rondo — Mr. Huttenes.

Concerto Violin — Signor Viotti.

Recitative — Aria — Madame Ducrest — Paisiello.

Full Piece.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle*, February 17; *Morning*

*Chronicle*, February 17; *World*,

February 17; *etc.*]

The new quartet was from Opus 71 or Opus 74, composed at Vienna in 1793. Symphony No. 99 was repeated; the reference to the wood-wind solos in the second movement (*cf. Morning Chronicle*, below) concerns in particular meas. 16/26.

SALOMON'S SECOND CONCERT.

Again we found ourselves electrified by that soul of harmony, which pervades this excellent band. The animation and accuracy of the orchestra are highly honourable to the leader, Mr. Salomon, whose attention never wearies, and whose taste and judgement are but rarely equalled. Mr. Huttenes and Madame Ducrest were new performers at this concert. The first was unfortunately heard to great disadvantage, being absolutely hoarse; he is a German, educated in the Italian School, and was lately one of the royal band of Versailles. Of science, taste, and feeling, he gave evident proofs; but whether he have sufficient power of voice for so large an audience, is at present doubted. Those who have heard him,

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affirm his failure of tone was solely to be attributed [*sic*] to the accident of his having caught cold. Madame Ducrest is likewise an unfortunate emigrant, the wife of a man of rank. She gave great satisfaction, especially in the beautiful and popular rondeau, by Paisiello, *Ho perduto il vel sembiante*. Her intonation is uncommonly perfect; and could she delight as much by variety and energy, as she does by her melodious voice, she would be without a rival. Our earnest advice to her is, that she should study passion; which, conveyed in sounds so mellifluous, would produce amazing effects. Viotti played a concerto in a minor key, the composition and performance of which were alike masterly. In style it was neither perfectly ancient or modern, though it partook of the beauties of both. His power on the fourth string is indeed great; but, like power in general, it is liable to abuse. To speak proverbially, "He harps a little too much on one string." He played however with uncommon sweetness, feeling, and effect. But the richest part of the banquet, as usual, was due to the wonderful Haydn.

His new quartetto gave pleasure by its variety, gaiety, and the fascination of its melody and harmony through all its movements: and the overture, being performed with increasing accuracy and effect, was received with increasing rapture. The first movement was encored: the effect of the wind instruments in the second movement was enchanting; the hautboy and flute were finely in tune, but the bassoon was in every respect more perfect and delightful than we ever remember to have heard a wind instrument before. In the minuets, the trio was peculiarly charming; but indeed the pleasure the whole gave was continual; and the genius of Haydn, astonishing[ly] inexhaustible, and sublime, was the general theme.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 19th February.]

### THIRD CONCERT: 24th FEBRUARY 1794

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT, HANOVER-SQUARE.

The Subscribers are respectfully acquainted, that the Third Performance will be THIS EVENING.

#### PART I.

Overture, Pichl

New Quartetto (M. S.) for Flute, Violin, Viola, and Violoncello  
— Messrs. Ashe, Salomon, Fiorillo and Damen — Gyrowetz.

Aria, Mr. Fischer,

(being his first appearance in this country.)

Concertante for Violin, Oboe, Flute, Bassoon, and Violoncello,  
Messrs. Salomon, Harrington, Ashe, Parkinson, and Damen  
— Haydn.

Scena, Madame Ducrest,  
Madame Mara being still indisposed.

#### PART II.

Grand Overture (M. S.) Haydn.

Scena, Mr. Fischer.

Sonata, Pedal Harp, Madame Delaval, with an Accompaniment  
of a Violin, and Violoncello, Messrs. Salomon and Domen [*sc.* Dahmen].

Cavatina, Madame Ducrest.

Finale.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle*, 24th February; *Morning Chronicle*, 24th February.]

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The 'Concertante' was, of course, the *Sinfonia Concertante*, performed with such success in the season of 1792. The symphony was one of those played in the season of 1791 or 1792; it cannot be identified more exactly.

*Salomon's* Concert on Monday night was crowded [*sic*] to the very extremities of the room. Madame *Ducrest* sung with great taste, and gave the company no cause to regret the absence of *Mara*, whose insufferable impertinence, and unbecoming airs, whenever she appears in an orchestra is such as to disgust even those who most admire her talents.

[*The Times*, 26th February.]

HANOVER-SQUARE. THIRD NIGHT.

The new Singer made his first appearance in this country, and was received with unbounded applause.

Mr. Fischer is a deep bass, which with the utmost flexibility ascends into a counter tenor, and that without the slightest break in the voice.

He combines the two styles *bravura* and *cantabile* with an ease that astonishes, and executes with the utmost rapidity the most difficult transitions.

The Composer he chose was RIGHINI — the manner of whose composition is difficult, in the *German* way — displaying science rather than feeling.

Madame DUCREST is a very charming singer, and succeeded in the happiest way with an air of *Sarti Cavatina* —

Lunge da te ben mio.

Madame DELAVAL's harp was most cruelly strung. She broke three strings — however, her finger was brilliant, and SALOMON'S accompaniment had the sweetest tone in the world.

[*Oracle*, 25th February.]

SALOMON'S THIRD CONCERT.

The long expected singer, Mr. FISCHER, sung for the first time last night at these rooms. His voice is perhaps in the lower part, the fullest and deepest[-]tone[d] bass we have ever heard, and produces a surprising effect. He is evidently an excellent musician, but his powers may rather be called grand than graceful. He reminded us of Handel's Polyphemus, and is much better capable of inspiring terror, than cheerfulness [*sic*] or joy. The effect he produces, however, is highly satisfactory, not only to the man of science, but to the public in general, for the encore of his first air, was universal. He manages the middle part of his voice, with most difficulty, but descends from his alto notes to what might almost be called the bottomless deep, with a certainty and fullness of intonation that astonishes.

— A concertante of HAYDN'S was performed, the last movement in particular of which gave infinite pleasure, by a mixed expression of tenderness and joy; the first expressed at intervals in recitative, and the latter in the melody, which was delightfully animating. Madame DUCREST gave great satisfaction. We must however repeat our advice to her to study passion. — The room was full even to crowding [*sic*]; and Mr. SALOMON seems at present fully possessed of the patronage his spirited efforts so truly deserve.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 25th February.]

March, 1794

FOURTH CONCERT: 3rd MARCH 1794

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT, HANOVER-SQUARE.

The Subscribers are respectfully acquainted, that the Fourth Performance will be THIS EVENING.

PART I.

Overture, Kozeluch.  
Aria, Madame Ducrest, Zingarelli,  
(Madame Mara continuing still indisposed.)  
New Concerto, Oboe, Mr. Harrington.  
Aria, Mr. Fischer, Righini.  
Concerto, Piano Forte, Mr. Dusseck.

PART II.

New Grand Overture (M.S.) Haydn.  
Cavatina, Madame Ducrest, Sarti.  
Concerto Violin, Signor Viotti.  
Duetto, Madame Ducrest, and Mr. Fischer, Ferrari.  
Finale, Chaconna, Fiorillo.

[etc., etc.]

[Oracle, and Public Advertiser<sup>19</sup>,  
3rd March; Morning Chronicle,  
3rd March; etc.]

The new symphony was No. 101 in D major ('Clock'), begun in Vienna and completed in London. The *Morning Chronicle* of 5th March reports:

SALOMON'S FOURTH CONCERT.

Mr. Fischer, the new singer, gave us more of the pleasing and less of the grand in his second performance than in his first. He manages a voice of wonderful magnitude, though such voices are usually unmanageable, with great dexterity: this was particularly discoverable in a Duet, which he sang with Madame DUCREST. HARRINGTON played a new Oboe Concerto in a chaste and pleasing stile. DUSSECK played another, the first movement of which was certainly in a very opposite taste; we often heard the master, but we were sometimes reminded of the madman. That he can play with delicacy and expression, so as to delight was evident from his second movement, which was generally applauded, and most by the best judges. — VIOTTI we have never heard with greater pleasure; the sweetness and perfections of his tones were enchanting, as were the feelings they inspired. But as usual the most delicious part of the entertainment was a new grand Overture by HAYDN; the inexhaustible, the wonderful, the sublime HAYDN! The first two movements were encored; and the character that pervaded the whole composition was heartfelt joy. Every new Overture he writes, we fear, till it is heard, he can only repeat himself; and we are every time mistaken. Nothing can be more original than the subject of the first movement; and having found a happy subject, no man knows like HAYDN how to produce incessant variety,

<sup>19</sup> On 1st March 1794, the *Oracle* merged with the *Public Advertiser*: henceforth abbreviated by the former title.

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without once departing from it. The management of the accompaniments of the andante, though perfectly simple, was masterly; and we never heard a more charming effect than was produced by the trio to the minuet. — It was HAYDN; what can we, what need we say more?

*FIFTH CONCERT: 10th MARCH 1794*

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT, HANOVER-SQUARE.

The Subscribers are respectfully acquainted, that the Fifth Performance will be on Monday next, the 10th instant.

PART I.

Grand Overture, Reichard[t].

Scena, Mr. Fischer.

(By desire) the New Quartetto, (M. S.) Haydn,  
as performed on the Second night. — Two violins, Violo [sic],  
and Violoncello, Messrs. Salomon, Damea [sic], Fiorillo, and Damea [sic], jun.

Aria, Madame Mara.

Concerto, German Flute, Mr. Ashe.

PART II.

The New Grand Overture-(M. S.) Haydn,  
which was performed last Monday.

Aria, Mr. Fischer.

Concerto Violin, Signor Viotti.

Rondo, Madame Mara.

Finale.

[etc., etc.]

[Oracle, March 8 and 10; etc.]

Referring, apparently, to Symphony No. 101, which was repeated at the fifth concert, the *Oracle* inserted the following, short notice in its issue of 10th March:

HAYDN, like VIRGIL'S fame, *vires acquirit eundo*, has latterly written a symphony, which the connoisseurs admit to be his best work.

The *Morning Chronicle* reports, in its customary detail, on 12th March:

SALOMON'S FIFTH CONCERT.

The unremitting exertions of Mr. SALOMON, the spirit and accuracy of the Band, and the supreme excellence of the Performers, added to the support derived from the immortal HAYDN, have produced their intended effect. The Rooms are every night full, and of the best Musical Judges this great City affords. FISCHER sang an Air by SACCHINI, which not only shewed the full power of his voice, but is an excellent specimen of the noble talents of the composer. For our own parts we wish to hear it repeated, and we believe we are not singular in the wish. The masterly performance of VIOTTI exceeded all former sample; his power over the instrument seems unlimited. The grand mistake of Musicians has been a continued effort to excite amazement. VIOTTI, it is true, without making

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that his object, astonishes the hearer; but he does something infinitely better — he awakens emotion, gives a soul to sound, and leads the passions captive. Madame MARA, who sang immediately after he had ended his concerto, was evidently inspired by what she had just heard. — Delighted as we have often been by the exertion of her wonderful talents, if we except in the *Stabat Mater* of PERGOLOSE [*sic*], we never heard her sing in so chaste, so feeling, and so impressive a style before. HAYDN'S new Quartetto was repeated, and was excellently played, especially by SALOMON. The charming andante of the new overture was encored. Both the compositions are truly worthy of HAYDN.

SIXTH CONCERT: 17th MARCH 1794

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT. HANOVER-SQUARE.

The Subscribers are respectfully acquainted, that the Sixth Performance will be on MONDAY next, the 17th instant.

PART I.

Overture, PIEHL [*i. e.* Pichl];  
Song, Mr. FLORIO;  
Concerto Violoncello, Mr. DAMEN, jun.  
Aria, Madame MARA;  
Terzetto, Madame MARA, Mr. FLORIO, and Mr. FISCHER.

PART II.

Grand Overture (M. S.) Haydn;  
Aria, Mr. FISCHER;  
Quintetto on the [Glass] Harmonica, Mademoiselle KIRASHGESSNER [*sic*],  
(being her first appearance in this Centry [*sic*]).  
Cavatina, Madame MARA.

FINALE.

[*etc., etc.*]  
[Oracle, March 15 and 17;  
Morning Chronicle, March 15; *etc.*]

The symphony of Haydn appears to have been one of the earlier works written for London. The *Morning Chronicle* of 18th March writes:

SALOMON'S SIXTH CONCERT.

The only novelty of the evening worth mentioning was the performance of Mademoiselle KIRCH GESSNER [*sic*] on the Harmonica. Her taste is chastened, and the dulcet notes of the instrument would be delightful indeed, were they more powerful and articulate; but that we believe the most perfect execution cannot make them. In a smaller room, and an audience less numerous, the effect must be enchanting. Though the accompaniments were kept very much under, they were still occasionally too loud. Madame MARA, in the second act, gave us pleasure; the air is full of expression and pathos, and she sang it with sweetness, taste, and feeling. Yet we own we could wish she would not too often repeat the same songs, however beautiful; especially as she is a thorough musician, and finds no impediment from the labour of learning new airs. The Concert altogether was by no means equal to that of the Monday before.

The *Oracle* of 19th March says:

SALOMON'S CONCERT. SIXTH NIGHT.

Mademoiselle KIRASHGESSNER [*sic*] performed upon an instrument little known — the *Harmonica*. It is a conic barrel of glass, which she touches with a truth and feeling so soft, so persuasive, that —

“Melancholy marks it for her own.”

Of HAYDN — never to be omitted — an Overture (M.S.) was repeated; and the *second* movement, as usual, encored — For *Grace* and *Science*, what is like it?

Marianne Kirchgässner — she later anglicized her name to Kirch-gessner — was a blind Viennese artist, for whom Mozart wrote his exquisite Adagio and Rondo (Quintet) for Glass Harmonica in C minor (K. 617): it is not unlikely that this was the work performed at the sixth Haydn-Salomon concert. We hear of her again at the ninth concert; and the following notice, from *The Times* of 8th May 1795, shows that she managed, in the course of the next year, to attract royal patronage:

Under the Patronage of Her Royal Highness The Duchess of YORK.

MISS KIRCHGESSNER's Performance on the Grand Harmonica, No. 57, Poland-street, Soho, every day from 1 till 3, and from 7 till 9 o'clock. Admittance 5s. each person. — Miss Kirchgessner respectfully begs leave to acquaint the Nobility, Gentry, and her friends, that she means to discontinue her performance on the above instrument after the 14th inst. She entertains the most flattering hopes that those Amateurs, who are sensible of the superiority which this instrument so decidedly maintains above all others, it being so happily calculated to convey to the heart the most heavenly sensations, will within this short period manifest the encouragement which they very kindly conceive the abilities of Miss K. deserve, and that patronage of which she has had the honour of receiving already the most agreeable marks.

On 21st March, Haydn assisted the Misses Abrams at their annual benefit concert:

HANOVER-SQUARE. MISS ABRAMS' CONCERT.

THIS EVENING, FRIDAY 21, will be performed a Grand Concert of VOCAL AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

Act I. — Overture, Rosetti. — Glee, Webbe. — Aria, Signor Rovedino. — Sonata Pedal Harp, Madame Grandjean, (being her first appearance in public). — Quartetto, Mr. Nield and the Miss Abrams. — Tarchi. Concerto Piano Forte, Mr. J. B. Cramer — Cramer.

Act II. Grand Overture, Haydn. — Scena, Mr. Nield, Paesiello [*sic*]. — Quartetto, Haydn. — Scena, Madame Ducrest, Piccini. — Finale Chacone, Fiorillo.

Leader of the Band, Mr. Salomon. Dr. Haydn, will precide [*sic*] at the Piano Forte.

[*etc., etc.*]  
[*Morning Chronicle*, 21st March.]



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SEVENTH CONCERT: 24th MARCH 1794

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT. HANOVER-SQUARE.

The SUBSCRIBERS are respectfully acquainted, that the Seventh Performance will be on MONDAY next, the 24th instant.

PART I.

Overture, Gyrovetz [*sic*];

Aria, Mrs. HINDMARSH.

CONCERTANTE [Clarinet, Mr. HARTMAN].

Duetto, Mrs. HINDMARSH and Mr. FISCHER;

New Quartetto, M. S. HAYDN;

for 2 Violins, Viola, and Violoncello, by<sup>20</sup>

Messrs. SALOMON, DAMEN, FIORILLO, and DAMEN, jun.

Scena, Madame MARA.

PART II.

Grand Overture, M. S. HAYDN;

Aria, Mr. FISCHER;

Concerto Violin, Signor VIOTTI;

Cavatina, Madame MARA.

FINALE.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle*, March 22 and 24;

*Morning Chronicle*, March 22 and 24; *etc.*]

The 'Grand Overture' appears to have been one of the earlier 'Salomon' symphonies; it cannot be identified more exactly. The new quartet was from Opera 71 or 74. Of this concert the *Morning Chronicle*, on 26th March, reports:

SALOMON'S SEVENTH CONCERT.

The weekly pleasures of the Hanover-square Rooms were repeated on Monday evening with increasing vigour. FISCHER, by being more accustomed to his audience, gains more confidence, and nightly improves. He is an excellent musician, and his voice is astonishing both in body and compass. He produced a full fair sound on double D, and touched A. in alt. Madame MARA well deserved, and obtained her accustomed applause. Mr. HARTMAN, on the clarinet, was favourably received. Sweetness of tone has been his principle [*sic*] study, and this he has very effectually attained. But musicians who aspire after excellence should never forget that if they want passion, the defect cannot be compensated by any other excellence, however great. VIOTTI again produced the rapturous sensations; he indeed possesses not only sweetness, vigour, and every variety that the bow and the finger seem capable of affording, but he adds the grand ingredient, soul, without which music is either insipidity, trick, or noise. We mention HAYDN last, because among unrivalled excellence itself, he is still supreme: and to SALOMON's praise be it spoken, no man perhaps studies him more ardently, and we may say affectionately.

<sup>20</sup> The *Oracle* of 22nd March reads, in this line: 'Viola, for 2 Violins Violoncello, Messrs. Salomon...'

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

The new Quartet abounded with beauties, and the imagination of SALOMON while playing it, gave continual delight. The Andante Movement of the Overture, was universally encored; and the applause to every movement of it was loud, sincere, and heartfelt.

One day after Salomon's seventh concert, a correspondent of the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, a periodical published in Weimar, dispatched a report 'On the Present State and Fashion of Music in England' (this article appeared in the issue of July, 1794, but belongs here). Salomon is highly and generously praised for his efforts to foster the best music and artists, and especially for the execution of the quartets of 'our old favourite, Haydn'.

But what would you now say [continues the article] to his new symphonies composed expressly for these concerts, and directed by himself at the piano? It is truly wonderful what sublime and august thoughts this master weaves into his works. Passages often occur which render it impossible to listen to them without becoming excited. We are altogether carried away by admiration, and forced to applaud with hand and mouth. This is especially the case with Frenchmen, of whom we have so many here that all public places are filled with them. You know that they have great sensibility, and cannot restrain their transports, so that in the midst of the finest passages in soft adagios they clap their hands in loud andante is sure to be repeated each time, after the most vehement encores. The applause and thus mar the effect. In every symphony of Haydn the adagio or worthy Haydn, whose personal acquaintance I highly value, conducts himself on these occasions in the most modest manner. He is indeed a good-hearted, candid, honest man, esteemed and beloved by all.

[Translation from Hadden, pp. 116 f.]

In the following eighth concert, Haydn's Symphony No. 100 in G major ('Military') was performed for the first time; it was promptly repeated next Monday, 7th April.

*EIGHTH CONCERT: 31st MARCH 1794*

HANOVER-SQUARE. MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The SUBSCRIBERS are respectfully acquainted, that the Eighth Performance will be on Monday next, the 31st instant.

PART I.

Overture, PLEYEL;

Aria, Mr. FISCHER;

(By desire) The New Quartetto, (M. S.) HAYDN;  
which was performed last Monday.

Two Violins, Viola, Violoncello, Messrs. SALOMON, DAMER [*sic*],  
FIORILLO, and DAMER [*sic*], jun.

Scena, Madame MARA.

Concerto, Pedal Harp, Madame DELAVEL [*sic*].

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PART II.

New Grand Overture, M. S. HAYDN;  
Aria, Mr. FISCHER;  
Concerto Violin, Signor VIOTTI;  
Rondo, Madame MARA.

FINALE.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle*, March 29 and 31;  
*Morning Chronicle*, March 31; *etc.*]

NINTH CONCERT: 7th APRIL 1794

HANOVER-SQUARE. MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT.

The SUBSCRIBERS are respectfully acquainted, that the Ninth Performance will be on MONDAY next, the 7th April.

PART I.

New Overture (M. S.) REICHARDS [*i. e.* Reichardt].  
Aria, Mr. FISCHER;  
Concertante for Clarinet and Bassoon, Messrs.  
HARTMAN and PARKINSON.  
Scena, Madame MARA.  
Sonata on the harmonica, M. KIRCHGESSNER.

PART II.

The New Grand Overture, (M. S.) HAYDN,  
which was performed last Monday.  
Cavatina, Mr. FISCHER;  
Concerto, Violin, Signor VIOTTI.  
Rondo, Madame MARA.

FINALE.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle*, April 5;  
*Morning Chronicle*, April 5 and 7; *etc.*]

Of the ninth concert, the *Morning Chronicle* of 9th April reports:

SALOMON'S NINTH CONCERT.

Though under the necessity of repeating the same names (for where are their equals?) and the same praises, which never sufficiently express the delicious sensations that these Performers at some moments excite, yet to be silent would be flagrant injustice. What we have on former occasions so ardently spoken, particularly of those first of Performers Mara and Viotti, is again their due, and more if we had it to bestow. Some of the connoisseurs profess to like the playing of Viotti better than his Music. — Judgments differ; we will not pretend to affirm they are mistaken; we can only say, though his Compositions partake of the Old French School, there is yet a richness, unity and grandeur in them, that in our opinion place them far beyond the jigs, quirks and quackery, in which modern music is so apt to indulge. Not that we are the enemies of modern music: it has many essential improvements, but it has no few radical vices. Another new Sym-

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

phony, by Haydn, was performed for the second time; and the middle movement was again received with absolute shouts of applause. Encore! encore! encore! resounded from every seat: the Ladies themselves could not forbear. It is the advancing to battle; and the march of men, the sounding of the charge, the thundering of the onset, the clash of arms, the groans of the wounded, and what may well be called the hellish roar of war increase to a climax of horrid sublimity! which, if others can conceive, he alone can execute; at least he alone hitherto has effected these wonders.

The review obviously refers to meas. 152 *ff.* of the *Allegretto*; the 'climax of horrid sublimity' describes the kettledrum roll (meas. 159/160) and ensuing tutti (meas. 161).

Pohl mentions a concert given some time in April by the child prodigy, Master Julien Baux, age five and a half. It took place in the Lyceum, Strand, and included a concerto for the violin by Giornovichj, played by Baux. Later, he gave a concert under the protection of the Duke and Duchess of York: the programme included symphonies by Haydn, Mozart and the 'Hunting-Symphony' of Stamitz; Baux played concerti by Giornovichj and Viotti. Pohl does not give exact dates, and as yet the detailed programmes remain to be discovered (Pohl, H in L, pp. 243 *f.*).

*TENTH CONCERT: 28th APRIL 1794*

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT, HANOVER-SQUARE.

MR. SALOMON most respectfully acquaints the Subscribers, that the Tenth Performance will be on MONDAY next, the 28th Inst.

PART I.

Grand Overture, (M. S.) HAYDN.

Aria, Mr. FISCHER;

New Quintetto for 2 Violins, 2 Violas, and a Violoncello,  
Messrs. SALOMON, J. DAHMEN, FIORILLO, and WRANIEZKY [*sic*].

Scena, Madame MARA.

Double Concerto for 2 Principal French Horns, Messrs.

W. DAHMEN and ZONCADA;

(Being their first performance in this Country.)

PART II.

Grand Overture (M. S.) HAYDN;

Scena, Mr. FISCHER.

Concerto Piano Forte, Mr. DUSSECK;

Rondo, Madame MARA.

FINALE.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle*, April 26; *Morning*

*Chronicle*, April 26 and 28; *etc.*]

April—May, 1794

#### SALOMON'S TENTH CONCERT.

The novelties of Monday evening were Miss Parke instead of Madame Mara, a quintetto composed by Wraniczky [sic], and Messieurs Dahmen and Zoncada, two famous performers on the French horn. The quintet was of the best kind of pleasing common place. Miss Parke improves rapidly; and if her efforts continue, she will become an honour to the divine art she professes; especially as she evidently studies passion, and prefers it to that tinsel, mechanical execution, which repetition soon renders disgusting. Messrs. Dahmen and Zoncada surprised the auditors; and are capable of surprising still more, by producing an echo that deceives the ear, and leads it to suppose the sound comes from a vast distance. This wonderful effect they have reserved for their next performance. Fischer sung in his best and most decided manner. Dusseck played a concerto, the first movement of which abounded in the usual mad flights of the master; the two last were charming, especially the allegro, because of its originality. The overture of Haydn was worthy its sublime and unequalled author: we cannot say more.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 30th April.]

It is not known which Haydn symphonies were played. The description of the solo parts in the concerto as 'principal' indicates that both players were first rather than second hornists. This was a typical procedure of the eighteenth century, and one often encounters concerti for horn entitled 'per il Corno Secondo', which means not 'second horn' but for 'a second-horn player'. The quintet was hitherto believed to be a work of Haydn, but the *Morning Chronicle* assigns it to the 'cellist Wranitzky. The next concert, however, included a quintet of Haydn, and it was thought that both quintets were identical, which seems in any case not to be true. The second quintet has been identified as that published under Joseph Haydn's name in Vienna in 1799 as Opus 88<sup>21</sup>; this is actually a work by Michael Haydn, but there is no reason why it could not have been performed at his brother's London concert: the first name of the composer was generally omitted on the programmes of the Haydn-Salomon concerts. Indeed, the quintet in question may have been another work entirely.

On 2nd May 1794, Haydn gave his third benefit concert (the first was in 1791, the second a year later). Initial announcements ('...particulars... in due time') were printed, *inter alia*, on 19th April (*Morning Post*), 22nd April (*Oracle*) and 23rd April (*Morning Chronicle*). The final announcement reads:

#### HANOVER-SQUARE.

DR. HAYDN most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his BENEFIT CONCERT will be THIS DAY, the 2d of May Instant.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Pohl, H in L, p. 268.

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

PART I.

Grand Overture (M. S.) Haydn — Aria, Mr. Fischer. — Concerto,  
Piano Forte, Mr. Dusseck. — Scena, Miss Parke.

PART II.

By Desire, the Grand Overture (M. S.) with the Militaire Movement, as performed at Mr. Salomon's Concert, Haydn. — Scena, Mr. Fischer. — Concerto Violin, Signor Viotti. — Aria, Miss Parke.

FINALE, HAYDN.

Tickets, at 10s 6d each, to be had of Dr. Haydn, No. 1, Bury-street, St. James; Messrs. Longman and Broderip, Cheapside and Haymarket; Bland, 45 Holborn; Mr. Williams, Hanover-square rooms...

[*Morning Chronicle*, 2nd May;  
*Oracle*, 1st May; etc.]

The first of the two symphonies cannot be identified; the second was, of course, No. 100 in G major. The 'Finale' was probably the last movement of this symphony, for the report below mentions that it, too, contained cymbals, and though the writer treats No. 100/IV and 'Finale' as separate pieces it is very likely that they were in fact identical. The *Morning Chronicle* of 5th May says of the concert:

HAYDN'S BENEFIT.

Was on Friday last at the Hanover-square Rooms. The Company was numerous and splendid. His grand and most admirable military movement produced its full effect, and every auditor seemed delighted to contribute to do honour to this great man. We cannot help remarking, that the cymbals introduced in the military movement, though they there produce a fine effect, are in themselves discordant, grating, and offensive, and ought not to have been introduced, either in the last movement of that Overture, or in the Finale at the close of the Concert. The reason of the great effect they produce in the military movement is that they mark and tell the story: they inform us that the army is marching to battle, and, calling up all the ideas of the terror of such a scene, give it reality. Discordant sounds are then sublime; for what can be more horribly discordant to the heart than thousands of men meeting to murder each other.

*ELEVENTH CONCERT: 5th MAY 1794*

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT, HANOVER-SQUARE.

The SUBSCRIBERS are most respectfully acquainted, that the Eleventh Performance will be THIS EVENING, MONDAY, May 5.

PART I.

Grand Overture, (M. S.) HAYDN.

Aria, Mr. NIELD.

New Quintetto, M. S. HAYDN.

Scena, Miss PARKE.

Duetto French Horns, Messrs. W. DAHMEN and ZONCADA.

May, 1794

PART II.

Grand Overture (M. S.) HAYDN;  
Aria, Mr. FISCHER;  
Concerto Violin, Signor VIOTTI.  
Terzet[t]o, Miss PARKE, Mr. NIELD, and Mr. FISCHER.  
FINALE.

[etc., etc.]

[Oracle, 5th May, *Morning*  
*Chronicle*, 5th May; etc.]

It is not known which Haydn symphony opened the concert but, to judge from the following report, the second 'Grand Overture' was probably Symphony No. 98: at least, this is the only work performed in the 1792 season of which there is proof that the finale was encored when it was first performed. The *Morning Chronicle* of 7th May writes:

SALOMON'S ELEVENTH CONCERT.

Miss PARKE who had before given so much pleasure, sang with no less approbation and effect. The performers on the French-horn answered the expectations that had been formed of them. The echo they produce is a very pleasing deception, and is of the same kind as the art of the ventriloquist, which wholly consists in a calculation of the distance of sounds. Fischer was in full voice, and at each descending note the Audience could not but enquire, What! deeper yet? Viotti played in a grand and impressive style:— he is, indeed, a most finished and masterly performer. The overture of the second act was the favourite one two years ago, and was heard again with infinite delight: the last movement was encored.

*TWELFTH CONCERT: 12th MAY 1794*

MR. SALOMON'S CONCERT, HANOVER-SQUARE.

The SUBSCRIBERS are respectfully acquainted, that the Twelfth and Last SUBSCRIPTION CONCERT for this Season, will be on MONDAY next, May 12.

PART I.

Grand Overture, (M. S.) HAYDN.  
Aria, Mr. NIELD.  
Concerto, Piano Forte, Mr. BERTIM [sic].  
Scena, Miss PARKE.  
Concertante for Violin, Violoncello, Oboe, Flute,  
and Basso[o]n, Obligato, GYROVETZ [sic].

PART II.

The Grand Overture (M. S.) HAYDN; with the  
Militaire Movement.  
Aria, Mr. FISCHER;  
Duo, (M. S.) for Two Violins, Messrs. VIOTTI and SALOMON.  
Rondo, Miss PARKE;  
FINALE — HAYDN.

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Mr. Salomon is extremely sorry, that Madame Mara's indisposition still continuing, prevents her from fulfilling her engagement to perform at the Concert...

[*Oracle*, May 10; *Morning Chronicle*, May 10 and 12; etc.]

SALOMON has had a brilliant season, notwithstanding the *caprice* consequent upon one of his engagements. N. B. This does *not* refer to MARA — she is always ready like BANTI, whatever be her illness.

[*Oracle*, 13th May.]

It is not certain to which performer the *Oracle* refers — probably one of the singers. The *Morning Chronicle* of the 15th says of the concert:

SALOMON'S CONCERT.

Closed on Monday with no less eclat than it has been continued through the season. A young boy, the son of an Italian named BERTINI, played a concerto of his own composing that evinced a very uncommon maturity of genius. It had indeed been corrected by the famous CLEMENTI, whose scholar young BERTINI is; but both the music and the playing were, for so young a student, far beyond expectation. In addition to a brilliant finger, and good taste, he began his sentences with the accuracy and decision of a master. VIOTTI and SALOMON played a violin duet in a very bold and finished style. Two of the immortal HAYDN'S overtures were performed, and were listened to with enthusiasm and rapture. The company were informed that the concerts are to be continued the next season, with some variation, but on an equally grand scale; and we cannot take our leave of this concert without declaring it to be our opinion, and the opinion of every impartial musical judge, that the spirit, precision, and genius, that have been displayed at it are worthy of all the favour, fashion, and protection, the public can bestow. To the leader, Mr. SALOMON, the nation is indebted not only for his own excellent performances, but for the bringing forward of excellence at any expense wherever he could procure it, at home or abroad; and above all for having prevailed on the inimitable HAYDN to visit and compose for this country.

HANOVER-SQUARE.

MR. SALOMON begs leave to present his most sincere acknowledgements to the Nobility and Gentry, for the very great Approbation they have bestowed upon his Concerts; and has the Satisfaction to acquaint them that being honoured with the additional Patronage of the most distinguished Personages, for the next year, they will be continued on a Scale equally grand, but upon a new Plan, which, from the Sanction it has already received, Mr. SALOMON flatters himself will meet with general Encouragement.

Mr. SALOMON'S BENEFIT is fixed for WEDNESDAY the 28th Instant.

[*Oracle*, May 14; *Morning Chronicle*, May 14; etc.]

Salomon's season, having begun promptly, also ended promptly; but there were still the usual benefit concerts, at almost all of which a symphony of Haydn was performed, sometimes under the composer's direction:



May, 1794

HANOVER SQUARE.

MR. YANIEWICZ most respectfully acquaints the Nobility and Gentry, that his BENEFIT CONCERT will be THIS EVENING, WEDNESDAY, the 14th of May Inst.

PART I.

OVERTURE.

Song, Mr. HUTTENES.

New Concerto Violin, Mr. YANIEWICZ.

Song, Miss PARKE.

Concertante for two French Horns, Messrs.  
DAHMEN and ZONCADA.

PART II.

Overture, HAYDN.

Song, Mr. HUTTENES.

Concerto Piano Forte, Mr. DUSSECK.

Song, Miss PARKE.

Solo Violin, Mr. YANIEWICZ.

Full Piece.

[etc., etc.]

[Oracle, May 14; Morning  
Chronicle, May 12 and 14; etc.]

HANOVER-SQUARE.

MISS PARKE respectfully informs the NOBILITY and GENTRY, That HER CONCERT, will be on MONDAY NEXT the 19th instant, at the above ROOMS.

Under the Direction of Mr. CRAMER.

Doctor HAYDN will preside at the PIANO-FORTE.

ACT I.

Overture, HAYDN — Song, Mr. NIELD.

Concerto Violoncello, Mr. LIN[D]LEY — Song, Miss PARKE.

Concertante (1st time, M. S.), Violin, Tenor, and Hautboy, by  
Messrs. CRAMER, MOUNTAIN, and PARKE — PLEYEL.

Terzetto (1st time), Mr. FISCHER, Mr. NIELD, and Miss PARKE  
— PICCINI.

ACT II.

Grand Overture, M. S. PLEYEL — Song, Mr. FISCHER.

Sonata, Piano-Forte, Miss PARKE — Song, Miss PARKE.

FINALE.

[etc., etc.]

[Oracle, May 14; Morning  
Chronicle, May 15, etc.]

WILLIS'S ROOMS, KING-STREET, ST. JAMES'S.

MESSRS. SALE and BELLAMY, Jun. respectfully acquaint the Nobility and Gentry, that their CONCERT will be on MONDAY next, the 19th of May Inst. at the above Rooms.

Leader of the Band, Mr. SALOMON.

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

Mr. GREATOREX will preside at the Piano Forte.

[A Haydn 'Overture' and 'Full Piece' were played.]

[*Oracle and Morning Chronicle*,  
14th May.]

HANOVER-SQUARE. For the BENEFIT of Mr. VIOTTI.

TO-MORROW, May 23, will be a GRAND CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

PART I.

Grand Overture (M.S.) — HAYDN.

Aria, Mr. NIELD.

New Concerto Violin, Signor VIOTTI.

Aria, Mr. FISCHER.

Concerto, Piano Forte, Mr. DUSSECK.

PART II.

Grand Overture (M.S.) — HAYDN.

Scena, Madame DU CREST.

New Concerto Violin, Signor VIOTTI.

Terzetto, Madame DUCREST, Mr. NIELD, and Mr. FISCHER.

Finale.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle*, 22nd May; *etc.*]

HANOVER-SQUARE.

Under the Patronage of his Royal Highness THE PRINCE OF WALES.

MR. BARTHELEMON'S CONCERT will be THIS EVENING, MONDAY the 26th Instant.

ACT I.

Overture, HAYDN.

Song, Mr. BARTLEMAN.

Duetto, for Violin and Tenor, by Master FURTADO,  
(being his first appearance in Public) and Mr. BARTHELEMON,  
STAMITZ.

Concerto Violoncello, Mr. F. ATTWOOD.

Song, Miss PARKE.

Concerto Violin, Mr. BRIDGETOWER, (Pupil of Mr. BARTHELEMON).  
VIOTTI.

ACT II.

Overture, at which Dr. HAYDN will preside at the Piano Forte.

HAYDN.

Concerto, Piano Forte, BERTINI.

Song, Mrs. BARTHELEMON.

New Solo Violin, Mr. BARTHELEMON.

Finale.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle and Morning Chronicle*,  
26th May; *etc.*]

HANOVER-SQUARE.

For the BENEFIT of Mr. SALOMON.

May—June, 1794

THIS EVENING, the 28th of May, will be a GRAND CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

Part I. Grand Overture, (MS.) Haydn. — Aria, Mr. Nield. — Solo Violin, Mr. Salomon. — Scena, Miss Parke. — Grand Concertante.

Part II. Grand Overture, (MS.) Haydn, with the Military Movement. — Aria, Mr. Fischer. — Concerto Violin, Mr. Salomon. — Terzetto, Miss Parke, Mr. Nield, and Mr. Fischer. — Finale, Haydn.

Leader of the Band Signor VIOTTI.

Dr. HAYDN will be at the Piano Forte...

[*Oracle*, May 28; *Times*, May 26;

*Morning Chronicle*, May 26 and 28; etc.]

NEW SUBSCRIPTION ROOM, KING'S THEATRE.

For the Benefit of Mr. GIORNOVICH.

THIS PRESENT FRIDAY, May the 30th, 1794, will be A GRAND CONCERT.

Leader of the Band Mr. CRAMER.

ACT I. Overture, HAYDN. Song, Signor MORELLI. Concerto Violoncello, Mr. SCHRAM. Song, Madame DUCREST. Concertante for Flute, Hautboy, French Horn and Bassoon, by Messrs. MONZANI, BEZOZZI, LEANDER, and HOLM[E]S. Devienne. Concerto Violin, Mr. GIORNOVICH.

ACT II.

Concerto Hautboy, Signor BEZOZZI. Song, Signora BANTI. Concerto Piano Forte, Mr. DUSSECK. Song, Signor MORELLI. Concerto Violin, Mr. GIORNOVICH. Full Piece.

[etc., etc.]

[*Oracle*, May 30; *Morning Chronicle*, May 28; etc.]

HANOVER-SQUARE. For the BENEFIT of Mr. FISCHER. THIS EVENING will be performed a Grand Concert of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

Part I. Grand Overture, (MS.) Haydn. — Aria, Mr. Fischer. — Quartetto for Flute, Violin, Viola and Violoncello Obligati. — Scena, Miss Parke. — Concerto Piano Forte, Mr. Dusseck.

Part II. The Favourite Grand Overture, (MS.) Haydn. — with the Militaire Movement, (for the last time this season). — Scena, Mr. Fischer. — Grand Concertante, (MS.) for Violin, Violoncello, Oboe and Bassoon, Obligato, Messrs. Salomon, Dahmen, Jun[.], Harrington, Macintosh. Haydn. — Romance, Mr. Fischer. — Duetto, Miss Parke and Mr. Fischer. — Finale, Haydn.

Leader of the Band, Mr. Salomon...

[*Morning Chronicle*, 2nd June.]

The Musical Season will conclude with unparalleled eclat by the concert of this day se'nnight, in which all the WHITE BEARS of the musical world are to be united — The BANTI and MORICHELLI are to be heard FOR THE FIRST TIME TOGETHER. Haydn, Giornovich, Cramer, all unite their powers in favour of a brother professor, and thus in point both of Vocal and Instrumental excellence, it will defy comparison with any thing that this country ever witnessed.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 9th June.]

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

At the NEW SUBSCRIPTION ROOMS,  
KING'S THEATRE, HAYMARKET,

ON MONDAY next, the 16th of June, WILL BE A GRAND CONCERT, To  
conclude the Musical Season, by an union of the principal talents, Vocal and  
Instrumental, in the Metropolis.

ACT I.

Overture for a double Orchestra, M.S. — Bach.

Song, Signor ROVEDINO.

Concertanti for Oboe and Bassoon, Messrs. HARRINGTON and HOLM[E]S.

Song, Signora MORECHELLI [*sic*].

Concertanti for Two Violins Obligati, Mr. GIORNOVICH and  
Mr. TAYLOR, his Pupil.

ACT II.

Grand Overture, — Haydn.

Song, Signor ROVEDINO.

Concerto Violoncello, Mr. LINDLY [*sic*].

Song, Signora BANTI.

OVERTURE.

Leader of the Band, Mr. CRAMER...

[*Morning Chronicle*, June 10, 13,  
14 and 16; *Oracle*, June 14; *etc.*]

The opening symphony was by Johann Christian Bach, probably one  
of those published under Opus 18: those in D major and E flat were  
particularly popular.

The following needs no elaboration:

About a half a year after Haydn's arrival in London, a letter was sent him  
in the name of the [then] reigning Prince Nikolaus [II] Esterházy (who was then  
travelling through Italy) from Naples, which contained the news: 'The Prince has  
named Haydn his *Kapellmeister*, and wishes to restore the whole band again.' Haydn  
received this news with the greatest pleasure. He had had for a long time the  
warmest sympathy for the Princes Esterházy: they had offered him his daily bread  
and (what was most important) given him opportunity to exploit his talents. Haydn  
saw, of course, that his income in England was large, and that it by far ex-  
ceeded that of his fatherland... [Nevertheless] he decided to accept the offer of  
Prince Nikolaus... and, as soon as his commitments in London were fulfilled,  
to return to his native country. [Dies, pp. 153 f.]

Haydn wrote two notebooks during his second stay in England, one  
of which has been published (with very grave errors) by J. E. Engl  
(*Haydns handschriftliches Tagebuch aus der Zeit seines zweiten Auf-  
enthaltes in London*, Leipzig, 1909), and one of which has been de-  
stroyed. Both Dies and Griesinger, however, had access to this lost diary,  
and extracts from it are quoted by them. From these three sources  
we can follow Haydn's travels in the summer of 1794.

July-August, 1794

The 9th of July I left at five in the morning for Portsmouth, 72 miles from London, and arrived there at 8 o'clock in the evening... I inspected the fortifications there, which are in good repair. I went aboard the French ship-of-the-line called *Le Just* with 80 cannon, which the English, that is Lord Howe, had captured. The 18 cannon in the harbour-fortress are 36-pounders... [Engl., p. 22.]

*Spectas et tu spectabere* is the inscription over the *Courtine* in the little Haymarket-Theatre: I was there myself the 29th [i. e. 28th] of July 1794 in a national opera... They play there just as abominable stuff as at Sadler's Wells; a fellow yelled an aria so terribly and with such grimaces that I began to sweat on my whole body. NB. he had to repeat the aria. *O che bestie!*... [Engl., pp. 25 f.; Griesinger, p. 52.]

*The Mountaineers* and *Auld Robin Gray* (a Pastorale), both with music by Dr. Samuel Arnold, were the works given on the night Haydn attended. The diary has a long passage dealing with the ballet. (Pohl, H in L, p. 270.)

The 2nd of August 1794 I left at five in the morning for Bath in company with Mr. Asher and Mr. Cimador, arrived there at 8 o'clock in the evening... I lived at the house of G. Rauzzini. [Engl., p. 26.]

Rauzzini, a famous singer and at the same time a composer, lived at Bath, after he had withdrawn from the theatre, and invited Haydn to give him the honour of a visit. Dr. Burney accompanied him thence, and both were Rauzzini's guests for three days.

Rauzzini had, in his garden, erected a monument to the memory of his best friend, whom Death had taken from him. He bewailed the loss of so true a friend in an inscription, and closed his lament with the lines: 'he was not a man — he was a dog.' Haydn copied the inscription secretly and wrote a four-part canon around the words ['Turk was a faithful dog, and not a man']. Rauzzini was surprised, and the canon pleased him so much that he had it engraved on the monument, as an honour to Haydn and the dog. [Dies, pp. 126 f.]

As Haydn was leaving Bath, a French refugee sent him on that very day a laurel wreath. Four verses accompanied it: these showed the owner's good will but are too poor to be included here. [Dies, p. 155.]

On the 6th [August 1794] I went from Bath eleven miles to Bristol, to visit Mr. Hamilton [Engl., p. 28.] [Earlier note in pencil, Engl., p. 20:]

Mr. Hamilton  
Rodney Place Cleston Hill  
near Bristol.

Some time during August, Haydn visited Canterbury (Engl. p. 23). The following note, about Waverley Abbey, is taken from the lost diary:

The 26th of August 1794 I went to Waverley Abbey, forty miles from London, to Baron Sir Charles Rich, a very decent 'cellist. There are here remains of a monastery which has stood for 600 years. I must admit that, whenever I viewed this beautiful wilderness, my heart was heavy as I thought that all this once stood under my religion. [Griesinger, pp. 100 f.]

On 13th October, Haydn was again in London, and attended a performance of *Hamlet* at Covent Garden. In the fifth act a funeral ode, which William Shield had set to Shakespeare's words, was sung, and after *Hamlet* was over, the pantomime *Harlequin and Faustus* was given. The *Oracle* of 14th October reports that 'the amiable Haydn, as a genius second to no one' sat in a side box. (Pohl, H in L, p. 277.)

Haydn's lost diary, through the courtesy of Griesinger, continues:

The 14th of November 1794 I drove with Lord Abingdon to Preston, 26 miles from London, to the Baron of Aston; he and his wife love music. [Griesinger, pp. 50 f.]

The 15th of December 1794 I went to see Mr. Baze [i. e. Bates], who leads the Ancient Concert from the organ and plays quite well. His wife has a very pleasant, flexible voice, her pitch is good, her pronounciation clear: she has the manner of Bachierotti [i. e. Pacchierotti] in her way of singing, but her trill is a little too quick. [Griesinger, p. 48.]

Dr. Arnold composed an opera for Drury Lane Theatre: because the backers were afraid that it would not be a success, Dr. Arnold agreed to give it three times at his own expense. He spent over £700 on it; the backers paid a crowd of people to hiss the opera each time it was given. Finally, Arnold let the backers have the opera together with the costumes for £200, and they staged it, with some changes, better costumes and superior decorations: in a year they made £20,000 on it; the publishers alone made upwards of £5,000, and the poor composer lost £500. What rascals! [Griesinger, pp. 47 f.]

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The war with France made itself felt even in the musical world of London, and in January, 1795, Salomon printed the following statement in the London press:

Hanover-square, January 12, 1795.

MR. SALOMON respectfully presents his acknowledgments to the Nobility and Gentry who have hitherto done him the honour to support his Concert; he feels the most lively sentiments of gratitude for the protection which they gave him in the arduous undertaking; and it is with real regret that he is under the necessity, from circumstances which he has it not in his power to control, to decline the further continuance of the establishment.

In the present situation of affairs on the Continent, Mr. Salomon finds it impossible to procure from abroad any Vocal Performers of the first talents, but by the influence of terms which an undertaking like his could by no means authorize him to offer; and it would be a presumption, of which he is incapable, to solicit the patronage of the Nobility and Gentry to an inferior entertainment.

It was an essential object in his original undertaking to promote the character of the profession by the union of its most splendid talents; and, he flatters himself, that he speaks the sense of the best Connoisseurs when he presumes to say, that in his essays he succeeded to an extent that gave unprecedented distinction to the Concert. At the present moment, therefore, when from circumstances incompatible with a single and circumscribed undertaking he is obliged to relinquish his

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favourite idea, he is happy to find a cordial disposition to take up and further the plan of a National School of Music becoming the taste and grandeur of this kingdom, in a quarter which necessarily possesses the means for that purpose.

As a professional man he wishes well to the new establishment of a grand and regular Concert at the Opera; to which, from the exclusive union of all the talents of the Theatre, a foundation would be given that no other undertaking could equal; and which is further to be supported by many eminent masters, whom in a very liberal and handsome manner he is invited to join, that they may unite their efforts for its perfection. — Mr. Salomon hopes that his labours have not been altogether useless, if they have tended to give rise to an institution which promises so much in favour of his art; and the Nobility and Gentry, his subscribers, will not lament to see the powers of the most splendid of his associates combined with talents worthy their union.

Mr. Salomon owes too many obligations to Dr. Haydn, to suffer this opportunity to pass without offering him his public acknowledgments for the advantages he derived from his unparalleled genius, and which he is happy to say, is not to be left unexerted in the service of the Public. To Mr. Viotti, and to all the other Professors, who honoured him with their assistance, he returns also grateful thanks, and rejoices to find, that all, equally animated by the love of the Profession, cheerfully enter into the Arrangement that has been formed.

[*Morning Chronicle*, January 14, 15, 16 and 17; *Oracle*, January 16; etc.]

The Haydn-Salomon concerts, then, were at an end. In their place came the so called 'Opera Concerts', truly the 'exclusive union of all the talents' of musical London. It was for this new organization that Haydn composed his last three symphonies, as well as his magnificent *Scena di Berenice*. Although technically these last three symphonies should not be placed together with the other nine, it nevertheless seems appropriate that the generous impresario should be remembered by having his name attached to all twelve of Haydn's last symphonic masterpieces; and so it is, perhaps, not so incongruous that these works, too, should bear the title 'Salomon' symphonies. The official announcement of the new concert series reads:

OPERA CONCERT, KING'S THEATRE.

THE Nobility and Gentry are respectfully informed, that there will be, in the Great Room of this Theatre,

NINE CONCERTS BY SUBSCRIPTION.

To be held every MONDAY Fortnight, commencing on MONDAY, the 2d of February next.

In this Concert it will be the Study of the Proprietor to combine the most eminent talents, Vocal and Instrumental, now in England.

Composers.

Dr. HAYDN, Mr. MARTINI.

Mr. BIANCHI, and Mr. CLEMENTI.

From whom there will be at least Two New Pieces of Music for each Concert.

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

Vocal Performers.

Madame BANTI, Madame MORICHELLI,  
Signor NERI, Signor MORELLI,  
Signor BRIDA, Signor BONFANTI,  
And Signor ROVEDINO.

who are all engaged not to perform out of the Theatre.

Solo Performers.

Mr. SALOMON, Mr. DUSSECK,  
Signor DRAGONETTI, Mr. SCHRAM,  
Mr. LIN[D]LEY, Mr. ASHE,  
Mr. HOLMES, Mr. HARRINGTON,  
And Mr. VIOTTI.

The Chorusses under the Direction of Dr. ARNOLD, Organist of his Majesty's Chapel, who will himself preside at the Organ.

At the Harpsichord, Dr. HAYDN and Mr. FEDERICI.

Leader of the Band, Mr. CRAMER.

The whole to be under the Direction of Mr. VIOTTI, who will also occasionally furnish new Pieces of Music....

[*Morning Chronicle*, January 2, 7, 16, 17,  
19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30,  
31 and February 2; *Oracle*, January 16, 17  
and 21; *The Times*, January 29; *etc.*, *etc.*]

The *Morning Chronicle*, commenting on this announcement in its issue of 24th January, says:

The whole world cannot produce such a combination of Musical talents as the Opera Concert presents to the Amateurs; and, as SALOMON candidly owns in his Advertisement, it is the foundation of a Musical School in England, worthy the taste and opulence of the Nation. The Great Room will conveniently accommodate 800 Subscribers; and to this number is limited.

On 1st February, there was a musical soir  e at Carlton House. Haydn, *via* Griesinger, reports:

On 1st February 1795 I was invited, through the Prince of Wales, to an evening of music at the Duke of York's, where the King, the Queen, her whole family, the Duke of Orange &c. were present. Nothing was played except my compositions; I sat at the piano forte; at the end I had to sing, too. The King, who up to now could or would only hear Handel's compositions, was attentive; he talked with me, and introduced me to the Queen, who paid me many compliments. I sang my German song: 'Ich bin der verliebteste'. On 3rd February I was invited to the Prince of Wales, also on the 15th, 17th, 19th April 1795; on the 21st to the Queen in Buckingham Palace. [Griesinger, p. 50.]

....One evening, after Haydn had played on the pianoforte for a long time to the Queen, the King, who always spoke German, said that he knew Haydn was once a good singer, and he would like to hear him sing a few German songs. Haydn pointed to the joint of his little finger and said: 'Your Majesty, my voice is only this big now.' The King laughed, and then Haydn sang his song 'Ich bin der verliebteste'.



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The King and Queen wanted to keep him in England. 'I will give you rooms in Windsor for the summer', said the Queen... Haydn said, on being repeatedly pressed to remain in England, that he was, out of gratitude, obliged to the house of his Prince... He remained steadfast, and thought that this was the reason the King never gave him anything. Of the Royal Family, only the Duchess of York came to his benefit concert; but she sent him fifty guineas. He was, on several occasions, received by her in a very friendly way, for she knew how much her father, the King of Prussia, thought of Haydn. [Griesinger, pp. 58 f.]

The evening of 1st February is reported by the *St. James's Chronicle* on the 3rd:

.... Last night the Prince of Wales gave a grand Concert and Supper, at Carlton-House to their Majesties, the House of Orange, the Princess Royal, the Duke and Duchess of York, Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, all the junior Princesses, and Princess Sophia of Gloucester, and a select party of the Noblesse of both sexes. Previous to the Concert, the King went over to Carlton-House for the first time.

The Concert was led by Salomon. The Musick consisted chiefly of Haydn's Symphonies, and a Concerto, played by Viotti...

To the preliminary announcement of the series were soon added further details, including the size of the orchestra and the first programme:

#### FIRST CONCERT: 2nd FEBRUARY 1795

The Orchestra will consist of more than Sixty Instrumental Performers, besides the Solo Players....

#### CONDITIONS of the SUBSCRIPTION.

Four Guineas for Nine Performances. Tickets to be transferable. — Ladies' to Ladies, and Gentlemens' to Gentlemen. — A single ticket will be delivered for the nine nights, and the Subscribers to write on the back of it the name of the Lady or Gentleman to whom they transfer the same.

Subscriptions are received at the Banking House of Messrs. Ranson, Morland, and Hammersley, in Pall-Mall, and at Messrs. Longman and Broderip's, in the Haymarket and Cheapside; who will give receipts, which will be exchanged for the proper ticket, at the Office of the Theatre, adjoining Union-Court every Day. The Ladies' Tickets are green, the Gentlemens' red.

N. B. As the Tickets are transferrable, the number of Subscribers is necessarily limited to the accommodation of the room.

The First Performance will be on MONDAY, the 2d of February, 1795.

#### PART FIRST.

A Grand Overture, MS. — Haydn.  
Duetto, Signor Rovedino, and Signor Morelli — Cimarosa.  
Concerto Bassoon, by. Mr. Holmes — Devienne.  
Song, Madame Morichelli — Gazaniga.  
Concerto, Piano Forte, by Mr. Dusseck — Dusseck.  
Quartetto, Madame Morichelli, Mr. Kelly, Signor Rovedino,  
and Signor Morelli, MS. — Martini.

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PART SECOND.

A new Grand Overture, composed on the Occasion, by — Haydn.  
Song, Signor Neri, in Castor e Polluie [*sc.* Castore e Polluce] — Bianchi.  
Concertone, Mr. Dragonetti — Dragonetti.  
Song, Madame Banti in Scipione Affricano — Bianchi.  
New Concerto, by Mr. Viotti — Viotti.  
Terzetto, Signor Neri, Mr. Kelly, and Madame Banti, MS. — Piccini.  
FULL PIECE.

The Doors to be opened at Seven . . . .

The Nobility and Gentry are most respectfully informed, that the KING's DOOR, adjoining Union court, will be open for the general resort of the Company, and in order to prevent confusion, the Subscribers are earnestly requested to give positive Directions to their Servants to set down and take up with their Horses' Heads towards Pall-mall; and at the desire of many of the Subscribers, the Door in Market-lane will also be opened for the accommodation of the Company.

In reply to numberless applications which have been made at the office, the Public are entreated to observe, that it is an unalterable rule in this Concert, (conditioned on the part of the Subscribers) that no Tickets shall be granted for the night, and no Subscriptions divided; neither will Tickets be issued at any period of the Season under the full Subscription.

The office will continue open all this day and evening, for the delivery of the Subscribers' Tickets.

[*The Times*, February 2, *etc.*; *Oracle*,  
January 26, 28, 29, 30 and  
February 2; *etc.*]

The new Haydn symphony was No. 102, composed in 1794. The report of the chandelier falling, in the review quoted below, is cited by Dies in connection with No. 96 — later termed 'The Miracle', supposedly as a result of this episode. As will be seen in the criticism in the *Morning Chronicle*, the chandelier fell in the last movement of No. 102, the new symphony: thus another Haydn legend is proved false. Dies (pp 93 *f.*) describes the story as follows:

When Haydn appeared in the orchestra and seated himself at the Pianoforte, to conduct a symphony personally, the curious audience in the parterre left their seats and pressed forward towards the orchestra, with a view to seeing Haydn better at close range. The seats in the middle of the parterre were therefore empty, and no sooner were they empty but a great chandelier plunged down, smashed, and threw the numerous company into great confusion. As soon as the first moment of shock was over, and those who had pressed forward realized the danger which they had so luckily escaped, and could find words to express the same, many persons showed their state of mind by shouting loudly: 'miracle! miracle!' Haydn himself was much moved, and thanked merciful Providence who had allowed it to happen that he [Haydn] could, to a certain extent, be the reason, or the machine, by which at least thirty persons' lives were saved. Only a few of the audience received minor bruises.

This occurrence I have heard in various versions, almost always with the additional

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fact that the symphony has in London been given the complimentary name, 'The Miracle'. It may be that this is true, but when I asked Haydn about it, he said: 'I know nothing of that.'

Neukomm, however, in his *Bemerkungen zu den biogr. Nachrichten von Dies*, is also sceptical. 'I never heard anything of this anecdote', he says, 'either from Haydn, or later, in England.' The *Morning Chronicle* (3rd February) writes:

#### OPERA CONCERT.

The first concert of this new establishment took place last night. It is impossible to speak of this concert in higher terms than M[r]. SALOMON, whose judgment will not be disputed, delivered in regard to it, when he candidly owned, that comprehending all the great talents, vocal and instrumental now in England, all competition must sink before it. It is certainly such an assemblage as no Country in the World can now exhibit, and we have no doubt but the success will answer the liberality of the undertaking.

It cannot be expected that so numerous an Orchestra could play with the same spirit and accuracy on the first night, and indeed the first time of their performance in this Hall, for we understand they did not rehearse here, as they will hereafter; yet this remark applies only to the first act, for the new Overture, composed by the inimitable HAYDN, was performed in a masterly stile, as it most richly deserved to be. His genius, as we have frequently before had occasion to remark, is inexhaustible. In harmony, modulation, melody, passion and effect, he is wholly [sic] unrivaled [sic]. The last movement was encored; and notwithstanding an interruption by the accidental fall of one of the chandeliers, it was performed with no less effect.

The new Concerto of VIOTTI, both in composition, execution, and taste, was a capital performance: each movement gave great pleasure, but especially the *adagio*, which, for sweetness of harmony, we have scarcely ever heard surpassed. Madame BANTI was truly captivating, notwithstanding a severe cold, the effects of which nothing but her genius could have conquered. We never heard a Singer, whose intonation is so perfect. Of her execution, taste, and feeling we have often spoken with rapture, but never in adequate terms.

Parallel to these Opera Concerts was another series, given every Friday evening at the King's Concert Room: here, the programmes were, in keeping with the Lenten period, primarily devoted to church music. Dr. Arnold conducted from the organ, and Federici sat at the pianoforte; Cramer was leader of the band, which numbered some 200 persons. Madame Banti, Miss Leake, Signor Brida, Signor Rovedino and Mr. Harrison were the principal singers. Several Haydn symphonies were given, and these were, as usual, placed at the beginning of the second part of each programme. Contrary to the crowded Opera Concerts, this series played to nearly empty houses. (*Oracle*, March 2: Pohl, H in L. pp. 289 f.)

**SECOND CONCERT: 16th FEBRUARY 1795**

**OPERA CONCERT, KING'S THEATRE.**

THE Subscribers are most respectfully informed that the Second Performance will be on MONDAY next, the 16th Instant...

**PART I.**

Overture, MS. — Federici; Song, Signor Brida — Andreozzi; Duetto Concertante, Mr. Viotti and Mr. Salomon — Viotti; New Song, Madame Morichelli (composed here for the occasion) — Martini; New Symphony for the occasion — Clementi.

**PART II.**

Grand Overture, MS. — Haydn; Duetto Notturmo, Madame Banti and Signor Rovedino — Bianchi; Concertone Double Bass, Dragonetti — Dragonetti; New Song, Madame Banti (composed here for the occasion) — Bianchi.

**FINALE.**

[etc., etc.]

[Oracle, February 6, 14 and 16;  
*Morning Chronicle*, February 7, 8, 9,  
10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16; etc.]

Apparently Symphony No. 102 was repeated, as had often happened in previous years with other works. The *Morning Chronicle* of the following day writes:

**OPERA CONCERT. SECOND NIGHT.**

We can only notice a few of the numerous excellencies that were produced here last night, by the splendid talents that are united in this Concert. Signor BRIDA sung like a master; but we wonder that with so good a voice, he should prefer the bravura to the cantabile. The Duo, by VIOTTI and SALOMON, we may safely affirm, could not have been better performed by any other two men existing — perhaps not so well. Masterly as VIOTTI truly is, SALOMON was no less sweet, various and impressive. MARTINI'S new song was given with taste and gaiety by MORICHELLI, and was encored. The new Symphony by CLEMENT[I], did honour to his science and his genius. To write what is worthy to precede the wonders of Haydn is no easy task, yet this he successfully executed. The introduction was an Adagio of a grand and appropriate style; the succeeding Allegro had numerous beauties of melody and modulation; the slow movement was a canon, in four; and which in this species of composition is very rare, was no less sweet than scientific; and the last movement, continuing the same subject in rapid time, exhibited great learning, and perhaps too much contrivance. The musician, like the poet, cannot be too fearful of being seduced by the playfulness of fancy from the passion and subject of his story. We hope CLEMENT[I] will preserve in this majestic style of composition, for which few indeed are equally capable. What shall we say of HAYDN, and the sublime, the magic Overture, with which he began the second act? The rapture it gave cannot be communicated by words: to be known it must be heard. DRAGONETTI amazed all the musical cognoscenti by his Concertante on the Double Bass. At first it was Callibran [*sic*] singing a Cantabile; and afterwards, in the language of Bottom, a "Lion that roared like any Nightingale!" For execution, it was almost past [b]elief; and for tone, infinitely more pleasant than was ever before thought possible. BANTI sang a beautiful Cantata, and a Bravura, both by BIANCHI, and, as usual, was adored; especially in the Cantata.

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THIRD CONCERT: 23rd FEBRUARY 1795

OPERA CONCERT, KING'S THEATRE.

THE Subscribers are respectfully informed that the Third Performance will be THIS PRESENT MONDAY, the 23d Instant.

The Fourth Performance on MONDAY, the 2d of March; the Fifth, on MONDAY, the 16th of March; and the Sixth (on account of the Easter Holidays), will be deferred, by desire of the Subscribers, to MONDAY, the 13th of April.

FOR THIS EVENING.

PART I.

Overture, M. S. Reichar[d]t — Duetto, Madame Morichelli, and Signor Brida: Paisiello [sic]. — Concerto Violoncello, Lindley. — Song, Madame Morichelli: Cimarosa. — the favourite Overture, Iphigenia: Gink [i. e. Gluck].

PART II.

Great Militaire Overture, M. S. — Haydn. — Rondo, Madame Banti, in Achile in Seiro: Paisiello [sic]. — Concerto Violin, Mrs. Guilberg (being her first performance in this country): Eck — Cantata, Madame Banti: Bianchi.

FINALE.

[etc., etc.]

[Oracle, February 23; Morning  
Chronicle, February 19, 20, 21, 22  
and 23; etc.]

The 'Great Militaire Overture' is, of course, Haydn's Symphony No. 100. Of this concert, the *Morning Chronicle* writes, the next day:

OPERA CONCERT. THIRD NIGHT.

In a room so spacious, with a band so select, and singers and solo performers, whom we doubt if all Europe can excel, no wonder that the highest pleasure is received; and that a select, elegant, and well judging audience should be assembled. The company last night was brilliant beyond example. Of the music and the musicians, with very few exceptions, we cannot well speak too highly. In the first Act, Madame MORICHELLI sang an excellent song, composed by Cimarosa; and the famous Overture, by Gluck, to *Iphigene en Tauride* (a noble composition) was played with great spirit and effect<sup>22</sup>. The Grand Symphony of Haydn, with the Military Movement, which never fails to astonish and enrapture, and which, as usual, was encored, began the second act. We know not by what accident, but, though the sublimity of the composition overcame every little defect, we have heard it performed more accurately. Another time, no doubt, the band will be more determined, and more precise in their time. A Lady of the name of GUILBERG, a native, as we are informed[,] of Germany, played a Concerto on the Violin. Her youth and beauty, added to a delicate, though rather feeble tone, a brilliant shake, and great neatness of execution, interested her hearers, who expressed their approbation with repeated plaudits. The Adagio in particular (composed by Viotti, much to his honour) she played in a chaste and charming style. Madame BANTI sang first a most delicious Rondeau, by Paisiello; and afterward repeated the Cantata she sang at the last concert. It is a noble composition by Bianchi, and as a proof of its excellence pleased even more the second time than the first. Madame BANTI did it justice: it was extasy to listen to her sweet, powerful, and impressive notes.

<sup>22</sup> It seems certain that *Iphigénie en Aulide* (not *Tauride*) was played.

**FOURTH CONCERT: 2nd MARCH 1795**

**OPERA CONCERT, KING'S THEATRE.**

THE SUBSCRIBERS are most respectfully informed, that the Fourth Performance will be THIS present MONDAY, the 2d of March. (The Fifth Performance the 16th of March; and the Sixth, on account of the Easter Holidays, will be deferred, by desire of the Subscribers, to Monday, the 13th of April.)

**FOR THIS EVENING.**

Part I. — Overture, M. S. Reschard [*i. e.* Reichardt]. Song, Signor Morelli: Mozart [*sic*]. New Concerto, flute, Mr. Ashe: Ashe. Song, Madame Morichelli: Haydn. Overture, Demonshoont [*i. e.* Démophon]: Vogel.

Part II. — New Overture, composed here for the occasion: Haydn. Song, Signor Brida: Bianchi. Concertante, two violins, Mr. Viotti and his Scholar, Mr. Libon: Viotti. Song, Madame Morichelli: Gazzaniga. New Terzetto, composed here for the occasion, Madame Morichelli, Signor Brida, and Signor Morelli: Martini. — Finale, under the direction of Mr. Viotti.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*The Times*, March 2; *Morning Chronicle*,  
February 28 and March 2; *etc.*]

The new symphony was No. 103 in E flat major ('Drum Roll'), written in 1795. The aria, sung by Morichelli in the first part, cannot be identified more exactly: possibly Haydn used part of *Orfeo*. The *Morning Chronicle* of 3rd March writes:

**OPERA CONCERT. FOURTH NIGHT.**

This Concert is very deservedly in high fashion, and must necessarily increase the fame it has acquired. — BANTI is unfortunately ill, and her admirers, or rather adorers, were deprived last night of that exquisite delight which her uncommon talents afford: but MORICHELLI was no unworthy substitute. She is now better acquainted with her auditors; the timidity, which at first repressed her powers, is worn off, and she displays much science, taste, and feeling. The symphony, by VOGEL, is a grand movement, is but little known in this country, was well executed, and highly approved. Another new Overture, by the fertile and enchanting HAYDN, was performed; which as usual, had continual strokes of genius, both in air and harmony. The Introduction excited the deepest attention, the Allegro charmed, the Andante was encored[,] the Minuets, especially the Trio, were playful and sweet, and the last movement was equal, if not superior to the preceding. VIOTTI and his scholar, Mr. LIBON played a Concertante for two Violins, which gave great satisfaction. The talents of Viotti are well known; and the youth, his scholar, discovers an ear uncommonly chaste and delicate. His body of tone is not yet sufficient; but it will become more powerful when he gains greater confidence; it scarcely can be more sweet. The Concertante, as a composition, has great merit, and does honour to its author, Viotti. The new Terzetto by MARTINI was charmingly sung by BRIDA, MORELLI, and Madame MORICHELLI, is composed in the best Italian style, and adds to the well established reputation of its author.

March, 1795

FIFTH CONCERT: 16th MARCH 1795

OPERA CONCERT, KING'S THEATRE.

THE SUBSCRIBERS are most respectfully informed, that the FIFTH PERFORMANCE will be THIS EVENING, the 16th instant.

The SIXTH (on account of the Easter Holidays), will be deferred, by desire of the Subscribers, to MONDAY, the 13th of April.

[The detailed programme for 16th March is not given.]

[Oracle, March 16; Morning Chronicle, March 16; etc.]

From the following report, it will be seen that Vogel's Overture to *Démophon* was repeated, and Haydn's Symphony No. 102 performed for the third (?) time; the final movement was, as before, encored. The *Morning Chronicle* of March 17th writes:

OPERA CONCERT. FIFTH PERFORMANCE.

Our Readers surely will not blame us that we are to be frequently obliged to repeat praise; when it is so eminently merited, silence would be injustice. Among other delightful pieces, for the selection of which the subscribers are indebted to the director, VIOTTI, we again were charmed, or rather shaken, by the grand opening symphony to *Demaphoon* [sic]; MORELLI had a comic song in his usual bold and characteristic stile, and was encored. Mr. SCHRAM performed a concerto on the violoncello: his tone good, his hand firm, his knowledge of the finger board great, and his musical science undoubted. His contrasts of forte and piano we thought too uniform; whatever is regularly foreseen is mechanical; and light and shade should oftener melt and mingle than discover hard and determined outlines. MORICHELLI sang both her duet, with MORELLI, and her song, excellently; the duet was encored. In the first act, BANTI was either ill, or out of spirits; we believe the former: but in the second, more perfect, more impassioned, more divine singing, perhaps was never heard. The delicacy of her execution and sweetness of her tones, the accuracy of her taste, and the enchanting discrimination of her feeling, were incomparable. SALOMON'S violin concerto was performed in so masterly a manner, with so much expression, variety, and genius, that it were a misfortune not to have heard him. In his cadenza particularly, few men are his equal. CLEMENTI furnished a new Overture; and afforded ample proof that, well as his fame was established, he rises in his compositions.

The ALLEGRO was truly *joyous*, the Andante was an animated conversation, in which the cheerful, the serious, and occasional touches of the grand, were charmingly intermingled, yet the subject preserved. — The Minuets were alive, and the last movement equal if not superior to the rest.

The first of the new overtures by HAYDN, was repeated; and with an accuracy and effect that were highly honorable to the band; and especially to the leader, Mr. CRAMER. He is indeed most commendably attentive, and the accuracy and effect of the band nightly improves. Of the Overture, what can be said more than that the best judges seem to doubt whether HAYDN himself ever surpassed it. The last movement was encored; and the Adagio still more deservedly ought to have been.

On 24th March, Mara gave a benefit concert in the Hanover Square rooms. Clementi conducted from the pianoforte, and Yaniewicz was leader of the band. The programme was as follows:

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PART I.

Grand Symphony (M. S.), Mozart.  
Aria, Mr. Braham.  
Quartet, Haydn.  
Aria, Madame Mara — Andreozzi.  
Concerto flute, Mr. Ashe — Ashe.  
Aria, Madame Mara — Nasolini.

PART II.

New Grand Overture, M. S. — Clementi.  
Aria, Mr. Braham.  
Concerto Violin, Mr. Yaniewicz — Yaniewicz.  
Aria, Madame Mara.  
Full piece — Haydn.

[Pohl, H in L, pp. 236 f.]

Haydn was present at the concert and wrote in his diary:

The 24th March 1795 Mara, having just returned from Bath, gave a benefit concert in Hanover rooms: she had, however, not more than sixty persons, though they said she never sang better — Janiowich [*i. e.* Janiewicz] conducted — Mr. Clementi sat at the pianoforte, conducted one of his big new symphonies without success . . . [Engl, p. 18; almost the same comment, *ibid.*, p. 35.]

The following are extracts from Haydn's diary for March:

The 28th of March 1795 I saw the opera *Acis e Galathea*, by Bianchi. The music is very rich in parts for wind instruments, and I think one would hear the principal melody better if it were not so richly scored. The opera is too long, especially as Banti has to keep everything going all by herself: as for Brida, a good youngster with a fine voice but of very little musicality, Rovedino, and the good old Braghetti, and the wretched second *Donna* — they all deserved, and received, not the least applause. The orchestra is larger this year, but just as mechanical and badly placed as it was before, and indiscreet in accompaniments; in short, it was the third time that this opera was performed, and everyone was dissatisfied . . . [Engl, p. 24, Griesinger, pp. 51 f.]

The 30th of March 1795 I was invited by Dr. Arnold and his followers to a grand concert; a big symphony was to have been performed under my direction, but as they did not want to hold any rehearsal, I refused to do it and did not appear. [Griesinger, p. 51]

The programme of Dr. Arnold's concert was:

FREE-MASONS' SCHOOL.

Under the Patronage of His Royal Highness the PRINCE of WALES.

In Aid of the FUND for completing and furnishing the SCHOOL-HOUSE in St. George's Fields, for the Reception and Maintenance of One Hundred poor Female Orphans and Children of distressed Free-Masons.

A GRAND CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC will be performed at FREE-MASONS' HALL, on MONDAY the 30th of March, 1795.

under the Direction of Dr. ARNOLD and Dr. DUPOIS [*sic*].



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Principal Vocal Performers,

Miss Parke, Miss Leake, and Mrs. Harrison. Mr. Nield, Master Welch, Mr. Sale, Mr. Gore, Mr. Page, Mr. Leate, Mr. Guise, Mr. Vincent. Leader of the Band, Mr. Cramer.

Principal Instrumental Performers.

Messrs. F. Cramer, Parke, Lindley, Mountain, Smart, and Sons; Sowerbys, Leanders, Hyde, Lyon, Boyce, &c., &c.

Double Drums, Mr. Ashbridge.

A Grand Overture, Dr. HAYDN, under his Direction.  
In Part the First — A Concerto on the Violoncello, By Mr. Lindley. In Part the Second — A Concerto on the German Flute, By Mr. Ashe... [etc.]  
[Oracle, March 25, 28, 30;  
Morning Chronicle, March 30; etc.]

Haydn's diary reports the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess of Brunswick, on 8th April 1795.

On the 10th [Haydn continues], I was invited to a musical soirée at the Prince of Wales, in Carlton House. An old symphony was given, which I accompanied at the pianoforte, and afterwards a quartet; then, I had to sing German and English songs. The Princess, too, sang with me; she played a concerto on the pianoforte quite nicely.

[Griesinger, pp. 49 f.; Dies, p. 156.]

To this report may be added that of the *St. James's Chronicle* (issue of 11th-14th April):

.... On Friday night there was a Musical Party at Carlton-House, for the entertainment of the Princess of Wales. Her Royal Highness is particularly fond of Musick, and performs herself. Haydn and Salomon, with some of the Princesses Household, were present. The Princess with engaging affability played a Concerto on the Piano Forte...

Earlier that same night, Haydn had attended a performance of Salomon's new opera *Windsor Castle*, for which Haydn furnished the overture (*Overture to an English Opera* — possibly intended for *Orfeo*). His diary says:

The 10th of April 1795 I was in Covent Garden, to see the great spectacle: Windsor Castle. The music by Salomon quite passable. The decorations, costumes, changes of scenery, and the quantity of persons on the stage are exaggerated. All the Gods of Heaven and Hell, and everything that lives on the earth are in the piece. [Engl, p. 31; Griesinger, p. 52.]

The *Oracle* of 7th April, speaking of the first performance a few days earlier, says:

COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE.  
WINDSOR CASTLE — *grand masque*.

The introductory matter to the masque is by Mr. Pearce. He is not successful in the tragic diction, clogging his lines with unmeaning epithets. The LYRIC province

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he fills with better powers. The BLACK PRINCE and the MAID of KENT, the illustrious EDWARD and his COURTIERs, occupy the scene, but not long enough to take hold upon the mind.

They are speedily forgotten in the NUPTIALS of PELEUS and THETIS, which NOVERRE, SALOMON, and the MANAGER, have adorned with prodigality. The grouping is uncommonly excellent and picturesque; and the DANCERS executed their steps with amazing grace and neatness. BYRNE seemed to have stolen

"Atalanta's better Part".

The MUSIC is very beautiful; and the first movement of the OVERTURE bespoke the style and fancy of HAYDN in notes, which no other genius ever could so combine.

For detail, we have unluckily no room; the bill of the day, however, may be fully trusted. THESPIS.

The description is continued in a very long passage on 8th April, but there is no further mention of the music nor of Haydn. An announcement a few days later (*The Times* of 21st April) establishes the connection between the overture and Salomon's opera. The notice reads:

THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT GARDEN.

THIS Evening will be presented

LIFE's VAGARIES

To which will be added, a new Drama, called,

WINDSOR CASTLE.

The Overture composed expressly for the occasion by Dr. Haydn,  
as is the rest of the Music by Mr. Salomon...

If we are to believe an announcement in *The Times*, Haydn's schedule on the evening of 10th April was very full indeed; for not only did he attend *Windsor Castle* and the Soirée at Carlton House, but it appears that he assisted at a concert at Willis's Rooms. We read that a 'Grand Overture by Dr. Haydn, and performed under his immediate direction' was given at the benefit concert of Mr. Danby, 'Who has been confined more than 7 months by a severe illness...' Leader of the band was Cramer, and Dr. Arnold presided at a 'Grand Piano Forte'. (*The Times*, April 8 and 10.)

*SIXTH CONCERT: 13th APRIL 1795*

OPERA CONCERT — KING'S THEATRE.

The Subscribers are most respectfully informed that the Sixth Performance will be THIS EVENING.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 13th April.]

Although no details of the programme are furnished, it seems likely that a new symphony of Haydn was played, 'the 12th I have composed in England', as the autograph of No. 104 is entitled. This

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work was performed again at Haydn's benefit concert, on 4th May. It may possibly have been played at the seventh concert as well (see below). The report of the sixth evening reads as follows:

OPERA CONCERT. SIXTH NIGHT.

The selection for last Monday evening, was made with that happy discrimination which the director, Viotti, has shewn through the whole course of these Concerts.

The Concertante for wind instruments was performed with much taste and accuracy. HOLMES is unrivalled on the bassoon; and we never heard the horn so well in tune, throughout, as it was on this occasion played by LEANDER.

Neither of these Performers, however, are yet sufficiently determined in finishing their sentences; and musical performers, like actors on the stage, are frequently unintelligible, at the close of their periods. — If they knew how great a defect this is, they would certainly exert themselves and reform. A Quartetto, sung by MORICHELLI, BRIDA, ROVEDIN[O], and MORELLI, produced a very great effect on the auditors; and is a signal proof of the powers of the composer. CHERUBINI, who discovered in it taste, melody, harmony, passion, and unity. MARTINI wrote a new song for Madame MORICHELLI, which was remarkable rather for its energy, than for that playful gaiety which is the general character of his compositions. Madame GUILBERG played a violin concerto; and, after anticipating the general favour, by her youth and beauty, secured it by the delicacy of her performance. We must however acknowledge, we should prefer the masculine and matured powers of VIOTTI, or SALOMON. Madame BANTI was encored in a delightful Air; and, by the variety which she displayed in repetition, gave increasing pleasure. We must not forget the Overture of HAYDN. This wonderful man never fails; and the various powers of his inventive and impassioned mind have seldom been conceived with more accuracy by the Band, or listened to with greater rapture by the hearers, than they were on this evening.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 15th April.]

Haydn was continually required to preside at benefit concerts, as the following programmes show:

NEW MUSICAL FUND.

Under the PATRONAGE of their Royal Highnesses the PRINCE of WALES and DUKE of YORK.

At the KING'S THEATRE, in the HAYMARKET.

ON MONDAY the 20th of April, 1795, will be performed A GRAND MISCELLANEOUS CONCERT of Vocal and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

For the BENEFIT of the NEW MUSICAL FUND, established for the relief of DECAYED MUSICIANS, their WIDOWS and ORPHANS, residing in England.

Leader of the Band Mr. CRAMER.

Conductors, Dr. HAYES and Dr. MILLER.

Dr. HAYDN will preside at the Forte Piano.

Mr. GREATOREX at the Organ, erected for the occasion by Mr. ELLIOTT, with the Long Movement.

N. B. The Band will consist of Four Hundred Performers for which an Orchestra will be erected on the Stage.

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ACT FIRST.

Grand Chorus in the Dettingen Te Deum — Handel.  
Song, Mr. Bartleman.  
Concerto, Grand Forte Piano, Mr. Smart, jun. — Cramer.  
Song Mrs. Second, from Bath.  
Concerto Violoncello, Mr. Lindley.  
Song, Madam Banti, accompanied by Mr. Cramer on the Violin.  
Concerto, German Flute, Mr. Ashe.  
Air and Grand Chorus, 'Glory to God' — Handel, Mr. Harrison.

ACT SECOND.

Grand Symphony, M.S. — Haydn — and performed under his immediate direction.  
Song, Madam Storace.  
Pleyel's celebrated Concertante (by desire), Messrs. Cramer, F. Cramer, Smith, Ling, jun., H. Smart, etc.  
Song, Mr. Harrison.  
Concerto Violin, Madam Gillberg [*sic*], being her third public performance in England.  
Song, Mrs. Harrison.  
Grand Chorus, 'How Excellent' — Handel.

[*etc., etc.*]  
[*Oracle*, April 14, 16, 18 and 20;  
*Morning Chronicle*, April 14, 16, 18  
and 20; *Sun*, April 14; *etc.*]

NEW ROOM, OPERA HOUSE.

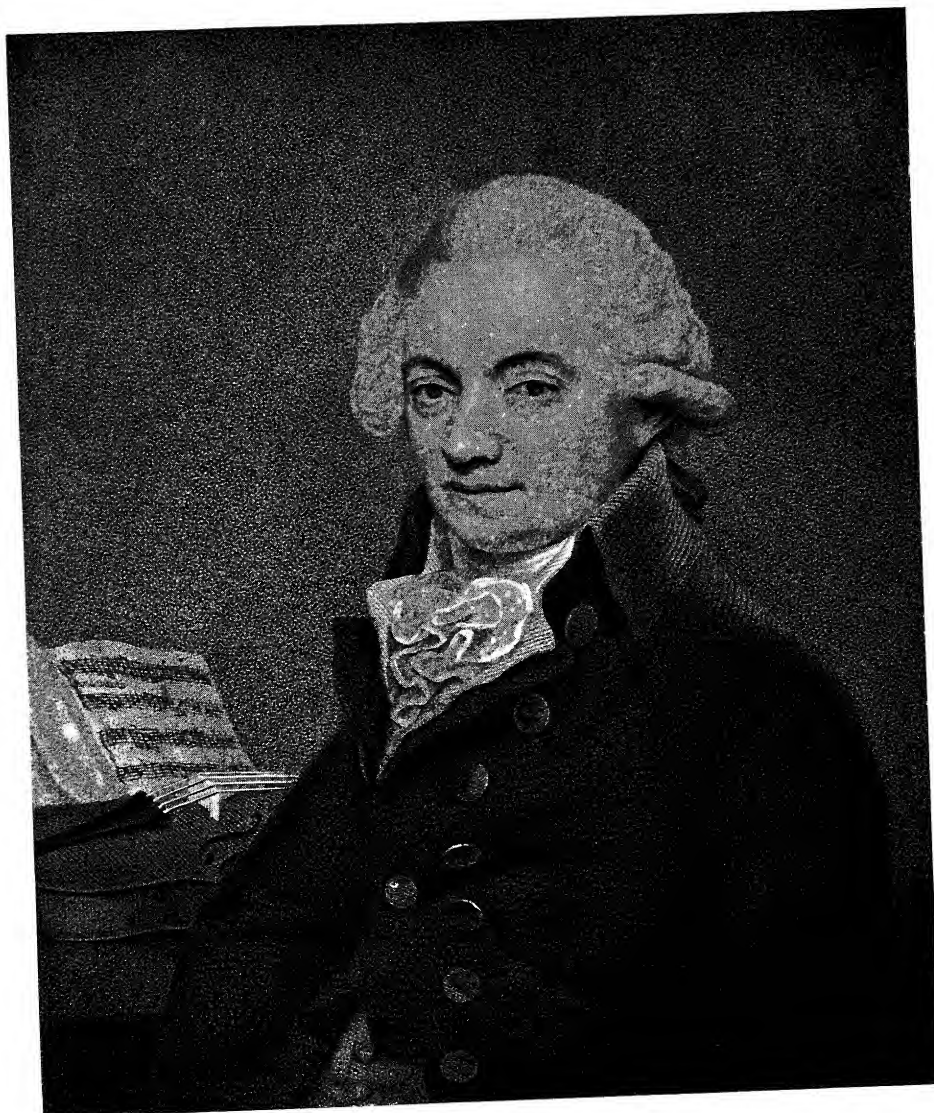
MISS ABRAMS most respectfully begs leave to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry, that Her CONCERT is fixed for FRIDAY NEXT, the 24th Inst...

ACT I.

Overture — Pleyel.  
Glee.  
Quartetto — Messrs. Cramer, F. Cramer, W. Abrams, and Lindl[e]y — Pleyel.  
Scena — Signora Storace, Bianchi.  
Concerto Flute — Mr. Ash[e].  
Song, Mr. Harrison.  
Sestetto — Mrs. Harrison, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Bartleman, and the  
Miss Abrams — Zingarelli.

ACT II.

Grand Overture — Haydn.  
Glee.  
Song — Mr. Harrison.  
Concerto Violoncello — Mr. Lindley.  
Mad Bess — Signora Storace — Purcell.  
Finale.  
Leader of the Band, Mr. CRAMER.  
Dr. HAYDN will preside at the Piano Forte.  
[*etc., etc.*]  
[*Oracle*, April 21, 23 and 24; *etc.*]



XXXVIII Johann Peter Salomon. Engraving by Facius after the painting by Thomas Hardy, 1792.



XXXIX Joseph Haydn. Pencil sketch by George Dance, London, March 20th, 1794.

April—May, 1795

SEVENTH CONCERT: 27th APRIL 1795

OPERA CONCERTS, KING'S THEATRE.

The Subscribers are most respectfully acquainted that the SEVENTH PERFORMANCE will be this evening; Monday, the 27th Instant.

N. B. The remaining two Concerts will be (by desire of the Subscribers) the 11th and 18th of May . . . .

[*Morning Chronicle*, 27th April].

Again, no detailed programme was announced, but the press notice is a satisfactory substitute: either Symphony No. 103 or, more likely, No. 104 was performed for the second time. The *Morning Chronicle* of 29th April writes:

OPERA CONCERT. SEVENTH NIGHT.

In the mention that we have made of the Subscription Concerts, circumstances have confined us to a barren recapitulation of the pieces performed, and the general sensation produced. From the enquiry into the merits and demerits of the pieces and performers, to which we are strongly inclined, we are deterred by the pressure of other circumstances, more immediately within the province of a daily paper. The following is the list of the last performance. The famous Overture to Iphigenia, by GLUCK; a Duetto, by FERRARI, sung with great character by ROVEDINO and MORELLI; a new flute Concerto, by ASHE, well written and well performed, especially the middle movement; two songs by BANTI, and composed by CIMAROSA and GUGLIELMI; (to the astonishing powers which the singer displayed we can do no justice: we can only express admiration and surprise)[;] an air of the ballad kind, by MOZART, sung by MORICHELLI; a new Violin Concerto by VIOTTI, who played with a degree of power and energy, unexpected even from him (in his hands this little instrument is itself an Orchestra), and two Overtures, one by CLEMENTI, performed before, but re-written and essentially improved (the best musical judges allow it to be a masterly performance, full of passion and rich in thought, but in some places somewhat too abrupt in its modulations), and another Overture, by the great master of the art, HAYDN, which had been performed once before, and was repeated with additional effect and pleasure.

The Room, though the largest in London, was crowded. No wonder, the musical powers of all Europe are at present there collected.

Haydn also participated in Cramer's benefit concert, a few days later:

NEW ROOM, KING'S THEATRE, HAYMARKET.

For the BENEFIT of Mr. CRAMER.

ON FRIDAY NEXT, the 1st of May, will be performed  
A CONCERT

ACT I.

Overture — Gluck.

Song — Mr. Harrison.

Duetto for Violincello [*sic*] and Violin, by Messrs.

Lindley and Cramer — Stamitz.

Song, Mr. Harrison.

Concerto Violin, Master Charles Cramer.

Song, with a Violin, by Mrs. Cramer and Signora Banti.

Concerto Piano Forte, Mr. J. B. Cramer.

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ACT II.

Grand Overture, MS. Dr. HAYDN who will preside at the Piano Forte.

Duetto, Signor Rovedino and Signor Morelli — Ferari.

Concerto Violin, Mr. Cramer — Martini.

Song, "Angels ever bright, etc." Signor Banti — Handel.

Concerto Violoncello — Mr. Lindley.

Finale.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle*, April 27, 29 and May 1;

*Morning Chronicle*, April 28 and

May 1; *etc.*]

Haydn's benefit concert took place, as scheduled, on 4th May:

NEW ROOM, OPERA HOUSE.

DR. HAYDN most respectfully begs leave to acquaint the Nobility and Gentry, that his CONCERT is fixed for MONDAY next, the 4th of May. PART I. Overture, M. S. — Haydn. Song, Signor Rovedino. Concerto, Hautboy, Mr. Ferlendis (from Venice, being his first performance in this country), Ferlendis; Duetto, Madame Morishelli [*sic*] and Signor Morelli — Haydn. New Overture — Haydn.

PART II. Military Sinfonie — Haydn. Song, Madame Morichelli. Concerto Violin, Mr. Viotti — Viotti. New Scena, Madame Banti — Haydn.

Finale.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*Oracle*, April 28, May 2 and 4; *Morning Chronicle*, April 28; *etc.*]

Haydn's (lost) diary describes this event as follows:

On 4th May 1795, I gave my benefit concert in Haymarket Theatre. The Room was full of a select company. a) First part of the Military Symphony; Aria (Rovedino); Concerto (Ferlandy)<sup>23</sup>; for the first time a duet (Morichelli and Morelli) by me; a new symphony in D, the twelfth and last of the English; b) second part of the Military Symphony; Aria (Morichelli); Concerto (Viotti); Scena nuova by me, Mad. Banti [the following in English:] — She song [*sic*] very scanty. The whole company was thoroughly pleased and so was I. I made 4,000 Gulden on this evening: such a thing is only possible in England. [Griesinger, p. 53; *cf.* also Dies, pp. 156 f.]

The new duet, not listed in Haydn's catalogue of works composed in England, is preserved in an authentic print (Esterházy archives, from Haydn's own collection), entitled:

'Quel cor umano e tenero / Duetto / Sung by Sg<sup>ra</sup>. Morelli, & Sig<sup>ra</sup>. Morichelli / At the King's Theatre, Haymarket, / In the Opera of / Il Burbero Di Buon Cuore / with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte / Composed by / Dr Haydn. / The Words by Sig<sup>ra</sup>. Da Ponte / Ent<sup>d</sup>. at Stationers Hall Pr. 3<sup>s</sup> / Printed for Corri Dussek & Co Music Sellers to her Majesty. No. 67 Dean Street, Soho...'

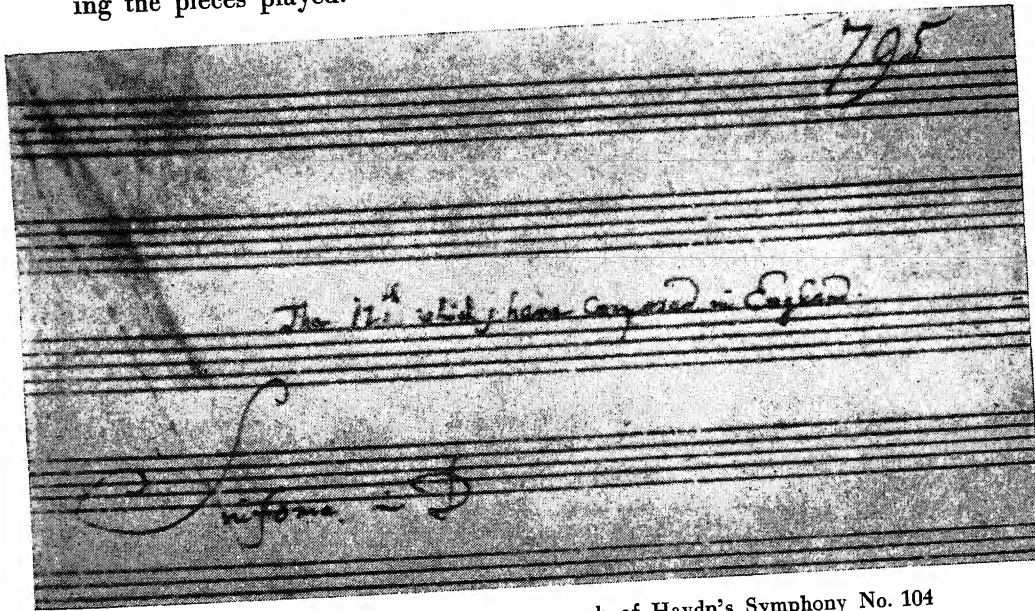
<sup>23</sup> A further note, in the other diary, says: 'Ferlendis, Oboist, bläst mittelmäßig' (Engl. p. 33). A page later he writes, in English: 'Field [John Field, the 10-year old pupil of Clementi and the later inventor of the Nocturne], a young boy, which [*sic*] plays the pianoforte extremely well.'



May, 1795

The *Scena nuova* is the *Scena di Berenice* (autograph in Stadtbibliothek Vienna), dated 1795.

Strangely enough, we lack detailed programmes of the eighth and ninth concerts, nor does the *Morning Chronicle* assist us in identifying the pieces played.



Detail from the title page of the autograph of Haydn's Symphony No. 104 (Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Berlin).

#### *EIGHTH CONCERT: 11th MAY 1795*

The Subscribers are most respectfully acquainted, that the Eighth Performance will be This Evening, Monday, the 11th instant. N. B. The last Subscription Concert will be on Monday next, the 18th instant (The 25th being Whit-Monday.)...

[*Morning Chronicle*, 11th May.]

#### *NINTH CONCERT: 18th MAY 1795*

The Subscribers are most respectfully acquainted, that the last Subscription Performance will be This Evening...

[*Morning Chronicle*, 18th May.]

#### OPERA CONCERT.

The nine Subscription Nights at the Opera Great Room closed on Monday. Notwithstanding the Fete at Windsor, the Company was numerous and chosen. The Band performed with its accustomed spirit and power, and the performance

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gave no inferior degree of satisfaction. VIOTTI, in particular, was never heard to greater advantage.

[*Morning Chronicle*, 21st May.]

The enormous success of the subscription series prompted the organization to announce, even before the last official concert, that two additional evenings would be given.

NEW ROOM, KING'S THEATRE, May 13, 1795.

THE Nobility, Public, and Gentry, are respectfully acquainted, that at the request of a very great many of the Subscribers, there will be Two additional CONCERTS, the First on THURSDAY, the 21st instant, and the second on MONDAY, the 1st of June, on which night will be performed,

FIRST NIGHT.

Part I. Overture, double Orchestra, MS. — Bach. New Song, Signor Brida — Martini. Concerto Bassoon, Mr. Holmes — Holmes. New Rondeau, Mad. Banti — Bianchi. Concerto, Mr. Dragonetti — Dragonetti.

Part II. Overture, MS. — Haydn. New Duetto, Mad. Morichelli and Signor Morelli — Martini. Concerto Violin, Mr. Viotti — Viotti. Song, Mad. Banti, accompanied on the English Horn by Mr. Ferlendis — Zingarelli. FINALE.

SECOND NIGHT.

Part I. Overture, double Orchestra, MS. — Bach. Song, Signor Rovedino — Paesiello [sic]. Concertone, Dragonetti — Dragonetti. New Scena, Madame Banti — Haydn. Concertante.

Part II. Overture, MS — Haydn. Quartetto, Mad. Morichelli, Signors Brida, Rovedino, and Morelli — Cherubini. Concerto on the English Horn (for the first time in this country), by Mr. Ferlendis — Ferlendis. New Song, Mad. Banti — Bianchi. FINALE.

[etc., etc.]

[*Oracle*, May 14, 16, 18-21; *Morning Chronicle*, May 14-16, 18, 21; etc.]

Of the first concert, the *Morning Chronicle* (25th May) writes:

OPERA CONCERT.

Of the two additional Subscription Concerts, the first was distinguished by the introduction of an instrument called (we know not why) the English Horn; the power, tone, and utility of which we are persuaded are highly excellent. It is a tenor instrument, new (as far as our enquiries could extend) to the musical world, or at least only partially known; but with a sweet, full and articulate tone. Signor Ferlendis performed, both on this and the Hautboy, with great feeling and effect. Salomon played a Violin Concerto [a change of programme] with a delicacy, feeling, and variety, that were truly delightful. Haydn was indisposed, and could not conduct his grand sinfonia; the middle movement of which was most deservedly encored.

One matter remains to be explained: the English horn, apparently quite unknown in England at that time (though by no means unknown on the Continent), was required in the death scene of Euridice from Haydn's opera *Orfeo*, composed for London in 1791. In fact,

May—June, 1795

Haydn employs two English horns, and calls for exceptionally low notes (e. g. *D* in the bass clef): it cannot be thought that he wrote for instruments that did not then exist in London; and indeed, there is evidence that the aria was performed separately in one of the Haydn-Salomon concerts.

Between the two extra concerts, Haydn presided at still another benefit concert:

NEW ROOMS, KING'S THEATRE.

MADAME DUSSEK begs leave to inform the Nobility, Gentry, and her Friends in General, that HER CONCERT is fixed for THIS EVENING the 29th inst.

Leader of the Band, Mr. GIORNOVICH.

Part I. Overture, Dr. Haydn under his own direction. Concerto Oboe — Mr. Harrington. Song, Andr[e]ozzi — Mr. Nield. Piano Forte Concerto — Mr. Dussek. By Dussek. Song, Mrs. N. Corri, from the Edinburgh Concert (being her First Appearance). Part II. Grand Overture, Haydn. Song, Madame Dussek — Dussek. New Concerto Violin, Mr. Giornovichi — Giornovichi. The Grand March in Alceste, arranged as a Glee[!] — By Dussek. New Concerto Pedal Harp, Madame Dussek — Dussek. Finale...

[Oracle, May 29; Morning Chronicle, May 29.]

Meanwhile, some changes were introduced into the final concert of the series: the symphony by J. C. Bach (which may have been erroneously printed again at the head of the second concert) and Haydn's *Scena di Berenice* were dropped:

OPERA CONCERT, KING'S THEATRE.

May 26, 1795.

THE LAST PERFORMANCE THIS SEASON  
WILL be on MONDAY NEXT, the First of June.

PART I.

Overture — Vogel. Song, Signor Rovedino — Paessello [sic]. Concertone, Dragonetti — Dragonetti. New Rondo, Madame Banti — Bianchi. Concerto Violin, Mr. Salomon — Salomon.

PART II.

Grand Military Overture, M. S. — Haydn. Song, Madame Morichelli — Cimarosa. Concerto on the English Horn, or Voce Umana (for the First Time in this country), Mr. Ferlendis — Ferlendis. The Favourite Rondo (by most particular desire), Madame Banti — Cimarosa. Finale.

[etc., etc.]

[Oracle, May 29, 30 and June 1;  
Morning Chronicle, May 27, 29,  
30 and June 1.]

On 3rd June, Haydn conducted a concert for the benefit of Hindmarsh, the violist who had played with the Haydn-Salomon concerts from the outset. The programme, from *The Times* of that day, reads:

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

Mr. HINDMARSH's NIGHT.

Hanover-Square Rooms.

THIS EVENING, June 3, will be a GRAND CONCERT, under the Direction of Dr. HAYDN.

Act I. Overture, Stamitz. — Glee, four voices. — Quartetto Obligato, for Flute, Violin, Tenor and Violoncello, Mess. Ashe, Hindmarsh, R. Ashley, and C. Ashley, Pleyel. — Song, Mr. Nield (accompanied on the Bassoon by Mr. Holmes). — Concerto, Alto Viola, Mr. Hindmarsh. — Song, Mrs. Hindmarsh, Cimaroso [*sic*].

Act II. Grand Overture, M. S. Haydn. — Glee, four voices. — Concerto Oboe, Mr. Harrington. — Song, Mrs. Hindmarsh, Bianchi. — Finale.

Haydn's diary, as we have seen, comments on Mara's benefit concert, held in March, 1795. The diary then adds the following:

Madame Mara gave a 2nd concert under the name of the flautist Ashe. The house was quite full; I sat at the pianoforte. [Engl, p. 37.]

The programme of this concert was as follows:

NEW ROOMS, KING's THEATRE.

Mr. ASHE's CONCERT.

ON MONDAY, June 8, 1795, will be a Grand CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC; at which Madame MARA has kindly consented to perform.

Leader of the Band Mr. CRAMER.

Pianoforte, Mr. CLEMENTI; and Dr. HAYDN will preside during the Performance of his Grand MS. Sinfonia.

Act I. Grand Overture, MS. Clementi; Song, Mr. Nield. Concertante Flute, Oboe and Bassoons, Messrs. Ashe, Harrington and Holmes, Devisme. Scena, Madam Mara; Giordaniello. Concerto, Mr. Ashe, in which will be introduced an Air to evince the possibility of producing regulated double Sounds on the German Flute. Ashe.

Act II. Grand Sinfonia, MS. Haydn. Scena, Madam Mara; Gugliemi. Concertante (by particular desire) for two Flutes, both Instruments to be performed by Mr. Ashe; Ashe. New Concerto Violin, Mr. Viotti; Viotti. Aria, Madam Mara, Andreozzi. Full Piece.

[*etc., etc.*]

[*The Times*, May 19, 21, 23, 26, 29,  
June 2, 4, 6 and 8.]

This seems to have been Haydn's last concert, though it is entirely possible that he assisted at one or the other benefit or charity concert. He remained in England until 15th August, when he finally departed for Vienna (Dies, p. 157).

It is perhaps fitting to conclude this episode of Haydn's life with the words of his biographer, Griesinger: 'He made through his three-year sojourn in England some 24,000 Gulden, of which about 9,000 were used for the trips, for his stay and for other costs... [p. 61]. Haydn often repeated that he first became famous in Germany through

*The First Performances of Haydn's 'Salomon' Symphonies: a Documentary Account*

England... [p. 62]. [He] considered the days spent in England the happiest of his life. He was everywhere appreciated there, it opened a new world to him, and he could, through his rich earnings, at last escape the restricted circumstances in which he had grown grey: for in the year 1790 he had had barely 2,000 Gulden capital. [pp. 36 f.].'

*Wien den 27. Febr. 1796*

*Ich beehre mich, nachstehendes bezeugen zu können. Ich habe Salomon den Herrn  
Herrn bey Herrn Salomon, von dem 3 den Jahr 1794. und die letzte 3 den 1795  
Ich habe bey Herrn Salomon die 3 letzten Symphonien, die ich geschrieben habe, und die ich  
bey Herrn Salomon für mich selbst, und für meine eigene Person, und für meine  
eigene Person, und für meine eigene Person, und für meine eigene Person, und für meine eigene Person,  
Joseph Haydn*

Haydn's letter to Salomon, giving him the publication rights to the last six London symphonies (British Museum, Add. 38071, f. 5). 'Vienna, 27th February 1796. I, the undersigned, depose and declare that Mr. Salomon shall be in perpetuity the sole owner and proprietor of my last six symphonies, of which 3 are Anno 1794, and the last 3 of 1795, and promise by my honour to make no other but personal use of them. [Signed:] Joseph Haydn mpria.'

CHAPTER XIII

**THE TWELVE 'SALOMON' SYMPHONIES  
(NOS. 93/104): AN ANALYSIS**

**1. General Character.**

As will be seen in the forthcoming analysis, the character of Haydn's London symphonies was to a great extent the result of the circumstances under which they were written. That he was fully aware of this may be seen in the letter quoted in the foregoing documentary section<sup>1</sup>, in which he writes of Symphony No. 91 (1788) that 'a good deal must be altered to suite the English taste'. The new elements of the twelve English symphonies are, however, drawn from Haydn's earlier symphonic style: in his constant efforts to display every facet of his knowledge and art, the composer often returns to devices he had abandoned years ago, such as the *concerto grosso* technique of *concertino* and *ripieno* found in the second movement of Nos. 93 and 96, or the concerto-like violin solos in Nos. 95, 97, 98 and 103. These devices from the symphonies of the seventeen-sixties are not, however, simply borrowed and used in their old settings, but clothed in Haydn's most modern instrumental and harmonic garb. Thus, the 'Salomon' symphonies sum up and synthesize all he had done in the field, and at the same time look far forward into the future, to the orchestral world of Beethoven and Schubert, of Mendelssohn and Schumann.

The first six works show a steady progress in the direction of the 'English taste'; they become bolder, more self-assured, more energetic, as time goes on. The two symphonies written for the season of 1791, Nos. 95 in C minor and 96 in D, are those closest to the previous period in style and in spirit. No. 95 tries to recapture the monumentality, the crushing force of the symphonies in minor keys written in the *Sturm und Drang* era, but succeeds only in reflecting the atmosphere of the symphonies in minor keys composed in the 'seventies and 'eighties (cf. Nos. 78, 80, 83); indeed, the progression of tonality in No. 95 is exactly parallel to that of No. 80 in D minor:

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<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 479.

*The Twelve 'Salomon' Symphonies (Nos. 93/104): An Analysis*

- 1st movt. C minor, ending in C major.
- 2nd movt. E flat major.
- 3rd movt. C minor, trio in C major.
- 4th movt. C major.

Only the minuet seems to exploit fully the stormy qualities which Mozart, Beethoven, and Haydn himself (Sonata No. 20; Symphony No. 52) have taught us to expect from this key. No. 95 does not succeed for precisely the same reasons as No. 80: the constant attempt to escape the basic minor tonality with its attendant emotional responsibilities. The uneven first movement of No. 95, with its curious, almost jerky pauses in the exposition and the vacillation between triplets and straight quavers, is a reflection of Haydn's uneasiness. What he was able to express with minor keys in the opera *Orfeo*, and in late masses and oratorios, he could not or would not do in the late symphonies. He is much more successful when introducing minor keys within a symphony in the major; the mixture of light and dark is best achieved in those works where light is the predominating tonal factor. The slow introductions are either in a minor key (Nos. 98, 101, 104) or, if in a major key, always slip into the minor during the course of the music, and for this reason the minor has a peculiarly dark and sombre effect because of the sunny tonal atmosphere with which it is surrounded.

No. 96, with its delicate orchestration and the sweetness of its second movement, is still close to the intimate quality of the symphonies of 1788, especially No. 92 in G ('Oxford'), which seems to be its spiritual forerunner. The English public, right at the outset, showed Haydn that he could not afford to be superficial, and while they rejected No. 95, or at least never demanded its repetition, they immediately saw the beauties of No. 96, which had to be played again and again. The fact that they, as well as the composer, saw that the slow movement of No. 96 (which was often encored) was vastly superior to that of No. 95, a pleasant but inconsequential theme and variations in the manner of the early 'eighties, must have had a profound effect on Haydn. Even at this comparatively early stage — for No. 96 must have been composed in the first months of 1791<sup>2</sup> — there are many points which are characteristic of the later London symphonies: the retransi-

<sup>2</sup> Letter of 8th January to Genzinger: 'I am still working at the symphonies, as the libretto of the opera is not yet decided on...'

tion between first and second subjects in the recapitulation of the first movement (meas. 161 *ff.*), the tumultuous plunge into the minor at meas. 25 *ff.* of the *Andante* and, in the same movement, the harmonic vistas which are opened in the wonderful modulation at meas. 71 *ff.*<sup>3</sup>

In No. 94 ('Surprise'), we clearly see the two opposing qualities which make the London symphonies so successful: the virtuoso element, the desire to be 'astonishingly brilliant', and the determination to be profound, to strive for perfection in form and content. The former quality first becomes apparent in the finales, and No. 94/IV is indeed 'astonishingly brilliant', a sonata-rondo which races at a mad pace through key after key — scintillating, exhilarating, a relentless *moto perpetuo* whose tempo is set by the breathless speed of the violins. But again, this is not new. Haydn has simply followed the magnificent example of the finales of Symphonies 88 and 92, also in G major; the coda of No. 88/IV is the direct precursor of the swift violin technique of No. 94/IV. The first movement of No. 94, too, already has the restless forward drive so typical of the 'Salomon' symphonies. The autograph shows another interesting result of Haydn's first season in London: dynamic and phrasing marks are placed with far greater care than hitherto. This is doubtless the outcome of rehearsing No. 96, of which the autograph contains the usual shorthand symbols for dynamic marks, phrasing, ties and ornaments (e. g. +). Thirty years with his own band had made Haydn forget that not every orchestra could understand his highly personal system of abbreviations, and one imagines that, with the language difficulty, of which Dies speaks at some length, the English players were often completely at sea as to Haydn's intentions. In the story quoted by Dies<sup>4</sup>, Haydn began one of his rehearsals in England, with Salomon translating, and had to stop the orchestra twice before they finished one bar ('St! St!' and 'by waving', says Dies). At this point a German 'cellist said to his neighbour: 'Well, if he doesn't like the first three notes, how will it be with the rest?' Haydn 'was delighted to hear German spoken, and took these words as a warning'. He asked the players if he might illustrate what he wanted on an instrument, took a violin and 'by separate bowing expressed himself so clearly that the orchestra understood him com-

<sup>3</sup> This passage is mutilated in modern editions; see p. 591 and Appendix I.

<sup>4</sup> Probably in connection with the first rehearsal of No. 93; Dies, pp. 81 *f.*, refers to the symphony as beginning 'with a short Adagio, which opened... with three notes of the same pitch.'



pletely'. This explains some of the subtle dynamic marks (e. g. the *fz-p* added to the accompanying second violin in the main theme of No. 94/I, *Divace assai*<sup>5</sup> and the multitude of phrasing marks throughout the work; it is not only the renewed interest in these matters *per se* which prompted their appearance but the necessity of putting on paper what he had previously communicated to the orchestra by word of mouth.

No. 93, probably written in the summer and autumn of 1791, was played at the first concert of the 1792 Haydn-Salomon series, on 17th February. In it, the 'English taste' is still further advanced: how the audience must have loved the bold pivotal modulation at meas. 10 and 11 of the first movement!<sup>6</sup> The outer movements, with their forthright energy and gay, sweeping tuttis, are characteristic of the London period. Haydn thought the original version of the finale weak (he 'felt this conviction... quite as much as the public, when it was performed for the first time...'), but what these weaknesses were we shall probably never know, since only the final version has survived. Even in the finished product, however, one sees the dangers of the 'sweeping tuttis'; for in this finale, one occasionally has the feeling that the tuttis are not always the logical outgrowth of the musical material (cf. No. 93/IV, meas. 98-117). It is in the slow movement of No. 93, a beautifully executed theme and variations marked *Largo cantabile*, that we see most clearly the benefits of the critical London taste. In earlier works, the slow movements which succeeded best were quiet but intense in feeling, usually adagios such as Nos. 86/II and 92/II rather than andantes or allegrettos. In Nos. 88/II and 92/II, the 'minore' sections show that as early as 1787-1788 Haydn was beginning to see that a dramatic section in the minor key was necessary for contrast, especially in those movements containing long passages of quiet sentiment. The listener's attention does not wander, as it may in No. 54/II, where there are long unbroken stretches in the same mood. This new dramatic impetus and rhetorical strength, fully realized for the first time in the slow movements of Nos. 88 and 92, is repeated in No. 96/II. As in these three works, trumpets and timpani are retained in No. 93, a feature of all except two (Nos. 95 and 98) of the slow movements in the London symphonies. In No. 93/II, Haydn again draws on the *solo-*

<sup>5</sup> These dynamic marks are omitted in modern scores: see Appendix I.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 591.

*tutti* principle, for the movement opens with the theme announced by a solo string quartet<sup>7</sup>, and taken up, after eight bars, by the bassoon and the strings, marked 'Tutti ma piano'. The first section in the minor, which comes sixteen bars after the beginning, seems particularly weighty and significant, and the dotted rhythm of the theme becomes Handelian in its massiveness. There is humour, too, in these works, for instance in the sudden entrance of the bassoons, *ff*, on low C, after a delicate exchange of *pianissimo* subdominant chords between flutes and violins (meas. 78-80). Haydn has learned that his theme and variations must contain the strength, the dramatic power and the versatility of expression of his swift movements, and that andantes or allegrettos like Nos. 89/II, 90/II or 95/II are too easy, too wanting in depth to satisfy the intellectual tastes of London's public. The slow movement of No. 93 is superior to the famous 'Surprise' *Andante* of No. 94; in the latter there is brilliance, there is beauty, there is humour, but only towards the end is there any genuine sentiment.

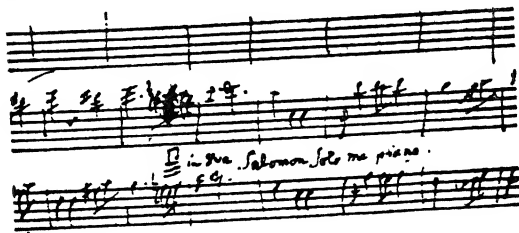
Symphonies Nos. 97 in C, 98 in B flat and the *Sinfonia Concertante* in B flat were written in 1792 and performed during that season. All three works show the marked influence of the London concert hall.

The presence of local virtuosi was in large part responsible for the technique of the *Concertante*, as it is entitled on the autograph. It is scored for solo violin, solo oboe, solo bassoon, solo 'cello and full orchestra. It gives each soloist a generous part, and its friendly, happy spirit, even in the pastoral slow movement, is untouched by deeper currents of emotion. The autograph shows that it was written in great haste, which accounts for its often draft-like appearance, and also for the wretched arrangement by Hans Sitt, through which, unfortunately, the work is known to-day. Throughout the piece, however, one notices details in harmony and orchestration which show that it was contemporary with the 'Salomon' symphonies. One feature is unique in works of this period. In the finale, Haydn returns to his Symphony *Le Midi*, composed thirty-one years before, for a telling orchestral device: viz., the use of an operatic accompanied recitative, in which the solo violin takes the place of the dramatic soprano. But where in No. 7 this was a most serious and affecting piece of imagery, in the *Sinfonia Concertante* it is used as a comic, mock-heroic introduction to the frolicking theme of the finale.

<sup>7</sup> This striking effect has been omitted in modern editions: see Appendix I.

*The Twelve 'Salomon' Symphonies (Nos. 93/104): An Analysis*

Symphonies Nos. 97 and 98 are, after No. 96, perhaps the finest works in the form written for the 1791-1792 season. No. 97 is the last in a long and interesting series of trumpet symphonies in C major which extends back to the earliest, pre-Eisenstadt era and reappears throughout his artistic career. It is no exaggeration to say that No. 97 brilliantly combines all the finest qualities of its predecessors, such as Nos. 38, 41, 48, 50, 56, 60 and, skipping the ineffectual No. 69, Nos. 82 and 90. The first movement thunders out repeated C's and G's with a ferocious, Beethovenian<sup>s</sup> drive, and the gorgeous minuet, with its flaming orchestral colour and crashing timpani part, as well as the dashing virtuosity of the finale — all these reflect the glory of Haydn's first English sojourn. The slow movement is particularly successful, a miraculous fusion of wisdom and elegance. In it, one encounters some revealing technical instructions, such as *sul ponticello*, *vicino al ponticello*, *naturale* which, with its many crescendos and decrescendos, again substantiate the theory (*cf.* No. 94, *supra*) that Haydn was now forced to express his wishes on paper rather than orally, at rehearsals. In the trio of the minuet, he writes over the last stanza of the violin part an indication that a solo violin should play simultaneously with the tutti violins one octave higher: *in 8<sup>va</sup> Salomon Solo ma piano*; and this exemplifies the character of the 'Salomon' symphonies: inspiration induced by favourable conditions.



Detail from the autograph of the trio of Symphony No. 97 (library of the heirs of Stefan Zweig, London).

<sup>s</sup> The connection between Haydn's Symphony No. 97 and the so-called 'Jena' Symphony, attributed to Beethoven, is much more than casual (I have pointed out the similarities to Mr. Olin Downes of the *New York Times* in a letter written in 1944). The construction of the 'Jena' Symphony is based thematically, structurally and tonally on Haydn's No. 97. The C major triad of the first movement in No. 97 is almost exactly reproduced in the other work, and all four movements show that Haydn's symphony was the model. The date of the 'Jena' symphony, which was discovered by Dr. Fritz Stein shortly before World War I, has yet to be established, but the watermarks show that the copy in Jena was made in Germany rather than Austria. See Fritz Stein's interesting article: *Eine unbekannte Jugendsymphonie Beethovens?* in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*, XIII (1911/12).

Not only 'Salomon Solo' appears in the last movement of No. 98: toward the end of this delightful *Presto* there is also a solo for Haydn. Although this is a sonata movement, Haydn never displayed to better advantage his grasp of variation technique, for the theme constantly recurs. Towards the end it appears in a coda, marked *Più moderato*, where the strings can now play semiquavers, thus creating the illusion of increased rather than decreased tempo. Once again the theme returns, and over it Haydn pencilled for himself in the autograph a series of broken arpeggios in the cembalo which provide a silvery background to the end of this radiant movement. (Cf. Ex. 10, *infra*.)

The first movement begins with an *Adagio* which contains, in the tonic minor and at half the speed, the principal theme of the *Allegro*. The movement is more sombre than others of the first London series, and the development bursts into a magnificent and wholly serious contrapuntal extension of the first subject, which grows increasingly turbulent and chromatic as it delves deeper into the supertonic and subdominant minor. Tovey believes that the second movement, based on a melody obviously inspired by 'God save the King'<sup>9</sup>, is Haydn's lament for the death of Mozart, and indeed the tragic overtones of the *Andante* in the latter's final symphony (K. 551) are not far away. No. 98 is spiritually if not chronologically (probably No. 97 was the last of the first six) the link to the second 'Salomon' set. More than any other of the first London symphonies, it contains that carefully measured combination of light and dark, that mixture of various emotions which every masterpiece must have.

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The second set of 'Salomon' symphonies is divided, both chronologically and musically, into two groups: Nos. 99-101, written in 1793 and 1794 for the Salomon concerts of 1794, and Nos. 102-104, composed in 1794 and 1795 for the Opera Concerts of 1795 under Cramer.

If the second movement of No. 98 is regarded as Haydn's tribute to Mozart, the *Adagio* of No. 99, composed in 1793, is much more of a tribute: Haydn's beloved friend, Marianna von Genzinger, died on 26th January 1793, and it requires no biographer to tell us the loneliness, the emptiness that Haydn must have felt as he wrote his

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<sup>9</sup> In the catalogue of the works he composed in England there is the following: '1 God Save the King 2 [double sheets]'. Haydn's arrangement of the English Anthem has apparently not survived.

string quartets of Opera 71 and 74, Symphony No. 99, and parts of Nos. 100 and 101 in the still summer peace of his newly acquired house in Gumpendorf, on the outskirts of Vienna. There are two works probably composed in memory of Marianna, the second movement of No. 99 and the little F minor *Andante con Variazioni* for pianoforte — Haydn entitled it *Un piccolo Divertimento* — composed in 1793. The autograph of this, perhaps the most beautiful piano composition Haydn ever wrote, is in the New York Public Library. It bears silent and tragic witness to the gracious hands of Marianna von Genzinger. The work originally ended with the last variation; on some spare pages attached to the original *MS.*, Haydn then added the coda, and there is no other explanation for the desperate, passionate outcry of this afterthought, the wild grief that pours forth, unexpected and unprepared.

The second set of six symphonies which Haydn wrote for England is superior even to the first. His art seems to be constantly at the highest level, his ability, as Mozart said, 'to make us laugh and cry' is nowhere, except in the late quartets, oratorios and masses, displayed more movingly, or with more power. Clarinets are used, except in No. 102; and Mozart's favourite among woodwind instruments slides imperceptibly into Haydn's orchestration as if he had used it in his symphonies from the first moment, instead of merely in some early divertimenti, the nocturni written for the King of Naples, and *Orfeo*.

In the 'Military' Symphony we are still reminded of the London concert world: the extended coda of the first movement, with its glittering brilliance: the rather ponderous minuet, probably written whilst still in Vienna<sup>10</sup>: the second movement, transcribed<sup>11</sup> from one of the

<sup>10</sup> The watermarks of Nos. 99-101 suggest that the whole of No. 99 and portions of Nos. 100 and 101 were composed in Vienna. The minuet of No. 101 was adapted by Haydn for the musical clock (autograph, Bst); the Italian paper of this arrangement also suggests the year 1793. The finale of No. 99, too, was rewritten for musical clock, probably for the same occasion. Sketches for Nos. 99 and 101 are in the Nationalbibliothek Vienna, together with extensive drafts for the quartets, Opera 71 and 74.

<sup>11</sup> The original work, preserved in an Elssler copy with autograph corrections in the Esterházy archives, is entitled 'Concerto per la Lira Organizzata'. The second movement is marked 'Romance' and is scored for '2 Corni in C/ Violino 1<sup>mo</sup> / [Violino] 2<sup>do</sup> / Lira 1<sup>ma</sup> / [Lira] 2<sup>da</sup> / Viola 1<sup>ma</sup> / [Viola] 2<sup>da</sup> / Violoncello.' The arrangement for No. 100/II uses the whole movement as it stands, but adds the coda from the trumpet signals: the *Allegretto* of the Concerto ended at meas. 152. The divided violas are a typical feature of the lyra works written for the King of Naples.

six concerti for two lyrae composed for the King of Naples in 1786 and adapted for London by adding trumpets, timpani and 'Turkish' percussion (triangle, cymbals, bass drum): the coda of this *Allegretto*, with its military trumpet call and the rather theatrical timpani solo: these are the outward trappings which Haydn provided for the English public. Even No. 101, despite its thrilling finale and the originality and beauty of its opening movement, makes in its 'Clock'-like *Andante* a certain concession to the sensation-loving London audience. But Nos. 102-104, especially Nos. 102 in B flat and 104 in D major, whilst inspired and encouraged by the continuing success of the second English journey, rise far above the circumstances in which they were first produced; these three works, with their strange harmonic tendencies and depth of expression, look many decades into the future. Haydn was quite aware of the significance of these last symphonies, and it is no accident that his personal 'In Nomine Domini' appears twice in No. 102 — at the outset of the slow movement as well as before the symphony itself — and that the title page of No. 104 bears the remark written in careful English: 'The 12th I have composed in England'. For with these three symphonies, Haydn reached the pinnacle of his symphonic art. After them, there was nothing more to be said in the form as it then stood, and like the last four symphonies of Mozart, Haydn's Nos. 99, 102, 103 and 104 express with unique perfection all that their composer had attempted to do in the form.

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## *2. Relationship to Haydn's Other Works of the Period.*

The 'Salomon' symphonies had an immediate and profound effect on almost every field of the composer's endeavours, whether opera or string quartet, piano sonata or march, dance music or concert aria. They are the centre of his activity, radiating their inspiration and their bold symphonic style to almost every new work.

The major work of the first London period was the opera *L'Anima del filosofo*, subtitled *Orfeo ed Euridice*, under which title Haydn later published a few extracts in score with Breitkopf & Härtel. The opera was written in 1791 for Sir John Gallini but never produced, due to a complicated intrigue between Gallini's house and a rival theatre; royal patronage also played a large part in Gallini's difficulties. The score of *Orfeo* was put together by the author and Richard Wadleigh,

using Haydn's incomplete autograph (Bst) and a very valuable copy in the Esterházy archives, made by Haydn's English copyist<sup>12</sup> in 1791 or 1792. The work could thus be arranged for the first time in proper chronological order and in its entirety; this complete version was recorded at Vienna in 1950 for the Haydn Society, and performed, with minor cuts, for the first time on the stage in 1951, at the *Maggio Musicale*, Florence. The score was subsequently edited for the Complete Edition by Helmut Wirth.

*Orfeo*, being an *opera seria*, is doomed to failure as a stage work; neither Haydn's greatest music nor even Mozart's inspiration can save *Orfeo* and *Idomeneo* from the fate accorded to *opera seria* as a genre. But *Orfeo* is a magnificent failure, containing page after page of the finest dramatic music Haydn ever wrote. The work is in fact more like an oratorio than an opera, for the orchestra is used very symphonically throughout, while the chorus is the central feature, either commenting on the action in Greek fashion or being transformed to a 'Coro di Furie' (men alone), 'Coro di Baccanti' (women alone), etc., as the libretto demands. The orchestra is one of the largest Haydn ever used, and includes, besides the customary strings and wind instruments, English horns, clarinets, trombones and a solo harp. The choruses are of great beauty and originality, extending from the sorrowful, Mozartean E flat (with clarinets) of the opening of the third act, 'Ah, sposo infelice', to the crushing power of the first number in C minor ('Ferma il piede') and the fiendish D minor 'Coro di Furie' of the last act, where trombones are used for the first time by Haydn. The 'ghostly voices of unhappy spirits', doomed to wander a hundred years, are expressed in the strikingly effective F minor chorus that opens the last act; here the baroque lay-out of the voices in *stretto* at the beginning turns with a Schubertian grace to the relative major. Even more symphonic in structure is the final number of the opera (see below).

Harmonically, the work contains some astounding passages. The strangest is perhaps the *secco* recitative of *Orfeo* near the beginning of the third act ('Al cielo te ne voli'), wherein a variety of mediant and tritone relationships, alternations of tonic major and minor, and

<sup>12</sup> The BM has a copy of Symphony No. 98 (Royal Philharmonic Society MS 136) by the same copyist. The author owns an Elssler copy of *Orfeo*'s second aria: 'Perduto un'altra volta'. There are, too, Elssler copies of this and other parts of the work in Göttweig (from the collection of Alois Fuchs).

weird deceptive cadences may be found. Equally moving is the first death scene of Euridice, a shadowy recitative and *cavatina*, the latter using English horns in their lowest registers (down to *D* in the bass clef) to express the last sigh of death: here, the orchestral virtuosity of the London symphonies is used for the most dramatic moment in the opera. The harmonic fabric of the work as a whole, which looks forward to the experiments of the second London period, is constantly aided by Haydn's vast orchestral experience.

Speaking of the last scene, Helmut Wirth, in his admirable analytical notes to the opera<sup>13</sup>, says:

After this compounding of dramatic energies, the death of Orfeo takes place in an atmosphere of quiet, tranquil humanity. To die he chooses the poisoned cup which is offered him by the Bacchanalian priestesses in order not to subject himself to the use of force. He feels no need for consolation by philosophy because, for him, life contains none. In his dying monologue all earthly scales fall from him. There is nothing theatrical to disturb his last moments and Haydn has no need of the big drum to express his thoughts. Orfeo's last words are spoken only to the soft accompaniment of the strings. Orfeo is now dead. But the opera is not yet at an end. While the Bacchae prepare to tear Orfeo in pieces the voices of the Gods speak again. A terrible storm arises and the Bacchae, shrieking with fright, are drowned and the stage is left bare. The severity of expression chosen by Haydn to illustrate this and the return to the *D* minor key reminds one of the 'Furies' music. Gradually the tide ebbs and the listener is left with a feeling of inward convulsion and emotion, but also with the conviction of having been a witness of a great antique drama, even if a certain stylization may remind one of the traditional *opera seria*. In spite of the fact that Haydn was never given to philosophical reflections he may, whilst composing *L'Anima del filosofo*, have had in mind what Schiller later wrote: 'Blind submission to fate is always humiliating and insulting to freedom-loving, self-determined men.'

Haydn's last opera can thus be said to rank, together with his two last oratorios, as a living musical testimonial to a great epoch of classical art.

In summing up, it is strange to find how little of Mozart's style emerges in *Orfeo*; or perhaps not so strange, even though Haydn loved and admired Mozart's operas (he had, in 1790, gone to all the rehearsals of *Così fan tutte*, the only person except Puchberg whom Mozart allowed to be present). *Orfeo* is consciously in Haydn's own style; its book is far removed from the atmosphere of *Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* and *Così*, and we must return to *Idomeneo* to find any link, however remote, with Mozart's operatic style. Haydn's London works could not yet bear the traces of Mozart's last period, which centres round the Clarinet Concerto (K. 622), the Piano Concerto in B flat

<sup>13</sup> Haydn Society, Boston, 1951, pp. 62 ff.



(K. 595), *Zauberflöte* and the *Ave Verum* (K. 618), all written in 1791. It is not until the late masses and oratorios that the spirit of the *Ave Verum* and *Zauberflöte* casts its spell over Haydn.

The influence of the London symphonies extends even to a small March in E flat composed for the Prince of Wales, 'discovered' and first printed in score by Karl Haas<sup>14</sup>. For despite its small scale, the march is clearly the work of a master. The delicate orchestration of the clarinets and single trumpet shows unmistakably the spirit of the 'Salomon' symphonies; this is particularly true of the canonic disposition of the parts in the second part of the march proper, and the telling octave skip in the trumpet part at the beginning of that section.

On St. Catherine's day of November, 1792, Haydn performed a set of twelve German dances and twelve minuets at a ball in the small Redoutensaal of Vienna. These twenty-four dances are far superior to any of the earlier sets in elegance of form, richness of orchestration and harmonic subtlety, and it is not difficult to see in them the reflected brilliance of the London symphonies. It has hitherto been maintained that these works were composed in Vienna, but this appears to be untrue. In the catalogue of works Haydn wrote in England, which formed a part of the now lost diaries for 1794-1795 and is known to us only through the biographies of Dies and Griesinger, there are listed (in English) '24 Minuets and german dances', '4 Contrydances' (*sic*), '2 Contrydances', with the number of double sheets of paper used for each. It is difficult to believe that Haydn did not make use of these in Vienna, when he was hard at work on quartets and symphonies for the next English trip. Investigation of the sketches for these 'Catharine' or 'Redoutensaal' dances, now in the Sándor Wolf museum at Eisenstadt, shows that they were drafted on English paper with characteristic English watermarks. It is, therefore, reasonably certain that these '24 Minuets and german dances' are identical with those played in Vienna and printed by Artaria in the usual reduced orchestration of two violins and bass. Whatever their origin, Haydn lavished his care on these exquisite minuets and *Deutsche*, which are quite as beautifully formed as Mozart's late dances. Both composers in later life seem to have regarded the dance form much in the way that artists of the Middle Ages looked on miniatures: as an art requiring special love and affection, a means of expressing a multitude of

<sup>14</sup> See his article, *Haydn's Military Marches*, in *The Score*, 1950.

emotions within an extremely limited space. Seldom did Haydn show himself a finer master of miniature forms than in these two dozen dances, lasting a few minutes each.

The six string quartets of Opera 71 and 74 may be considered as one group, for they were (despite Wilhelm Altmann and others) composed one after the other in Vienna during the year 1793, as the watermarks<sup>15</sup> of the autographs and the dated signatures show. The strong influence of the previous six symphonies on these quartets has been well described by Geiringer<sup>16</sup> who says of them:

This cycle shows very clearly that, shortly before the time of his triumphal first English sojourn, the symphony had become for Haydn the focal point of his interest; and orchestral and symphonic ideas left their imprint on the quartets. This is especially noticeable in the fact that Haydn now uses for the first time the slow introduction, so beloved in his symphonies, in the quartets as well. In Opus 71, Nos. 1 and 3 and Opus 74, No. 1, the introduction consists merely of one or more chords played by all forces, but in Opus 71, No. 2 there is actually a four-bar *Adagio* introduction. In Opus 74, Nos. 2 and 3, eight unison measures act as an introduction, and these have a significant intellectual connection with the ensuing movements. The inner attachment goes so far in the latter work that the listener is almost surprised to encounter, not the introduction, but the main subject at the beginning of the recapitulation. Still further orchestral influences are at work in Opus 74, No. 2. The very beginning of the main subject, where bold octave skips, directed upwards in all four instruments, pile on top of each other in interwoven part-writing: this has nothing more to do with the technique of intimate chamber music... Rushing semiquaver passages appear in the first violin, to be followed step-wise by the second violin, viola and 'cello... one has the feeling that contrabassi should reinforce the 'cello at the octave in order to give the necessary background to this *al fresco* technique...

During the second London journey, Haydn wrote three piano sonatas (Nos. 50 in C, 51 in D and 52 in E flat) and a number of piano trios, of which he had also written several in 1791 (*e. g.* Larsen Nos. 18-20, B. & H. Nos. 7, 14, 13). And even these keyboard works have the wide harmonic horizons and the forceful, orchestral style of the symphonies. Of the three sonatas, No. 50 in C is perhaps the most symphonic; and while some of its brilliant passage-work may be attributed to the influence of Muzio Clementi, who was in England at that time and often appeared in the Haydn-Salomon concerts, the formal, melodic and harmonic virtuosity seems to have its roots in the London sym-

<sup>15</sup> Italian paper with the customary three half moons and the letter 'CS', 'FV', 'BV' under cartouche with cross, 'FL', 'GF' and 'A'.  
C' C' G' F' C'

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 57 f.

phonies. How close the piano trios of this period are to the symphonies may be seen first, in their greatly increased tonal frame and expanded emotional content, compared with the generally insignificant earlier trios; and secondly, in the interesting circumstance that the second movement of Symphony No. 102 is identical with the slow movement in the F sharp minor Trio (Larsen No. 26, B. & H. No. 2), where it is in F sharp major, a semitone above its key in the symphony. It is said that this movement was a favourite of Mistress Schroeter, which may account for its having been used twice. The trio was composed about 1795, and the symphony apparently begun in 1794 and completed the next year; it is not known for which work this *Adagio* was originally composed. The splendid Trio in C major (Larsen No. 27, B. & H. No. 3), one of a set of three such works composed in 1795 or 1796, is also imbued with the spirit of the London symphonies. In none of the trios composed before 1790 do we find the wealth of ideas and the dramatic sense of form encountered in this work (*e. g.* the 'wash of colour' in the lead-back to the recapitulation of the first movement)<sup>17</sup>.

In 1795, Haydn composed his *Scena di Berenice*<sup>18</sup>, for the dramatic soprano Brigida Giorgi Banti (1757-1806); it was, as we have seen, performed on 4th May of that year in Haydn's benefit concert ('she sang very scanty'). A comparison with Orfeo's grand scene in Act II of *L'Anima del filosofo* is revealing. Both are written in the usual Italian *scena* form: recitative — slow aria, interrupted — recitative — fast aria. In both, Haydn allows himself a great deal of tonal freedom, but *Berenice* reflects the harmonic experiments of the last three symphonies and is, particularly as regards enharmonic modulation<sup>19</sup>, still more advanced than Orfeo's scene. Even the key-scheme of *Berenice* is startlingly modern: D major → B flat major → E flat major → A flat major → C minor → C major → E major (aria)

<sup>17</sup> For a masterly analysis of Haydn's piano trios, see Cecil Gray's *Analytical Notes* to the first volume of the Haydn Trio Society, gramophone records issued by the Parlophone Company, Ltd., in 1940; it is a great pity that this series was never continued. For an attempt to make a chronological list of Haydn's mature clavier works, see Oliver Strunk, *Notes on a Haydn Autograph* [Sonata No. 52] in *The Musical Quarterly* XX, No. 2 (April, 1934). Strunk's order is, however, different from that of Larsen (DKE) in respect to the trios.

<sup>18</sup> Autograph in the Stadtbibliothek, Vienna; first edition (Alfred Orel) for the Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, Leipzig, 1937.

<sup>19</sup> See p. 592.

→ E flat major → F minor (aria). The orchestration includes clarinets, which first appear in the F minor aria (originally Haydn also meant to have trumpet and drum parts, but then deleted them); the presence of the clarinets and the soft-hued woodwind writing throughout the work, especially in the final aria, point to the influence of Symphonies 102-104. The strict Italian form of this *scena* is thus mellowed and matured by its chronological proximity to the last symphonic works: it is no accident that *Berenice* is the most powerful of Haydn's concert arias, and also one of the last he ever wrote<sup>20</sup>. He did, in this work, all that could be done within the confines of the form; his interest, upon returning to Vienna, was no longer captured by purely dramatic music.

During one of his stays in the British capital, Haydn wrote a short Overture in C major which has been preserved in what appears to be a copy by Haydn's English copyist of the first London journey, completed by Haydn himself. In the preface to the first edition of this work<sup>21</sup>, I suggested that it was not the overture to *Orfeo*, as was previously maintained, but rather the prelude to Salomon's opera *Windsor Castle*, produced in Haydn's presence in 1795. (See also an announcement in *The Times*, quoted above, on p. 542.) Whatever its origin, the charming little piece, with a grave, dotted slow introduction and monothematic *Presto*, has the character of a finale in a 'Salomon' symphony expressed in the formal language of first-movement sonata structure.

### 3. *Melodic Origins; Embellishments.*

Research into the origins of Haydn's melodies has not as yet been undertaken with the thoroughness it deserves, and since Kuhač (and Hadow), only E. F. Schmid has shown how widespread was Haydn's

<sup>20</sup> After returning to Vienna he wrote incidental music to *Alfred, König der Angelsachsen, oder der patriotische König*. There are several other concert arias written for performance in the Salomon concerts, amongst them one for David (who was to have sung the part of Orfeo), scored for *obbligato* oboe and bassoon with orchestra, and performed at Haydn's first benefit concert on 16th May 1791. Haydn's catalogue of his London works also lists '1 Aria for Miss Poole — 5 [double sheets]', '1 Aria con Orchestra — 3', '1 Song with the whole orchest. — 2' and some other pieces which may fall into this category.

<sup>21</sup> Joseph Haydn: *Overture to an English Opera*, full score, Haydn-Mozart Presse, London-Salzburg, 1951.

use of folk-melodies from almost every part of Europe. Undoubtedly we shall discover that most of Haydn's tunes are the conscious or unconscious embodiment of the popular melodies which are part of the great musical tradition of Central Europe. The large number of Austrian, Croatian, Servian and Slavonic melodies that has been found in the 'Salomon' symphonies does not necessarily mean that these works, as opposed to the symphonies of the 'seventies and 'eighties, made specially frequent use of Balkan folk-melodies; but rather that the themes of the London symphonies were well known, and their melodic origins therefore easy to trace, whereas those of the preceding two or three decades were not. Thorough and systematic examination of Central European folk-melodies will certainly show an equal number embedded in earlier symphonies, and in any case, Haydn's use of them is not new but extends, as we have seen, back to his earliest dated composition, the Quintet in G for strings (c.1753; see Chapter VI).

Kuhač discovered the origins of the following melodies in the 'Salomon' symphonies: Symphony No. 103/I (*Allegro con spirito*) is Croatian in origin (Kuhač: 'South Slavonic Popular Songs', Vol. III, p. 92; Hadow, *Op. cit.*, p. 46); the two melodies of No. 103/II (Exx. 1a and 1b) are based on two folksongs of the Oedenburg district, 'Na Travniku' and 'Jur Postaje' (Exx. 1c and 1d). The melodies, in their original form as well as in Haydn's adaptation, are very closely related and may possibly derive from a common melodic root, now unknown (Kuhač, *Op. cit.* Vol. III, pp. 100 ff.; Hadow, *Op. cit.*, p. 46). No. 103/IV is based on the song 'Divojčica potok gazi' (Exx. 1e and 1f; Kuhač, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 82; Hadow, *Op. cit.*, p. 46). The melody of the finale of No. 102 is, according to Hadow (p. 56), 'the march which is commonly played in Turopol at rustic weddings', while the main theme of the first movement of the Quartet Opus 71 No. 1 in B flat major is another Croatian march. The finale of No. 104 is based on the ballad 'Oj Jelena' from the district of Kolnov, near Oedenburg; Kuhač maintains that it is commonly sung in Eisenstadt, by the Croatian colony there (Exx. 1g and 1h) (Kuhač, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 98-100; Hadow, *Op. cit.*, p. 43). It is further maintained that this song is found, with slight alterations, in Croatia, Servia and Carniola. What is more surprising, it has been called a street cry sung in London at the end of the eighteenth century (see A. Veinus, analytical notes to Haydn's Symphony No. 104, R. C. A. Victor Co., Camden, New Jersey [U.S.A.],

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Ex. 1

a) Haydn

Andante più tosto Allegretto



c) "Na Travniku"



b) Haydn



d) "Jur Postaje"



e) Haydn

Allegro con spirito



f) "Divojčica potok gazi"



g) Haydn: Spiritoso  
(2da 3va)



h) "Oj Jelena"



1939, p. 5), and this evidence seems to be supported, by an entry in Charlotte Papendiek's diary (see above, p. 446). 'One of the movements [of No. 104?]', she writes, 'was to imitate the London cries, and "Live cod" was to be traced through every instrument that could produce the effect. The cry began the piece and ended it...' Mr. Veinus, however, cites the cry as 'Hot Cross Buns'. Extensive search in the British Museum has not, thus far, revealed either. The melody, in its whole shape as well as the drone bass with which Haydn provides it, is, however, more Balkan than Anglo-Saxon in spirit. (Another such tune, with the typical Slavonic repetition of the last note of the phrase, was hastily written down by Haydn, in two staves, at the end of his little song 'Trust not too much' — autograph in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.)

It was not only Balkan melodies, however, which Haydn used in his London symphonies, for E. F. Schmid has quite convincingly shown that the delicious waltz-like trio of No. 96, as well as the trio of No. 97 are wholly Austro-Bavarian in character. Schmid says<sup>22</sup>:

....The German, and in particular the Lower-Austrian peasant dance was immortalized by Haydn; in countless works of the master, one hears the 'German Dance' and the *Ländler* in bewitching melodies and rhythms, and with that delicate humour which was the master's own. He bequeathed to us, above all, in the trios of his symphonic minuets real gems of beautifully fashioned folksongs. Thus, one hears the stamping and the shouting of the peasant inn in the... London Symphony No. 97; or the pleasing, gentle swinging of the *Ländler* in the trio of the D major London Symphony No. 96...

**Ex. 2**

a) No. 96 / III: Trio



b) No. 97 / III: Trio



The 'Salomon' symphonies provide a good opportunity for studying the use of ornamentation in Haydn's mature works. Contrary to earlier

<sup>22</sup> *Joseph Haydn...*, p. 300.

periods, his melodic embellishments are here the result of a definite purpose, and are not merely formalistic or stylized. The use of the appoggiatura is, with the exception of the rhythmic turn (♯♯), far more restricted than hitherto; and the trill, used very frequently in earlier works—particularly in those for the clavier—is here employed with fastidiousness, generally for very marked cadential phrases, or for special effects (*e. g.* rhythmic accentuation, as in No. 96/II, meas. 26 *ff.*,<sup>23</sup> or as an orchestral device, as in No. 94/I, meas. 242 *ff.*).

The turn and the 'Haydn ornament' (the three auxiliary notes which make C. P. E. Bach's 'turn over a note') may be examined in greater detail. They are never used in a new way in these symphonies, and each example has its parallel in some early work; but the judicious selection of earlier uses shows, in itself, the same fine judgement as every other element of the composer's late instrumental style.

The combination of a dotted figure with turn (♯♯) is used primarily

**Ex. 3**

a) No. 93/I: Adagio

b) No. 96/I: Adagio

c) No. 97/I: Adagio

d) No. 98/II: Adagio cantabile

e) No. 99/II Adagio

f) No. 102/II: Adagio

g) No. 103/II: Andante più tosto Allegretto

<sup>23</sup> See Chapter V, Ex. 39.



for expressive purposes in the 'Salomon' symphonies, almost always in a phrase progressing a third upwards — a feature first used on a large scale in the clavier works of the 'eighties. In this form, it may be considered the direct predecessor of the typical romantic turn — the sigh of emotion encountered throughout Wagner, Bruckner and Mahler. This emotional aspect of the turn in late Haydn becomes very noticeable in the slow movements of Nos. 99 (Ex. 3e) and 102 (Ex. 3f) — not to speak of the late choral works<sup>24</sup> — where the purely romantic turn is foreshadowed. In all except one of the quotations in Ex. 3, the turn had to be expressed by the three auxiliary notes, since the note to which the turn is attached was the same as the preceding, and we know from Chapter V that in such cases Haydn either used three auxiliary notes or the abbreviation +, not the usual turn.

As a matter of course, the above examples occur without exception in slow movements or adagio introductions. The second use of the 'Haydn ornament' — for turns are found only in the slow movements of the 'Salomon' symphonies — is in fast movements, where the three little auxiliary notes take on a very different character.

**Ex. 4**

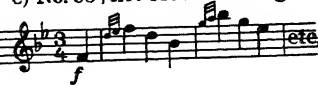
a) No. 95/IV: Vivace



b) No. 96/III: Menuet - Allegretto



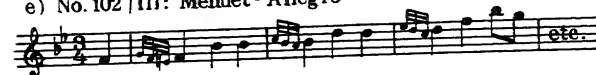
c) No. 98/III: Menuet - Allegro



d) No. 98/IV: Presto



e) No. 102/III: Menuet - Allegro



f) No. 103/III: Menuet



<sup>24</sup> See, in particular, the use of a turn in a dotted figure progressing a third upwards in the 'Incarnatus' of the *Missa in Tempore Belli*.

Its history may be traced from Symphony No. 54/III, where the effect was produced by one appoggiatura rising a step to the main note, and Symphony No. 57/III, where three auxiliary notes were used, through many quartets and symphonies of the late 'seventies and throughout the 'eighties (e. g. No. 78/IV) to No. 88/III where the little notes already have a character of their own. In No. 88 and in the London symphonies they possess the characteristic quality of humour and also serve to speed the music forward. To see their structural and melodic importance, it is only necessary to remove them from No. 95/IV (Ex. 4a), for if this is done the music immediately becomes insipid and spiritless. As in the earlier symphonies, Haydn appears to have found their small but effective energy most useful in the minuets, where they generally (No. 96/III partially excepted) occur on the strong beat. This, again, is derived from the earlier symphonies: in No. 88 much of the stamping, peasant quality is the result of this whipcrack at the beginning of so many measures.

Haydn's use of two auxiliary notes to fill in the interval of a third is also twofold: in an expressive connotation in No. 99/II (meas. 4, 6), and as a driving impulse forward in No. 93/IV (meas. 1 *ff.*: see especially in the brass instruments, meas. 293 and 297).

#### 4. Formal Characteristics.

##### (a) The First Movements.

Each of the twelve London symphonies except No. 95 opens with a slow introduction; this curtain-raiser, as we have observed in the previous chapter, became more and more important in Haydn's late orchestral works, and in the present symphonies it is a structural and musical necessity. The purpose of this rather short opening adagio or largo is in the first place to prepare the listener for the main part of the movement, and for this reason the introductions are paradoxically in strong contrast to the ensuing allegros. The fact that Haydn often connects these two sections thematically has nothing to do with this primary function of the introduction. In being withheld, in being prefaced by these slow and often extremely affecting bars, the main theme gains in dramatic force, whether *piano* or *forte*. The resulting tension is something which appealed very much to later composers, such as Beethoven (Symphonies Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7) and Brahms (finale of the First Symphony). To create this tension, Haydn occasionally chose

*The Twelve 'Salomon' Symphonies (Nos. 93/104): An Analysis*

the tonic minor to introduce the tonic major allegros (Nos. 98, 101, 104), and if the introduction is not basically in the minor it always tends towards it (the whole second part of the introduction to No. 96 is in the minor). As the London period progresses, this tendency emerges ever more clearly, and by 1794/1795 (Nos. 102-104) the formal and emotional necessity of the introductory slow sections is quite apparent. In No. 104, the profundity of the introduction reaches its height. The opening *Adagio* is actually a ternary form in miniature, modulating to the relative major (D minor  $\rightarrow$  F major) and back to the tonic minor, where the 'main subject', if one can call it that, returns once again with terrific power (*ff*), to be followed by a *pianissimo* deceptive answer. The bassoons' entry on the Neapolitan sixth (meas. 15) is one of Haydn's great strokes of harmonic orchestration, and, after the sombre entry of the oboe, the theme of the *Allegro* seems a happy release from the doomed, fateful weight of the D minor introduction.

While on the one hand Haydn saw in his slow introductions the ideal contrast to the main body of his first movements, on the other he was constantly aware of the possibility for thematic interconnection between *adagio* and *allegro*. As opposed to earlier works, after about 1788, he planned his opening *adagios* in the same basic metre as the subsequent quick movements. Of the earlier works, No. 50 has an *Adagio e maestoso* in 4/4, but an *Allegro di molto* in 3/4; Nos. 53, 54, 57, 75 and 86 have introductions in 3/4 but fast movements in 4/4 or C; No. 60 an *Adagio* in 2/4 followed by an *Allegro di molto* in 3/4; and No. 85 an *Adagio* in barred C, a *Divace* in 3/4. Nos. 90, 91 and 92, however, have introductions in the same metre as their main sections, and it was this practice which Haydn adopted in the 'Salomon' symphonies and the late masses.

	<i>Introductions</i>	<i>Fast sections</i>
No. 93	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
No. 94	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{6}{8}$
No. 96	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
No. 97	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{4}$
No. 98	C	C
No. 99	C	C
No. 100	C	C
No. 101	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{6}{8}$
No. 102	C	C
No. 103	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{6}{8}$
No. 104	C	C

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Ex. 5

a) No. 97/1  
Introduction (Adagio) End of exposition (Vivace)

Coda

b) No. 98/1: Adagio Ibid. Allegro

c) No. 102/1: Adagio Ibid. Vivace

d) No. 103/1: Adagio

Intrada Solo *sostenuto*

Timp. Vcl., Fag., Cb.

Allegro con spirito (meas. 111 *ff.*)

(Tutti) Vln.

*p* Vla., Vel.

(meas. 189 *ff.*)

(Tutti) *ff.*

(%) (%) (%)

Solo Vla., Vel. Fag., Cb. etc.

Intrada Adagio *p*

The thematic relationship between introduction and allegro was a characteristic of the symphonies discussed in Chapter XI; the clearest example was No. 90, where the first four measures of the *Allegro assai* were taken literally from four identical measures in the preceding *Adagio*. In the 'Salomon' symphonies, Haydn took up and expanded this idea. The introduction of No. 97 appears in the closing section of the exposition and, even more convincingly, in the coda (Ex. 5a). In No. 98, the theme of the introduction (tonic minor) is identical with the opening of the *Allegro* (tonic major, cf. Ex. 5b). The notes of the second measure in the introduction of No. 102 appear in the transitional material of the *Vivace* (Ex. 5c, quoted from the recapitulation). The 'Drum Roll' (No. 103) carries this thematic interconnection still further, for the theme of the introduction not only appears in the middle of the development but also in the coda, where the opening *Adagio* stalks into the picture like the stone guest of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*; Haydn prepares this highly dramatic entrance by a series of increasingly dark and sinister tremolo modulations which die away in the first violins and end in a questioning diminished chord in the strings (see Ex. 5d).

It remains to draw attention to the dotted rhythm of many of the slow introductions (and also slow movements), which one might be inclined to trace to the influence of the Handel Festival of 1791, were it not for the previous examples in Haydn's own Symphony No. 85 (1786?) and the introduction to *The Seven Words* (1785)<sup>25</sup>.

The extent to which the 'Salomon' symphonies depend upon the example of earlier orchestral works is illustrated by examination of the thematic and dynamic construction of the first subjects of the opening movements. In presenting a steady stream of new works to the London public, Haydn obviously took care to vary the nature of his thematic material, but every one of his new inventions derives, if not in inspiration, at least in formal construction from an earlier symphony. Here are six types of principal subjects of which the origins may be easily found in earlier works:

- (1) Announcement of the main theme, *piano*; tutti; second announcement of the theme, with varied orchestration and/or new thematic material in subsidiary parts, followed by tutti modulation to

<sup>25</sup> This is, in any case, a survival of the old French Overture.

dominant: Symphonies Nos. 94/I, 96/I. Earlier examples: Nos. 28/I, 84/I, 85/I, 92/I.

(2) Ternary theme  $\begin{array}{c} \alpha \qquad \beta \qquad \alpha \\ | \quad | \quad | \\ f \quad + \quad p \quad + \quad f \end{array} \xrightarrow{(+p)} \text{modulation}$

to dominant using  $\alpha$  segment of theme: Symphony No. 95/I. Earlier examples: Nos. 44/I and (to a lesser extent) 83/I.

(3) Announcement of theme (either single or double), followed by immediate modulation to dominant; theme then appears in the dominant: Symphonies Nos. 98, 100, 104. Earlier examples: Nos. 86/I and 91/I. No. 86 corresponds to No. 98 in that the main theme is not immediately repeated, while No. 91 corresponds to No. 104 in that the main theme is constructed a - a'.

(4) Announcement of main theme, *piano*, followed immediately by tutti using material of main theme in modulation to V: Symphonies Nos. 99, (101). Earlier examples: Nos. 58/I, 88/I.

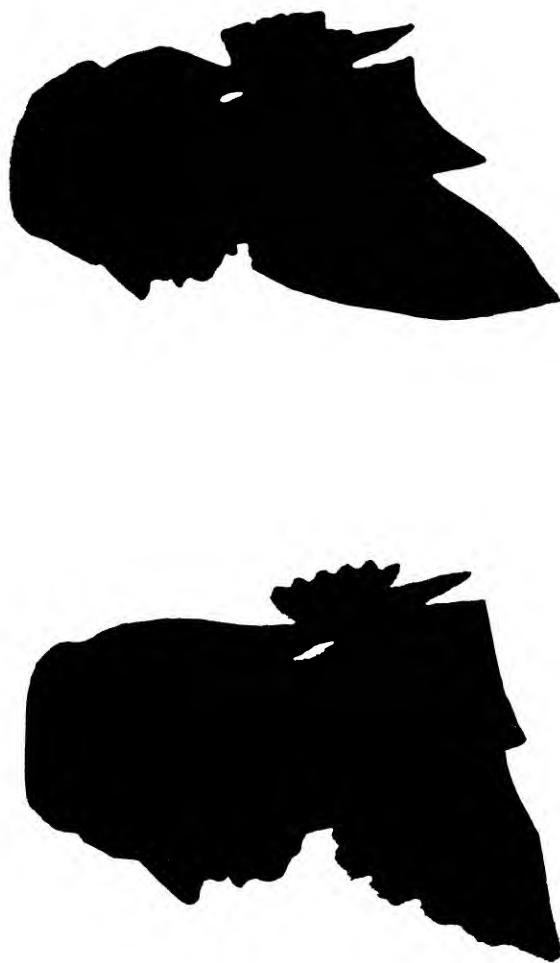
(5) Announcement of main theme, *forte*, followed by repetition, *piano* and then by tutti and modulation to dominant: Symphony No. 102. Earlier examples: Nos. 36/I, 44/IV, 48/IV, 57/I and 63/I.

(6) Double announcement of main theme without dynamic alteration: Symphony No. 103. Earlier examples: Nos. 42/I, Overture II, 7, 60/I, 61/I, 62/I.

Haydn, who had fought the second subject throughout his whole career, now became reconciled to its presence in the first movements of the symphonies, as a necessary contrast, structurally and dramatically. This reconciliation, however, came about only after the problem of the finale was solved. In the 'eighties, he had evolved for the last movements a scheme which combined the monothematic unity of the rondo with the dramatic and dynamic possibilities of the sonata, and only after perfecting this hybrid finale was he willing to allow a dualistic thematic construction in the first movement. Having taken this step, however, he no longer even strove to relate the second subject to the first, and only No. 96, the first London symphony, has a distinct, recognizable connection between the first and second subjects. In Nos. 94/I and 97/I the second subject is even divided in two distinct themes, as is Mozart's K. 551/I. The division between first and second subjects is in all the 'Salomon' symphonies further accentuated by dynamic and rhythmic contrast. Thus, the se-

Handwritten musical score for a symphony, featuring multiple staves with notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The instruments listed on the left include: 2 Clarineti, 2 Fagotti, 2 Corni, 2 Trombe, 2 Tromboni, 2 Violini, 2 Violoncelli, 2 Contrabbassi, and 2 Flauti. The score is marked with various dynamics such as *p*, *f*, *pp*, *ff*, *mp*, *mf*, *ppp*, and *fff*. The tempo is marked *Andante* at the beginning and *Allegro* later on. The score is written on a single page with a large, decorative initial 'A' at the top left.

XL Symphony No.  
102 (1794). Autograph  
formerly in the Berlin State  
Library (now Universitäts-  
bibliothek, Tübingen).



XLI Two authentic silhouettes of Haydn. Left: from "Geist und Harmonie", Österreichischer Nationalkalender, 1786, engraved by H. Löschenkohl. Right: silhouette by an unknown master, given by Haydn to Johann Elsler; now in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.



cond subjects of Nos. 93, 94, 95, 99, 100, 101 and 104 begin with an anacrusis, in contrast to their main subjects, whereas the second subjects of Nos. 102 and 103 do not, for the same reason.

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Music, the youngest of the arts, has always been slowest to use its established formal patterns for the expression of underlying spiritual values. It was many years before the North-German *Volkspassion* was able, in the hands of Heinrich Schütz, to rise out of the ashes of the Thirty Years' War and achieve a significance far beyond its original epic-dramatic form; and generations elapsed before J. S. Bach could take the simple variations on Protestant church melodies and transform them in his chorale preludes into mystic sublimations of Christian faith. In the late seventeen-sixties, Haydn had sensed, at first dimly and then (beginning with the *Sinfonia Lamentatione*) with a flash of sudden perception, the spiritual values which were inherent in the beautiful symmetry of sonata form; and this realization had driven him to new heights of inspiration which, as we know, had been suddenly and mysteriously checked in the year 1774. Now, at the end of his symphonic career, strengthened by his knowledge of Mozart's genius, he again showed himself aware that the three sections — exposition, development and recapitulation — could possess an inner symbolic meaning. This arose mainly from Haydn's preoccupation with the development and recapitulation. What was to be the purpose of the development section? Up to this point, it had constantly grown in significance, beginning as a 'varied exposition' and gradually being enhanced by counterpoint and more complex motif work. In some of the symphonies examined in Chapter XI (e. g. No. 88), Haydn went even further, and in Symphony No. 98, the development assumes the proportions of an intellectual struggle which is, however, interrupted by the recapitulation. In No. 100, Haydn felt that he had not exhausted the possibilities inherent in his material, and this accounts for the huge coda at the end of the first movement, lasting fifty measures, in which thematic development continues. Up to now, the recapitulation has appeared rather benevolently, erasing the worries raised in the development; or even humorously, through a *fausse reprise*, as in No. 96/I, where a rest of more than two measures is followed by the main theme in G major, just when we expect the true *reprise*. In No. 101/I, however, the development pursues

a furious course through C major, back to the tonic minor through V (with added incentive from trumpets and drums), and at full speed, *forte*, into the mediant and submediant before wending its way more peacefully back to the recapitulation; but, despite this slackening of energy, the repetition of the original material strikes us as a dramatic necessity, and one is definitely made to feel the structural symmetry of the form. The formal significance of the last three symphonies is such that even the uneducated listener instinctively feels it, which is probably the main reason why Haydn's Nos. 102-104, and particularly No. 102, are generally described as Beethovenian. This is perhaps most effectively seen in No. 102/I.

Here Haydn displays his artistry in a blaze of glory. In the transition to the dominant, the violins simultaneously present the inversion of the bass part (Ex. 6b), and this together with the accompanying figure in the second violin (which grows out of the main theme: Ex. 6a) is further developed in the exposition after the powerful second subject (Ex. 6c) has been announced. The relationship of the introduc-

## Ex. 6

No. 102 / I: Vivace

No. 102 / I: Vivace

a)

b)

c)

etc.

etc.

etc.

(Vla. part omitted)

$\% b$

$\% = \text{inversion}$

1 Str. *p*

1 *p*

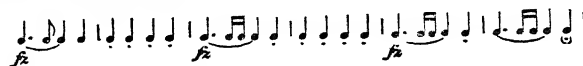
tion to the closing section of the exposition has been pointed out above (see Ex. 5c). Before the double bar is reached, the material has already undergone considerable development. The passage first appearing as Ex. 6b is presented with the bass (*i. e.* the inversion) at the top and the accompanying second violin part in the bass. This latter figure is constantly attached to its inversion, as before, and is finally combined with motif 'a':



The fantastic display of contrapuntal virtuosity continues in the development where, in a constant struggle between the first and second subjects, Haydn strips the former of its connecting quavers and presents it in sharp, *staccato* crotchets:



The listener is by this time fully aware of the drama being enacted before him: the material of the exposition, having been examined intellectually in the exposition, is now treated dramatically in the development. For a while it is the second subject which dominates, gradually accumulating power and becoming more turbulent, until the supertonic (minor) is reached at meas. 154 where, after a characteristic rhythmic acceleration



Haydn launches a violent canon (Ex. 7) based on the *rectus* of Ex. 6b, extending over some two dozen measures, and 'stamping' (Tovey) itself out one voice after the other.

**Ex. 7**



After this passionate outburst there is a fermata which introduces the main theme in C major, now scored for solo flute and violins, as in the repeat at the beginning of the exposition. This is of course a foil, to prepare us for the next scene of the drama: a *fortissimo* tutti which bursts into the end of the flute's solo. From this point to the recapitulation is one unbroken dramatic line. Modulating at full dynamic level with the accompanying figure of Ex. 6b, Haydn races through key after key, the tension constantly increasing as we approach B flat major; the first few notes of the opening theme are brought in, once, twice, three times, four times, five times until the timpani forces the music into the recapitulation, which explodes over us with a joyous affirmation of the tonic. This entrance of the recapitulation as the dazzling conqueror of a titanic thematic battle is something quite new in the art of the symphony. Never before had the development demanded the recapitulation from a purely emotional and dramatic standpoint. How carefully Haydn has planned, dynamically and dramatically, may be seen in the fact that the *piano* repetition of the main theme with flute and violins, having already been used in the C major part of the development, is at first omitted, so that the recapitulation can proceed in one sweeping *forte* to the second subject; only thereafter does Haydn introduce the solo flute passage, in the coda, which is short and reaffirms the tonic in a last flourish of victorious power.

It was, above all, the first movement of Symphony No. 102 which opened new and untold possibilities for the expansion of the sonata form on an emotional level. But from a purely musical point of view Haydn attempted something very similar in No. 104/I. Here, the first theme being *piano* and lyrical, he could not use it as the storming victor of the development; and indeed the development itself is very differently approached from that of No. 102. The B flat work displays its material in a wide variety of emotional, intellectual and thematic guises, and it is this variety of elements which causes the crisis in the development; in No. 104 the dramatic tension in the development is the result of tremendous concentration on one tiny motif drawn from the main subject. But this monothematicism is a studied piece of ever increasing excitement, brilliantly orchestrated (*cf.* the use of the horns to colour the thematic entrances), and with unswerving singleness of purpose Haydn builds a climax of great intensity, after which the recapitulation is a wonderful, lyrical contrast. Although the method

is different, the spiritual release provided by the recapitulation in No. 104/I is just as much a necessity as in the other work. The thematic fragment which dominates this movement continues to haunt Haydn throughout the recapitulation: it appears in the retransition to the second subject, postponing its entrance for many bars, and reappears in the coda as soon as the second subject is finished. As a result, the coda and recapitulation are merged; one might term this process an 'extended recapitulation'.

*(b) The Second Movements.*

Of the twelve 'Salomon' symphonies, Nos. 94, 95 and 97 are simple strophic variations, and No. 103 the usual double variation with alternating minor and major keys. All the others are in various hybrid forms, mostly of a type best described as a variation-rondo. As in the finales, Haydn chooses for his slow movements a structure allowing him the utmost freedom, and there are in the London symphonies hybrid forms closely approaching the sonata (Nos. 98/II, 99/II), those with leanings towards the variation (No. 102/II), and those which are nearer the rondo in character (Nos. 93/II, 100/II). All except Nos. 98, 99, and 102 have separate 'minore' parts, usually the third variation or, more rarely, the second section (*e. g.* No. 93/II); these parts in the minor, as mentioned above<sup>26</sup>, become more and more serious in tone, reaching a culmination in No. 104/II. The peculiarly overwhelming power of the announcement of this 'minore' is achieved by two factors: (1) the wide dynamic contrast between the solo woodwind and the tutti and (2) the fact that the tutti is not in the tonic but in the unexpected dominant minor. The slow movement of No. 102 is of particular beauty; its reserved, sombre joy — almost Spanish in character — and its rhapsodic appearance are produced by several means: (1) its free form, of which the scheme is —

A	A'	A'' (development)	A'''
tonic	tonic	flatted mediant major	tonic + coda;

(2) the wide range of dynamic gradations — the movement is full of crescendos, decrescendos, forzatos, accents, *etc.*; (3) a breadth of harmony surpassing in its depth and power almost anything Haydn had written before; and (4) the orchestration, in itself a stroke of genius. This last aspect of the movement deserves a little more elaboration. For the first time in his career, Haydn uses muted drums

<sup>26</sup> See p. 555 *et passim*.

and trumpets<sup>27</sup>; Mozart had used muted trumpets in the opera *Idomeneo* (1781) but never in a symphony. This alters the character of these instruments completely, giving to the orchestration a muffled brassy undertone which is highly effective; in one bar (56) the trumpets hold their single, low  $B\flat$  (= written  $c'$ ) after the rest of the orchestra is silent, contributing a splendid bit of colour to the movement. In addition, the bass parts are for 'Solo Violoncello' and 'Bassi Continui'; this solo 'cello provides a swaying motion in triplet semi-quavers, audible yet always discreet, keeping the tenor part constantly in motion. The effect is borrowed from No. 88/II; the application is that of the late London period. The use of the wind instruments, too, is much freer and fuller than usual. The scoring turns a water-colour into a gouache, all the shades of the orchestra running together into one vague, misty wash of colour. This is accomplished largely by allowing the middle parts to be constantly shared between strings and winds, so that no one instrument achieves undue prominence; the flute frequently doubles the first violin, either at the octave or *loco*; and when it detaches itself, as in meas. 36 *ff.*, it forms a harmonic, not a melodic accompaniment.

The harmonic character of this and other movements of the period, especially the romanticism of the codas, is discussed below, under section 6. It remains to point to the importance of the codas in the slow movements. In forms so hybrid as most of these, and even in the normal strophic variations, Haydn seems to have felt the structural necessity for long codas even more than in the first movements; and he wrote some of his most deeply moving music in them, as we shall see. The 'military movement', as contemporary London journals referred to No. 100/II, was the occasion for the broad coda in that work, but that in No. 103/II seems to be a kind of happy afterthought, inserted after the movement has, at meas. 170, run its course. This coda is the more surprising in view of the romantic shading of the

<sup>27</sup> Dr. Praetorius, the editor of the Eulenburg miniature score (No. 438, issued in 1934), thinks that Haydn's autograph calls for muted trumpets and *horns*; but upon recent examination of the *MS.*, there seems no doubt that it was the trumpets and drums which Haydn wanted *con sordini*. The first stave is marked, 'con Sordini / 2 Clarini / in C', and the second, 'Tympani in / C. F. con Sordino [*sic*]'. And apart from the clarity of the autograph, it was generally the trumpets and drums, not the horns and trumpets, which were marked *con sordini*: the striking chorus in Mozart's *Idomeneo* ('O Voto tremendo') includes parts for muted trumpets and muffled drums, but the horns are left open.

theme just before, which, from our experience of the preceding London symphonies, we should expect to herald the end of the movement. The coda in No. 104/II reaches a profundity of emotion seldom encountered even in late Haydn, first in the remotely peaceful woodwind passage at meas. 114 *ff.*, then in the ethereal flute solo which rises out of the nearly motionless decrescendo at meas. 131, and finally in the simple, moving blessing which the master gives the movement (meas. 141 *ff.*). One is convinced that Haydn knew and intended this to be not only 'the 12th I have composed in England' but the final summing-up of all he had ever written in the field; and it is typical of his character that the *Andante* should close quietly, with emotion but without sentimentality.

(c) *The Minuets.*

The dance movements of the 'Salomon' symphonies have little to do with the stately minuets of the aristocratic court with which Haydn began his career. By the seventeen-nineties, they are broad, symphonic movements which happen to bear the title 'Menuet' or 'Menuetto'. Even the tempi are significant: Nos. 93, 98, 102 and 104 are marked *Allegro*, No. 94 *Allegro molto*, and No. 103, though it has no tempo marking, is clearly an *allegro* rather than an *allegretto*. It has become the practice of certain conductors, largely following the example of Sir Thomas Beecham, to play these movements as if their tempo were *Andante moderato* rather than *Allegretto* or *Allegro*; nothing more quickly destroys the force of these minuets, and nothing is further from their real character. It is true, however, that Haydn never allows his symphonic minuets to reach the one-in-a-bar tempo of those of his late quartets (e. g. Opus 76 No. 1, Opus 77 Nos. 1 and 2), which are scherzos in all but name.

The third movement of No. 97 is of particular significance from the formal standpoint: it dispenses for the first time with all indications of repetition and varies each new announcement so that the movement assumes something of the character of the rondo. The trio, too, follows this procedure, adding a new touch of instrumental colour to each thematic repetition; the last announcement of the theme is celebrated by the addition of 'in 8<sup>va</sup> Salomon Solo ma piano' (to the melody) and trumpets and drums, *piano* (to the accompaniment); the flutes are silent throughout the trio.

The trios of the first London set continue the tradition of the

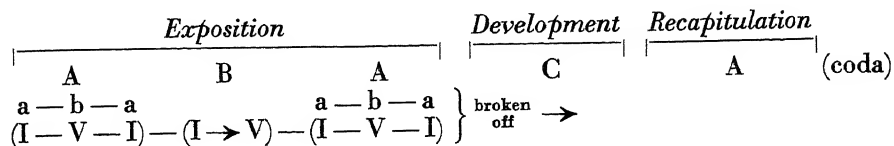
symphonies written in the 'eighties, with their popular tunes. In the second set, Haydn is less concerned with pretty melodies. The remote keys chosen for the trios in Nos. 99 and 104 necessitated a bridge back to the minuet, and the minuets and trios of these two works are welded together structurally, if not thematically. Altogether, the minuets of the 'Salomon' symphonies follow the examples of the earlier works and, unlike No. 92, make no attempt to connect minuet with trio by any thematic link; rather, the trios are designed to form a lilting, carefree contrast to the often heavily symphonic minuets. This is not always the case, however, even in the first set, and the trio of No. 93 contains a weighty, almost Handelian fanfare which dominates the whole movement and delves into remote and quite unexpected harmonies. In the second set, the trios are far more serious, ranging from the rich, double-octave woodwind scoring of No. 102/III, foreshadowing Brahms, to the subtle intimacy of No. 103/III, which in its clarinet writing recalls the trio of Mozart's E flat Symphony, K. 543.

(d) *The Finales.*

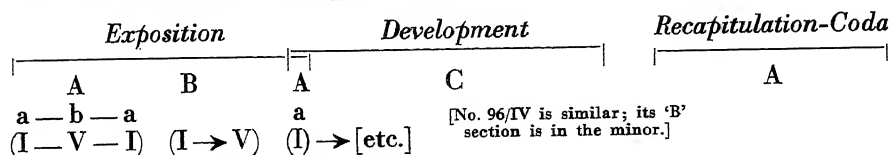
The finales of the 'Salomon' symphonies no longer use the straight rondo, a form which, as we have seen, persisted in Haydn's symphonies up to the late 'eighties (e. g. No. 89/IV, 1787). And only four of the London symphonies (Nos. 93, 98, 100, 104) have as their finales a sonata form with two subjects — the latter are not always very distinct (cf. No. 100), but the form is unmistakably sonata and not sonata-rondo. The others, however, are in a form even more hybrid than the sonata-rondos of the 'eighties. There are several types, enumerated below, all of which have certain points in common. The first section ('A') is made up of a miniature ternary form (a - b - a), a device inherited from the earlier works of this kind. This 'A' section is often marked with two double bars, i. e.:  $\parallel$ : a :  $\parallel$ : b-a :  $\parallel$  (e. g. Nos. 96/IV, 97/IV), whereas Nos. 98/IV and 104/IV have only one double bar, at the end of the exposition. It will be observed, moreover, that Haydn has retained his *fausse reprise*, so beloved in earlier years, but in a totally new guise. In the sonata-rondo, the 'A' section returns at the third or fourth division and, starting from the tonic again, forms a springboard to the development. In these works, however, the 'A' section is shortened or abandoned after the first ('a') of the three subsections (a - b - a), so that the *fausse reprise* effect, auto-



matically engendered by returning to the tonic, is heightened. The older method, as in Nos. 85/IV or 88/IV, was:

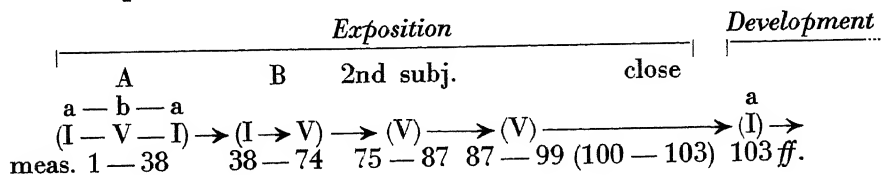


The new scheme, as exemplified by No. 97/IV, is:



The recapitulation is merged with the coda, much in the manner of the extended recapitulations of many first movements of this period.

The second type of sonata-rondo hybrid is more complicated in that the second subject of the sonata is retained. After the second subject, the 'a' section is re-introduced in the tonic, followed by the development, so that a strong rondo character is still present. The finale of No. 94, up to the development, will illustrate this:



It will be noticed that Haydn retains the *fausse reprise* of the former type. The finales of Nos. 99, 101, 102 and 103 may be placed in the category of No. 94. Although No. 99 has a distinct second subject, the others tend more and more to a monothematic structure, and No. 102 is almost entirely, No. 103 wholly dominated by one theme. In No. 102/IV, the development begins in the tonic, with the whole a-b-a structure of the first subject, in the manner of the works written in the 'eighties. In Nos. 101 and 102, there is much development throughout, and considerable stress on the main subject: in the former, the recapitulation is so closely merged with the development that it becomes almost unrecognizable. This also accounts for the absence of a coda, not only here but also in Nos. 99 and 102; the varied material of a movement in sonata form easily allows the final thematic extension

of a coda, whereas in these rondo hybrids the possibilities have been thoroughly exploited before the recapitulation.

No. 95 combines, not quite successfully from an aesthetic standpoint, sonata, rondo and fugue, as follows:

A      A' (fugue)      B      A" (develop-      A (recapitulation & coda)  
a — a'      using a extension      ment)      a — a'      (using elements  
(I—V—I) — (I—>) — (V) — (V — III #) (I—V—I)      of B)

As we have said before, contrapuntal forms appear most effectively when used, not in a strict fugue, but combined with the motif work of sonata form. For this reason the fugue in No. 101/IV, with its light, effervescent brilliance, succeeds where the rather ponderous learning of No. 95/IV fails. Contrapuntal thought is now second nature to the composer, so that one barely realizes, after the double bar in No. 104/IV, that Haydn has combined the main subject with the thematic material of the epilogue:

**Ex. 8**

a) No. 104/IV: Spiritoso



b)



c)

### 5. Orchestration.

Various points of orchestration in the 'Salomon' symphonies have already been mentioned. A few general matters must be briefly discussed here. The flexibility of Haydn's mature instrumentation — already at its height in Nos. 86, 88 and 92 — is of particular importance in the organization of the tuttis. The permanent emancipation

*The Twelve 'Salomon' Symphonies (Nos. 93/104): An Analysis*

**Ex. 9**

No. 99/1: Vivace assai

The musical score is divided into two systems. The first system includes staves for 2 Fl. / 2 Ob., 2 Clarineti in B<sup>b</sup>, 2 Fag., 2 Corni in E<sup>b</sup>, 2 Clarini in E<sup>b</sup>, Timp. E<sup>b</sup>-B<sup>b</sup>, Vln. I / Vln. II, Vla., Vcl., and Cb. The second system includes staves for 2 Fl. / 2 Ob., 2 Clarineti in B<sup>b</sup>, 2 Fag., 2 Corni in E<sup>b</sup>, 2 Clarini in E<sup>b</sup>, Timp. E<sup>b</sup>-B<sup>b</sup>, Vln. I / Vln. II, Vla., Vcl., and Cb. The score is written in 2/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first system begins with a forte (f) dynamic. The woodwinds and strings play sustained notes, while the flutes and oboes have more active melodic lines. The second system continues the orchestral texture with similar sustained parts and active woodwind lines.

of the viola from the bass had occurred many years ago, and now two further and necessary steps may be noted; the separation of the bassoons and violoncelli from the contrabassi, and the trumpets from the horns. Although Haydn never cared so much for this latter point as did Mozart, the 'Salomon' symphonies show that the trumpet writing is never a purely automatic 'coi Corni', even when this instruction is found in the trumpet staves, as it often is. A short example from Symphony No. 99/I will illustrate all of the points made above. The development of the orchestra in Haydn's career has progressed so slowly and with such infinite caution, every new feature having been tested many times until it was approved, that we are inclined to forget the incredible strides he has made over nearly forty years. The structure of the orchestra has changed from the baroque to the modern (Ex. 9).

The use of the woodwind also calls for brief mention. Haydn now continues the trend of the 'eighties, where the wind instruments were treated with remarkable freedom, especially in No. 92. From the countless examples throughout the 'Salomon' symphonies, one may single out the solo in the finale of No. 96 (meas. 200 *ff.*), the famous passage in the development of No. 97/I (meas. 123 *ff.*), the main subject of No. 100/I, which looks forward to the 'toy music' of Rimsky-Korsakov, and an equally striking passage in the second movement (meas. 119 *ff.*); these are, however, selected at random, and equally effective solos for the wind instruments can be found in every symphony of this period. (The use of the orchestra in No. 102/II was discussed above.)

Clarinets make their appearance in No. 99 and are used in No. 100 (only in the second movement), 101, 103 and 104. Haydn's use of the kettledrums also deserves our notice. Here is one of the few features of the London symphonies which is quite new and can scarcely be found in an earlier work. The drums are used in a number of new ways: as the bass in an interlude for solo wind instruments, *e. g.* No. 93/IV, meas. 276/280, No. 96/IV (the passage cited in the previous paragraph); as a solo in *forte* sections (*e. g.* No. 97/III, meas. 36 and 62; No. 100/IV, meas. 122); as a solo in *piano* sections (*e. g.* No. 101/III, meas. 28 *ff.*; No. 103/I, meas. 1); in long, sustained rolls, often in *crescendo* (*e. g.* No. 100/II, meas. 159 *ff.*; No. 104/III, meas. 30 *ff.*); and even as melodic contributors (*e. g.* No. 99/IV, where

*The Twelve 'Salomon' Symphonies (Nos. 93/104): An Analysis*

Haydn's sketches<sup>28</sup> show that the entries, such as meas. 132, 184, or 257, are thematic as well as rhythmic).

The use of solo violins in the manner of a *concertino* has been mentioned above, on p. 552. The one record of Haydn's rôle as a *continuo* player, found in No. 98/IV, though mentioned in section 1, is so characteristic that it deserves quotation here. He is not content to play simple chords; on the contrary, his part is an integral contributing factor, thematically and textually, to the last repetition of the theme, and cannot possibly be left out:

**Ex. 10**  
No. 98/IV (*pù moderato*)

Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Cemb.  
Vcl.  
Cb.

One final matter of importance: the use of repeated octave skips in the horn, bassoon and 'cello. Instead of the old baroque Haydn writes . This occurs for the most part in tutti, where the 'cello has the octaves and the bass simplified notes (e. g. No. 94/III, meas. 54 *ff.*; No. 95/III, meas. 48 *ff.*; No. 100/I, meas. 39 *ff.*), and is found as early as Symphonies Nos. 54/IV and 57/I (1774). Its second principal use is in woodwind solos, where the octave skips are given to the bassoon, and sometimes to the second horn as

<sup>28</sup> Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, codex 18987.

well (e. g. No. 99/I, meas. 191 *ff.*, bassoon and horn II; No. 100/II, meas. 119 *ff.*; No. 103/II, meas. 135 *ff.*). This particular effect occurs in No. 92/IV, where the second horn is required to execute the octaves at presto speed!

#### 6. *Tonality and Harmonic Language.*

It is in tonality and harmony that Haydn's last creative efforts are, above all other things, different from his preceding works. This applies not only to the modulations within movements but also to the key relationship between them, as the following late works show:

	<i>1st Movt.</i>	<i>Slow Movt.</i>	<i>Rest of Work</i>
(1) Symphony No. 99:	E flat major	G major	E flat major
(2) Clavier Sonata No. 52:	E flat major	E major	E flat major
(3) Quartet Op. 74/3:	G minor (major)	E major	G minor (major)
(4) Clavier Trio (Larsen 14; Peters 11):	A flat major	E major	A flat major
	<i>Minuet</i>	<i>Trio</i>	
(5) Symphony No. 99:	E flat major	C major	
(6) Symphony No. 104:	D major	B flat major	
(7) Quartet Op. 74/1:	C major	A major	
(8) Quartet Op. 74/2:	F major	D flat major	

The dominating harmonic factor in most of the above examples is the mediant or submediant relationship, expressed or implied through common pivot notes. Thus, the submediant major is related to the tonic (III $\sharp$  of I=V of VI $\sharp$ ), and this is made quite clear by the connecting *g*'s of the oboes between the minuet and trio of No. 99 (see (5), above). The second important factor is the implied enharmonic relationship; in (4), Haydn ends the slow movement on the leading note, D sharp major, which is enharmonically the dominant of A flat major. The flattened supertonic (E [F $\flat$ ] to E $\flat$ ), or, if one will, the leading-note (E $\flat$  = D $\sharp$ , VII of E major) progression in (2) is one of the enharmonic cross-relationships frequently encountered within a movement. In No. 96/II there is a superb modulation from G major to E flat through an augmented sixth (I of G=III $\sharp$  of E $\flat$ ), in which the modulation takes on an almost Schubertian colour:

Ex. 11

Ex. 11 shows two systems of musical notation. The first system includes staves for Vln. I-II (Soli), Vln. I-II (Rip.), Vla., and Vcl.-Cb. (pizz.). Above the first staff is a part for +Ob. and above the second staff is a part for Ob. 8va. The second system includes staves for Vln. I-II (Soli), Vln. I-II (Rip.), and Vla. (Vcl.-Cb.). The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'pizz.' and 'Bassi (pizz.)'.

A typical enharmonic modulation occurs in No. 93/I, in D major, meas. 10-11, where the note 'A' in unison, is the link to the first inversion of E flat major:

Ex. 12

Ex. 12 shows two systems of musical notation. The first system includes staves for Vln. I-II and Vln. I-II (Rip.). The second system includes staves for Vla. and Vcl.-Cb. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'ff' and 'etc.'.

In No. 103/III, we find another significant progression: E flat major (tonic) —→ B flat —→ E flat minor —→ C flat major —→ (=pivotal chord, IV of G flat) —→ G flat major and back *via* the pivotal note B flat (III of G flat=V of E flat).

The much admired enharmonic modulations in the 'Fantasia' from the Quartet Opus 76, No. 6 in E flat major have their direct predecessors in London works, particularly of the second period. Haydn was

quite aware of the startling novelty of these enharmonic relationships, and in Symphony No. 102/II (Ex. 13) he wrote, in English, the instruction 'the same Tone', a literal translation from the German 'der selbe Ton'; this warning to the copyist appears at a similar modulation in the *Scena di Berenice*, written shortly after No. 102.

Ex. 13      No. 102 / II

The musical score for Symphony No. 102, II, illustrates an enharmonic modulation. A bracket labeled "The same Tone" connects a B-flat note in the Flute (Fl.) staff to a B-natural note in the Viola (Vla.) staff, demonstrating the enharmonic relationship. The score includes staves for Flute (Fl.), 2 Oboes (2 Ob.), Violins I and II (Vln. I-II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vcl.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The music is in 2/4 time and features various woodwind and string parts with dynamic markings like "f" and "z".

Another feature of the London symphonies is the harmonic transformation — romanticization — of the themes in the codas of the slow movements<sup>29</sup>. There is an interesting parallel with J. S. Bach, who often closes his organ chorale-preludes with similar harmonic procedures, *i. e.* a pedal point (tonic, occasionally dominant) over which fragments of the theme are spun out in a sequence which almost invariably has passing diminished chords of one kind or another. It may be considered the peculiarly intimate and personal reflection of the composer on the movement which is about to be completed. The slow movements of Nos. 94, 95, 97, 103 and 104, and to a somewhat lesser extent Nos. 98 and 102, each have a closing section of this sort. As an example, we may repeat Geiringer's choice of No. 94, in which

<sup>29</sup> See Geiringer's pertinent remarks in *Joseph Haydn*, Potsdam, 1932, p. 84.



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the merry little nursery-tune is at the end bathed in romantic harmonic (and orchestral) colours, and so becomes illuminated with the radiance of Haydn's quiet benediction:

Ex. 14

Ob.  
Fag.

ten. ten.

Fl.

etc.

pp

Str.

Cor.

- Cor.

pp Timp.

The musical score for Ex. 14 is written for woodwinds, strings, and percussion. The woodwind section includes Oboe (Ob.), Bassoon (Fag.), Flute (Fl.), and Cor Anglais (Cor.). The string section (Str.) is in the bass clef. The percussion section (Timp.) is in the bass clef. The score is in 2/4 time. The woodwinds play a melody with trills and grace notes, marked 'ten.' (tutti) and 'etc.' (etcetera). The strings play a harmonic accompaniment, marked 'pp' (pianissimo). The percussion plays a simple rhythmic pattern, marked 'pp Timp.' (pianissimo Timpani).

## CHAPTER XIV

### EPILOGUE: HAYDN'S SYMPHONIC LEGACY

Vocal music was something which seems to have attracted Haydn throughout his life. Up to 1791, he had, of course, composed primarily Italian operas and other Italian forms such as the *cantata* or *scena*. But these forms, too, were now exhausted and *Orfeo*, *Ariadne* and the *Scena di Berenice* contained all that Haydn had to say in their respective *genres*. Mozart's late stage works so far transcend the Italian operatic structure that they really cannot be considered in terms of the *opera buffa*, or *dramma eroicomico*. It can well be imagined that Haydn had no wish to compose in a form in which *Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte* had been produced. *Orfeo*, for all its great beauty and nobility, shows that the *opera seria* was, at best a stylized art-form, at worst hopelessly dead—something which Mozart had learned many years before through his *Idomeneo*. Nor did Haydn's talents lie in the German *Singspiel*: the road from *Zauberflöte* to *Freischütz* was not his to explore.

It remained for Haydn to put to new use the renewed experience of Handel's oratorios in England. As early as 1794, he began work on an oratorio, of which one aria and a chorus in his handwriting (now in the British Museum) are extant. And in 1792, he had written the dramatic *Storm Chorus*, to an English text, a short but immensely powerful work. His comments on it in a letter to Marianna von Gensinger (London, 24th April 1792) show how choral music on a large scale even then haunted his imagination:

I must confess that I have gained considerable credit with the English in vocal music, by this little chorus, my first attempt with English words. It is only to be regretted that, during my stay here, I have not been able to write more pieces of a similar nature, but we could not find any boys to sing at our concerts, they having been already engaged for a year past to sing at other concerts...

Two vocal forms grew out of Haydn's English experiences. First, he again took up the oratorio. He had composed one work in the Italian manner, *Il Ritorno di Tobia*, rewriting it again and again but

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never wholly overcoming the arid monotony of long arias and endless unaccompanied recitatives — only the choruses completely escaped the narrow confines of the *genre*. Now, Haydn took this dead Italian form and injected into it two revitalizing elements: Handelian breadth and his own mature symphonic style. (Mara, when singing *The Creation* in London under Salomon's direction said that it was the first time she had accompanied an orchestra.) Using this combination of various elements, Haydn was able to continue the tradition of *Israel in Egypt* and *Messiah* with three masterworks: *Die Schöpfung* (*The Creation*), *Die Jahreszeiten* (*The Seasons*), and a new arrangement of *The Seven Words* for soli, chorus and orchestra.

It is not, however, the oratorio — a *genre* of its own only indirectly related to the symphonies — but another form arising out of Haydn's London experience which demands our scrutiny.

When a composer in the prime of his creative life has had a sensational triumph with his last symphonies, when concert halls and publishers throughout Europe vie with each other for his newest works in this form, and when, despite this, the composer suddenly and irrevocably ceases to compose symphonies, there must be a very cogent reason for his doing so: for after Nos. 102-104, composed for the Opera Concerts in London during 1795, Haydn never wrote another symphony. It seems strange that only a few writers (such as Erwin Stein, who raises the problem in an article on Benjamin Britten<sup>1</sup>) have devoted any serious thought to this phenomenon; and no one, apparently, has arrived at the reason for this abrupt conclusion to Haydn's symphonic career.

Let it not be thought that Haydn, after the second London sojourn, abandoned instrumental music, for nothing could be further from the truth. In this last period, he wrote some magnificent piano trios, bold miniature symphonies for pianoforte 'avec l'accompagnement de violon et violoncelle', as the title pages of the first editions read. And, perhaps realizing that there was still much to be done in the instrumental concerto, he composed, in 1796, his delightful Concerto in E flat for Trumpet and Orchestra, an *al fresco* work with ebullient virtuosity in the gay outer movements and a pensive *Andante*, foreshadowing the poetry of Schubert; this is indeed the best concerto Haydn ever wrote.

<sup>1</sup> *Benjamin Britten* (edited by Donald Mitchell and Hans Keller), London, 1952, p. 245; reprinted in Stein, *Orpheus in New Guises*, London, 1953, p. 137.

Foremost among his instrumental compositions of the seventeen-nineties are the quartets of Opera 76 and 77. These show in a striking way that, while he considered his rôle in the development of the symphony completed, he thought that there was much he could still say in the string quartet. And the eight completed quartets of the last period do, in fact, reach a new pinnacle of formal and musical perfection. With its sweeping breadth of conception and execution, its questioning humility in the slow movement, its dazzling brilliance in the outer movements and the scherzo (which had, as early as Opus 76, No. 1, outgrown the minuet) — such a quartet as Opus 77, No. 2 in F major may rightly be considered one of Haydn's very greatest works. Tovey has, with his customary acumen, selected this and Symphonies Nos. 102 and 104 as those instrumental compositions in which Haydn reached the summit of his powers; and which other of his instrumental works can, indeed, challenge them for perfection in every detail?

Upon returning to Vienna and Eisenstadt to resume his position under the fourth Prince Esterházy that reigned during his lifetime, Haydn began a series of six masses for soli, choir and orchestra. As suggested above, he seems to have felt that he had brought the symphonic form as he knew it to its most highly developed state with Nos. 102-104, and the realization that the symphonic form was in its present state exhausted must have impelled him to search for new means of expression. To write an *Eroica* never occurred to him. Instead, he returned to the large-scale orchestral mass, and using its extended length — his average late mass lasts three-quarters of an hour — he continued the symphonic form under this new guise: *for the late Haydn masses are in their fundamental construction symphonies for voices and orchestra using the mass text.* It was the deeply religious Haydn's ultimate aim to extend and perfect the purely orchestral apparatus of the symphony by means of the text of the High Mass, embodying as it does the central mysteries of the Christian religion. The *In Nomine Domini* which had stood at the top of almost every Haydn autograph could now have a meaning far more personal, far more significant than in the symphonies written for the London concert hall. These masses must, if they are to be understood, be regarded as sublimations of Haydn's late symphonic style; the fact that this development has only been felt unconsciously by generations of listeners, whether in the church (where these masses

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belong) or elsewhere, has without doubt been responsible for the ambivalent attitude towards these great masterpieces which has so long and so unjustly been current.

It was fourteen years since Haydn had written the *Missa Cellensis* ('Mariazellermesse') of 1782 which, for the first time, integrated the solo vocal quartet with the total texture, orchestral and choral. Previously, he had largely relied either on arias or duets, or on purely choral movements. In the mass of 1782, the four vocal soloists (soprano - alto - tenor - bass) are used in frequent juxtaposition with choir and orchestra; this ensemble-like disposition of the vocal parts, together with the rich, symphonic orchestration of many sections, provided one of the main pillars of Haydn's later vocal technique. One may, however, observe the older Italian-Viennese methods in the 'Gratias' of the *Missa Cellensis*, a three-eight moderately quick movement which can be traced, through Haydn's own *Missa St. Caecilia*, *Missa Sti. Nicolai* and *Missa in Honorem B. V. M.*, back to the late baroque style of Georg Reutter and Florian Gassmann.

The six last masses are:

*Authentic Sources*

<i>Missa in Tempore Belli</i> , C major (1796) ( <i>'Paukenmesse'</i> )	Autograph and parts in EH; first edition, in score, by Breitkopf & Härtel, October, 1802.
<i>Missa Sti. Bernardi v[on] Offida</i> , B flat (1796) ( <i>'Heiligmesse'</i> )	Autograph, Bst; parts (two sets) in EH; first edition, in score, by Breitkopf & Härtel, May, 1802.
<i>Missa in Angustiis</i> , D minor (1798) ( <i>'Nelson Mass'</i> )	Autograph, VNat; parts in EH; parts by Johann Elssler in monastery of Klosterneuburg; score by Johann Elssler, BM; first edition, in score, badly mangled, by Breitkopf & Härtel, May, 1803.
<i>Missa</i> , B flat (1799) ( <i>'Theresienmesse'</i> )	Autograph, VNat; parts in EH.
<i>Missa</i> , B flat (1801) ( <i>'Schöpfungsmesse'</i> )	Autograph (1954) in Erasmus Haus, Basel; parts in EH; first edition, in score, by Breitkopf & Härtel, June, 1804.
<i>Missa</i> , B flat (1802) ( <i>'Harmoniemesse'</i> )	Autograph, PCons; parts in EH; first edition, in score, by Breitkopf & Härtel, September, 1808.

The last masses are all, with the exception of the 'Nelson' and 'Theresien' masses, scored for a large orchestra including flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, timpani, strings and organ. The choir is four-part, with four or more soloists. The solo vocal quartet is used alone or together with the choir according to its textual and structural task: often one half of a sentence is sung by one or more soloists, the rest seized upon and completed by the choir. The orchestral apparatus is by no means of less importance than the voices. Expressed in the most elementary terms, the choir is used as the main staple, the generally static core of the whole structure, the strings (and wind instruments, when present) provide the forward motion, while the brass and drums enclose and punctuate the whole with a rhythmic impetus. In slow movements this primarily rhythmic factor is often omitted so as not to tire the listener; and in the following example it just happens that the trumpets fulfil a melodic rather than a rhythmic function (Ex. 1).

As in the symphonies, quick, moderately quick, and slow movements are alternated. The slow introduction, so beloved in the composer's instrumental works, is often used ('Kyrie' of the *Missa in Tempore Belli*, *Missa Sti. Bernardi* and *Theresienmesse*), occasionally in a very extended form for such a movement as the 'Agnus', e.g. in the *Missa in Tempore Belli* and *Harmoniemesse*. The 'Benedictus' is usually a moderately swift movement, dominated by the solo vocal quartet and gentle in character, while the beginnings of the 'Gloria', 'Credo', and the 'Dona' are always quick. The 'Qui Tollis', 'Crucifixus' and the 'Agnus' are generally adagios, while the 'Sanctus' is without exception divided in two parts, the first ('Sanctus' proper) an adagio and the second a swift allegro, beginning either with the words 'pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua' or directly with the 'Osanna'.

The musical language of these masses is a felicitous combination of the baroque and the late classical; and this must be realized if one is to understand the real character of Haydn's mature church music. Strictly baroque in conception and execution are the full fugues which are introduced in each of the six works, usually at the end of the 'Gloria' ('In Gloria Dei Patris') and 'Credo' ('Et Vitam Venturi'), but sometimes earlier (see the 'Kyrie' of the *Missa Sti. Bernardi*). Haydn was perhaps the last composer whose contrapuntal knowledge was inborn, immediate, and intrinsically part of his musical expression. Even Schubert was not at home in the mass

*Épilogue: Haydn's Symphonic Legacy*

Ex. 1

[From the Credo, meas. 40ff.]

[Allegro con spirito]

Clarini  
in D

Timpani  
D - A

Vln. I  
Vln. II

Vla.

Sop.  
De - o, lu - men de lu - mi - ne.

Alt.  
De - - um de De - o, lu - men de

Ten.  
De - o, lu - men de lu - mi - ne.

Bass  
De - - um de De - o lu - men de

Cont.

Clarini  
in D

Timpani  
D - A

Vln. I  
Vln. II

Vla.

Sop.  
De - - um ve - rum de De - o

Alt.  
lu - mi - ne, De - - um ve - rum de

Ten.  
De - - um ve - rum de De - o

Bass  
lu - mi - ne, De - - um ve - rum de

Cont.

6 5 - 6 5 6

form, because of the necessity of writing strict fugues therein (hence Schubert's enchanting little Mass in G succeeds where the grander Masses in E flat and A flat do not; its homophony is personal, while the fugues of the later works sometimes breathe an archaic language which is not his own). It is this effortless assimilation of the baroque and the high-classical which makes Haydn's late masses so satisfactory; he is not content merely to slip back into the conventional baroque language of Austrian church music, as was Mozart, even to a certain extent in that glorious torso, the Mass in C minor (K. 427), or in the *Requiem* (K. 626). Church music on a large scale was, in Mozart's mind, connected with the hated Salzburg Archbishop, Colloredo, with the subservient and menial duties which included the composition of numerous masses of a specific length and pompous character. Church music for Haydn, on the other hand, represented the highest duty of a Christian composer.


A few details from these masses will illustrate how Haydn assimilates devices from his instrumental music.

The sonata form undergoes a number of transformations; indeed, it would be more correct to say that Haydn now uses an A-B-A structure with elements of the sonata. The 'Kyrie' of the *Missa in Angustiis* ('Nelson Mass'), for example, is clearly divided into exposition (or rather double exposition, as in a concerto, the opening orchestral bars serving as a kind of *ritornello*), development and recapitulation, and it is worth noticing the modulation from the tonic (D minor) to the relative major in the exposition, and the contrasting material in the latter key which appears at the words 'Christe eleison'. It would, however, be too much to regard this as a second subject, and despite what has been said the sonata aspect of the movement is entirely sublimated. The three sections are so merged that one feels no suggestion of a double bar. Even the breaking down of motifs in the 'development', in which a small segment of two measures found in the first entry of the chorus (Ex. 2a) is inverted and used in imitation throughout the middle section (Ex. 2b), is so organic that one scarcely notices that this, too, is taken direct from Haydn's symphonic style (*cf.*

**Ex. 2**

a) Sop. Ky-ri-e e-lei-son, e-  
b) Bass Ten. Ky-ri-e e-lei-son, e- etc.



No. 104/I). The constant fusion of all contributing subjects and sections may also be seen in the recapitulation, where the 'Christe' motif, originally (because of the text) set off from the rest, is now added to the 'Kyrie' by way of the solo soprano, which soars up to  $b\flat$  over the chorus and orchestra. Another factor drawn from the instrumental style is the rhythmic unity of this 'Kyrie', produced by the incessant and at times overwhelmingly powerful repetitions of the figure  in the three trumpets and drums<sup>2</sup>; this explosive figure stalks like a stone statue through the whole 'Kyrie', and returns, grim and menacing, at crucial points later in the mass (e. g. 'Crucifixus', 'Benedictus'), always in the key of D minor.

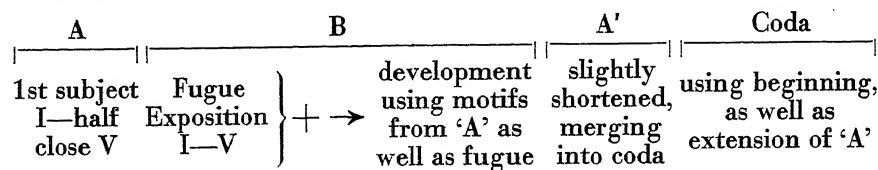
In the 'Kyrie' of the *Missa in Tempore Belli*, we have an example of a monothematic abridged sonata form, i. e. without a real development section. Far in the background we sense echoes of Haydn's forty-year-struggle to eliminate the second subject of the sonata form. After the slow introduction, the soprano solo introduces the main subject of the *Allegro moderato* which, after the tutti and ensuing modulation to the dominant, turns up as the 'Christe', sung by the solo alto. As in the 'Nelson Mass', the requirements of the text demanded that this second statement of the principal subject be omitted in the re-

<sup>2</sup> The 'Nelson Mass' has been subjected in the first edition of Breitkopf to a most appalling revision and falsification of Haydn's text. Instead of the original scoring of three D trumpets, timpani, strings and solo organ, the Breitkopf score added a flute, two oboes, two bassoons and a third trumpet part completely different from that clearly specified in the autograph, the authentic parts and Elssler score. Furthermore, the trumpet and drum parts were thoroughly edited and simplified, those high passages lying in the *Clarinregister* having been rewritten or (e. g. the splendid trumpet parts in Ex. 1) entirely omitted. The alterations are completely senseless and destroy Haydn's carefully organized orchestral balance. Passages allotted to the four soloists are, in the Breitkopf travesty, given to the chorus, and trumpet and drum parts added, as at the end of 'Gloria'; in this same passage the long, sustained drum roll is shortened by several bars in the Leipzig edition. In the 'Sanctus' two measures were even added! Part-writing was changed at will, original dynamic marks brushed aside and new ones, contradictory to the autograph, substituted; appoggiature are omitted; dozens of notes are changed for no reason whatever. The original score was recorded, under my supervision, for the first time by Le Club du Disque Français in 1953 (the Haydn Society recording, whilst omitting the spurious woodwind parts, adheres to the Breitkopf score in the majority of cases). It is probable that the Breitkopf score of the 'Nelson Mass' was revised by Müller, who also rewrote Mozart's arrangement of Handel's *Messiah*: many of the tasteless adaptations found in the latter are not by Mozart at all. It is an urgent duty for someone to bring out the original parts of the 'Nelson Mass', for neither score nor parts of the authentic text have ever been printed.

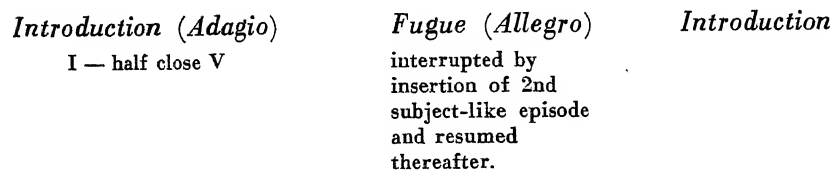
*Epilogue: Haydn's Symphonic Legacy*

capitulation. Thus, something Haydn had done contrary to the rules and primarily for aesthetic reasons in his instrumental music, was now, because of the text, required in the mass, and stringent adherence to the words paradoxically freed Haydn from any necessity of adhering to a strict form.

When a fugue is introduced in such a movement, as in the *Missa Sti. Bernardi* or the 'Theresienmesse', Haydn immediately takes the opportunity to combine strict counterpoint with elements of the sonata form. The 'Kyrie' of the *Missa Sti. Bernardi* may be analysed as follows (the slow introduction is not shown in the graph):



This kind of hybrid form seems to have pleased the composer, for in the 'Theresienmesse', written three years after the *Missa Sti. Bernardi*, the 'Kyrie' has the following basic scheme:



Here, the slow introduction is intimately connected with the whole movement. We have seen that many of Haydn's symphonies (*e. g.* Nos. 90, 97, 98, 103) used material from the opening adagio in the allegro, especially in Nos. 98 and 103. In the 'Theresienmesse', Haydn follows the procedure of No. 103/I, in which the *Adagio* appeared in

**Ex. 3**

a) *Adagio*

b) *Allegro*

c) [ibid] *Alto Solo (= y)*

the recapitulation and was used thematically in the development, but in order to preserve the ternary structure as well, he returns to the old French Overture (slow-fast-slow) of Symphony No. 15. The *Adagio* of the mass is built on two main motifs (Ex. 3a,  $x$  and  $y$ ), of which  $x$  forms the basis not only of the main subject in the double fugue but also the countersubject, which includes a diminution of  $x$  (Ex. 3b), while  $y$  turns up almost unchanged as the 'Christe' theme, inserted between the exposition and development of the fugue (Ex. 3c).

In the marvellous 'Schöpfungsmesse' of 1801, one of the finest of all these masses, a motif from the solo alto in the slow introduction is used as the theme of the following *Allegro moderato*. By then the process was undoubtedly entirely spontaneous and unconscious. A more obvious example is the 'Gloria' of the *Missa in Tempore Belli*, where an entire section is transplanted from the 'Laudamus te', across a slow movement and the first part of another allegro, to the 'In Gloria Dei Patris'. The text of the mass was responsible for the identical music of the 'Osanna' in the 'Sanctus' and that of the 'Benedictus', a duplication which occurs in several of these works.

Another characteristic trait of Haydn's late instrumental music, the somewhat remote tonality of the slow movements, is adopted in these masses. It will be remembered that the two dominating factors in most of these key changes were, first, enharmony and, secondly, mediant or submediant relationships. In these late masses, it is these tertian connections that are most often encountered:

*Missa in Angustiis*: Gloria (D major) — Qui Tollis (B flat major) — Quoniam (D major).

*Missa* ('Theresienmesse'): Gloria (B flat major → V of C) — Gratias (C major — C minor — V of C minor) — Quoniam (B flat major).  
" " Sanctus (B flat major) — Benedictus (G major) — Agnus (G minor → V) — Dona (B flat major).

*Missa* ('Schöpfungsmesse'): Credo (B flat major) — Et Incarnatus (G major → V) — Resurrexit (B flat major).

" " Sanctus (B flat major) — Benedictus (E flat major) — Agnus (G major → V) — Dona (B flat major).

*Missa* ('Harmoniemesse'): Benedictus (F major → B flat major) — Agnus (G major → V) — Dona (B flat major).

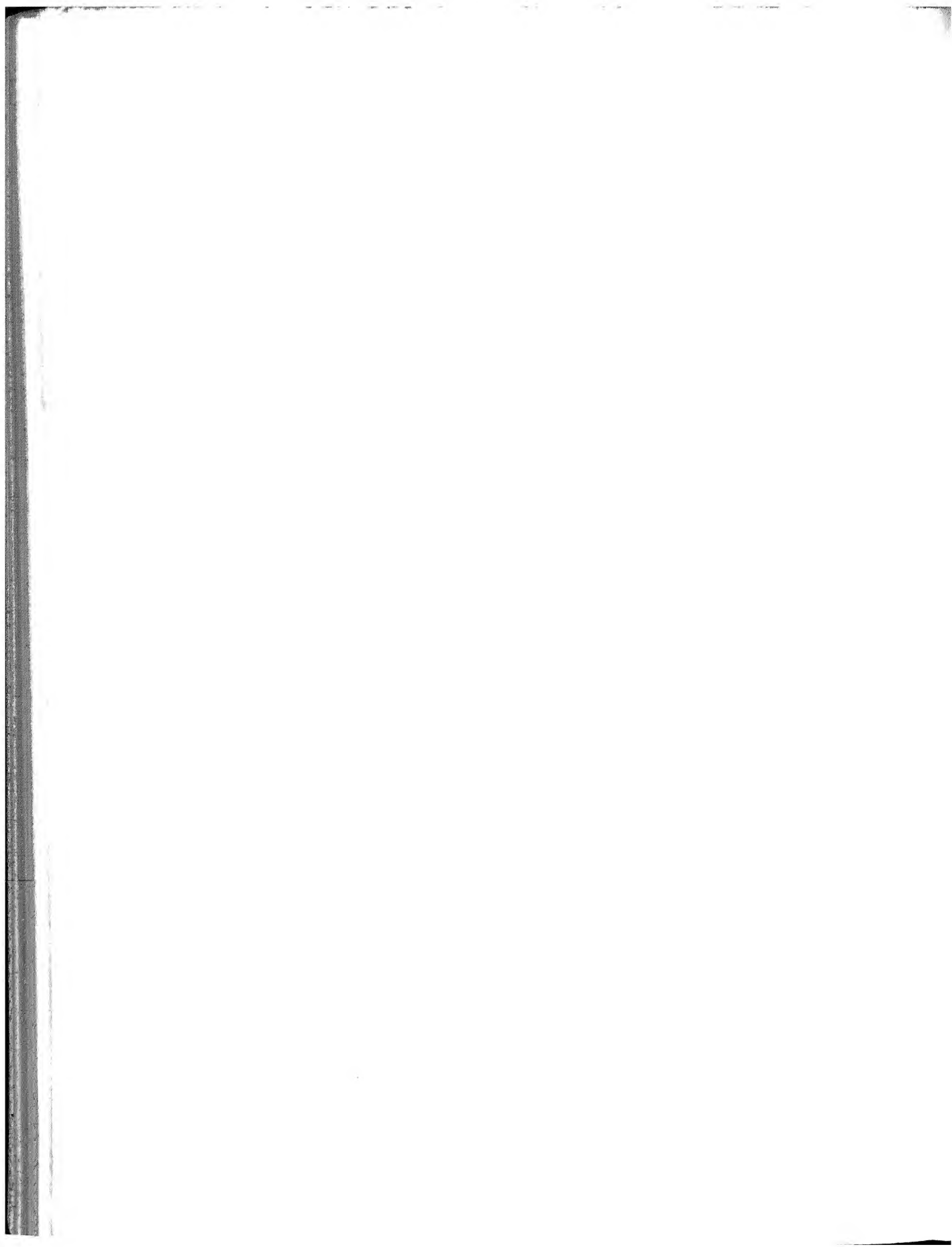
In the last case, the relationship V of G = III of B flat major is accentuated by carrying the pivot note from the last bar of the 'Agnus' into the 'Dona', where the orchestra seizes it in a thrice repeated fanfare which begins with the unison note 'D', adds 'F' the second time and finally, supported by the drums, adds 'B flat'.

Still one more important feature of these late masses must be mentioned here: the use of old church melodies. This, too, is something which first occurs in Haydn's instrumental music, not, as one would expect, in his earlier music for the church. The important effect they had on the composer during the seventeen-sixties and -seventies is discussed in Chapters VI and in detail in Chapters VII and VIII. Now, after many years, he again turns to the heritage of the Roman Catholic Church for inspiration: the *Missa Sti. Bernardi*, *Missa in Angustiis* and the late *Te Deum* (c. 1799) all use such melodies. As in the symphonies mentioned above, Haydn usually prefers to hide the melody under an orchestral facade; and in the *Missa Sti. Bernardi*, the 'Heilig, heilig, heilig' song is concealed in the middle voices — our attention is drawn to it by the composers's little notice 'Heillig'/. './.', while the old Gregorian 'Te Deum' melody is buried in the second parts of each orchestral and choral group, the violins busily covering, as it were, Haydn's deep affection for the musical legacy of his church.

By way of conclusion, we must, after studying Haydn's last six masses, acknowledge that they often reach spiritual heights which even the finest of his symphonies do not attain: the mystery and the exaltation of the 'Gratias' in the *Missa Sti. Bernardi*: the unearthly beauty of the 'Incarnatus' from the *Mass in Time of War*: the utter devotion of that deeply moving song to the Virgin, the 'Incarnatus' from the *Mass in Time of Need* (an appropriate translation of the strange Latin title which he gave the 'Nelson Mass'): the end of the 'Benedictus' in the same work, a shattering, terrifying stroke of genius, one of the most inspired single moments in all Haydn: these are things above and beyond his instrumental music. The late masses, in their steadfast unity of purpose and greatness of expression, are indeed a transfiguration of his style, and it is fitting that these works, Haydn's true symphonic legacy, should close the long half-century of his artistic life.

*Altaussee (Styria), June, 1951 —*  
*Iselsberg (East Tyrol), March, 1954.*

**APPENDIX I**  
**THEMATIC CATALOGUE OF THE**  
**AUTHENTIC SYMPHONIES**



## APPENDIX I

### General Remarks

The purpose of this catalogue is to list the primary sources of Haydn's symphonies. The works have been listed in the order of Mandyczewski's chronological catalogue, given in the old B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe*; changes in chronological order as a result of new evidence (discovery of an autograph, and so on) have not been introduced, but the latest research on this difficult subject has been included, as far as possible, under the heading, 'Date of comp.': see also headings, marked 'Chronology', at the beginning of each chapter. The sources have been arranged in order of textual reliability, whenever this was feasible. Autographs have been listed first, followed by other authentic sources. Prints, unless their authenticity can be established, have been placed after the MSS. Data on autographs include the size (in cm.), number of pages, format of paper and watermarks — whenever these facts could be obtained. Data on authentic MS. copies include the same information, but without the cm. size and number of pages, which are of no significance here. Whenever possible, prints have been listed with dividing /, but in many cases this detailed information could not be obtained. For those symphonies of which we possess authentic sources, data on secondary MSS. have been limited to the format, watermarks (which in many cases give vital clues to the origin and date of the source) and date, when the latter is present; if the date is not listed on the MS., it has been approximated on the basis of the paper, watermarks, ink, identity of the copyist, or other factors. For those symphonies of which we possess no authentic sources, data on secondary MSS. have been enlarged to include the original title and/or number of extant parts, should these differ from the listing of the title. MSS. and prints of lesser importance have been, in the case of the late symphonies, omitted entirely or, in the case of the earlier works, listed at the end of the major sources, without any details. Many MSS. in Modena, Florence, Stockholm, and the sources from the Erzherzog Rudolf Collection fall into this category.

Many copyists wrote the letter 'y' with an Umlaut (e. g. No. 1, source 3, line 2: 'a moy sartory', the 'y's with Umlaut); it proved very difficult to reproduce this antiquated 'y' in modern type, and the Umlaut has, therefore, been omitted throughout. The little double lines under such words as 'No' or 'Dris' have been omitted for technical reasons.

In general, a flexible rather than a rigid system has been employed. The organization of the catalogue attempts to follow the development of Haydn's creative life, in which, after c. 1780, secondary MSS. begin to diminish in importance, whereas prints assume more and more significance. In order to make this important change more clearly visible, a new system in listing the sources was adopted from Symphony No. 76; there are four categories: (1) authentic MSS., (2) authentic prints, (3) secondary MSS., and (4) secondary prints.

It was considered sufficient to list the thematic *incipit* only of the 1st movement. In symphonies with several versions, or with different movements, additional *incipits* have been quoted.

Catalogue references (see abbreviations) have been limited to those of the 18th or early 19th centuries, and include the *Entwurf* Catalogue (EK), the Kees Catalogue (Kees), the *Haydn Verzeichnis* of 1805 (HV), the *Quartbuch*, the *Breitkopf* Catalogues of 1762-1787 (Br. cat.), the *Traeg* Catalogue of 1799 (Traeg) and West-

## Appendix I

phal Catalogues of 1782 ff. (Westphal) — these last two are, unfortunately, not thematic —, and MS. catalogues from Göttweig, Lambach, Sigmaringen and Herzogenburg.

Watermarks which occur frequently have been listed according to their category and number in the watermark master lists; wherever possible, the origin of the paper mill has been given. The scientific description of the watermarks presented considerable difficulty, since this has not been standardized, even in the immensely valuable publications of the International Paper Society in Hilversum. Reference to Heawood, *Watermarks, mainly of the 17th and 18th centuries* (Hilversum, 1950) has been given wherever possible.

Arrangements, frequently published in the 18th and 19th centuries, have been omitted except when it is reasonably certain that an arrangement is authentic, or unless there is some other important reason for including it (as in the case of the 'Salomon' symphonies).

A list of the major errors in the first 4 volumes of the B. & H. *Gesamtausgabe* has been included: as is customary in such lists of textual errors and alternate readings (*a. r.*), 'telegraphic' language has been employed. It was desirable, for obvious reasons, to keep this list as short as possible, and, therefore, only major problems and mistakes have been discussed. This part of the appendix is intended as a stop-gap, in order that conductors may perform these symphonies in an acceptable 'Urtext' without having to wait for the appearance of these volumes in the new Complete Edition, and without having to secure the sources themselves. A number of symphonies was printed in the old *Gesamtausgabe* without the necessary oboe, horn, or trumpet and timpani parts. It has been possible to discover most of these important and hitherto unprinted parts, which are herewith published at the end of this appendix. The symphonies in question are:

<i>Symphony</i>	<i>Missing part(s)</i>
No. 2	2 oboes
No. 16	2 horns
No. 17	2 oboes
No. 27	2 horns
No. 33	timpani (reconstruction)
No. 37	timpani
No. 57	timpani

The three authentic symphonies not included in the 104 have been listed at the end of this section as 'A', 'B' and 'C'.

### Abbreviations and References.

#### I. Instruments (under 'scoring', 'sources' and 'corrections'), terms, etc.

fl. = flute; ob. = oboe; fag. = bassoon (in 'scoring', bassoon and cembalo added to basso continuo by author indicated by square brackets — if present in one of the secondary sources, round brackets); cor. = horn; clarino = clarino (trumpet); trpt. = trumpet; timp. = timpani; vln. = violin (vln. I = first violin, etc.); vla. = viola; vcl. = violoncello; cb. = bass (vcl.-cb. = violoncello e basso); pt./pts. = part/parts; *a. r.* = alternative (source) reading; str. = strings; 8va = octave; † indicates a gramophone recording; † (CH) indicates that the recording is one of those issued in a limited edition by Concert Hall Recordings, New York City. 'D' means D major, 'd', D minor.

#### II. Catalogue references (*Cat. ref.*).

Br. cat. = Breitkopf catalogues, 1762-1787. 'Catologo delle Sinfonie che si trovano



## Appendix I

in Manuscripto nella Officina Musica di Giovanni Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, in Lipsia. Parte I<sup>ma</sup> 1762, Parte II<sup>da</sup> (1762), Parte III<sup>za</sup> (1763), Parte IV<sup>ta</sup> (1763), Parte V<sup>ta</sup> (1765), Parte VI<sup>ta</sup> (1765), Supplemento I-XVI in 1766, 1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776 ed 1777, 1778, 1779 ed 1780, 1781, 1782/83/84, and 1785/86/87. Complete copy: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna. Abbreviations in cat. '8V.' = 8 Voci; '2 C.' = 2 Corni; 'Cl.' or 'Clar.' = Clarini; 'Ty.' or 'Tymp.' = timpani; 'O.' = oboe; 'Viol.' = violin; 'Violonc.' or 'Violcl.' = violoncello; 'V.' = viola, not violin; other abbreviations clear in context or as in this book.

EK = *Entwurf Katalog*. MS. catalogue begun c. 1765 by Joseph Elssler and continued by Haydn, with interruptions, until c. 1800. 'EK/I, /II & /III' indicate the three main sections of the catalogue (see Chapter I). Berlin Staatsbibliothek (Poland?), Mus. ms. Kat. 607 — facsimile in Larsen, DKE.

Freising = MS. catalogue, Fürstbischöfliches Archiv (i. e. bishopric of princely rank), Freising, Upper Bavaria (cat. now in Kreisarchiv, Munich); title: 'Themata / Von Jenen Musicalien, welche vom Jahre 1789. Bis / 1796. inclusive Theils Neu angekauft, Theils darzu [sic] / hergeschenkt, auch einige wenige ohne Nro. schon vor- / handen gewesene die dem Cathalogo Einverleibt worden, / und Ebenfalls [sic] im Musicalien Kasten auf dem Dom / Chor, kundig sind.' At the top of another page: 'Freising[?]: den 24<sup>t</sup> Jener [sc. Jänner, i. e. Januar] 1797 / Themata / Von allen Verhandelnen [sic] Kirchen und Kammer / Musicalien, welche in der den 1. September 1796 neu / Verfaßten Designation Enthalten sind.' The catalogue is thematic, but does not give the orchestration. I am much indebted to Professor Gustav Fellerer, Cologne, for placing a microfilm of this document at my disposal.

Göttweig = MS. catalogue, Benedictine monastery of Göttweig, Lower Austria. In two volumes: first vol. entitled 'KATALOGUS / OPERUM MUSICALIUM / in / Choro musicali / MONASTERII / O. S. P. B. GOTTWICENSIS / R. R. D. D. / ALTMANNO / ABBATE per R. D. / HENRICUM / WONDRATSCH / p. t. chori regentem, conscriptus. / Anno MDCCCXXX Tom. I'. The catalogue consists, with a few exceptions, of a listing of all the MSS. then in the music archives, and includes the title, orchestration, the name of the copyist and the date, in so far as these were known. Since most of these MSS. have long since disappeared, the catalogue is of unique documentary value. We have not given the Göttweig cat. listing when the source from which the entry was made is still extant.

Herzogenburg = MS. catalogue, early 19th century, of a list of music then in the Augustinian monastery of Herzogenburg, Lower Austria. None of the entries is dated, and the cat. is primarily of interest because it lists a number of sources no longer in the monastery. The orchestration, however, is included: this is listed in our catalogue if there are problems of orchestration on which the Herzogenburg listing might shed some light, but not otherwise.

HV = *Haydn Verzeichnis*, MS. catalogue written in 1805 by Johann Elssler, under Haydn's supervision. Title: 'Verzeichniß aller derjenigen Compositionen welehe ich mich beyläufig erinnere von meinem 18ten bis in das 73ste Jahr verfertiget zu haben' (see Chapter I). Esterházy Archives (copy by Elssler in B. & H. Archives).

Kees = MS. catalogue of Haydn's symphonies, prepared for Franz Bernhard Ritter von Kees. Title: 'Catalogo Del Sinfonien Del Sig: Giuseppe Haydn' (see Chapter I). Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 85. [] indicates the use of 'detto'.

Lambach = MS. catalogue, Benedictine monastery of Lambach, Upper Austria; title: 'Catalogus / Musicalium et Instrumentorum / ad Chorum Lambacensem pertinentium conscripte [= conscriptum] / MDCCLXIIII [sic] / 1768'.

Quartbuch = MS. catalogue by Johann Nep. Weigl, c. 1775; in two volumes. Haydn seems to have acquired this cat. and glanced through it, making a few

## Appendix I

corrections. Title: '2 Thematischer Cathalog verschiedener Compositionen von verschiedenen Meistern 2 Bände' (see Chapter I). Esterházy Archives, Budapest (destroyed 1944); copy in Vienna Nationalbibliothek.

Sigmaringen = MS. catalogue, begun in 1766, in two volumes; a list of music once at the Hohenzollern castle of Sigmaringen, Germany; none of the sources has survived. The title is given in Chapter I, p. 26 n. Abbreviation: 'VV' or 'W' = violins (this abbrev. also used by Mozart and Schubert). The main section of the catalogue was made in 1766, but several groups of themes were added later, probably in c. 1768, 1769 and c. 1770: this explains our '(1766, addition [I, II or III])'.

Traeg = 'Verzeichniss / alter und neuer / sowohl geschriebener als gestochener / Musikalien, / welche in der / Kunst- und Musikalienhandlung / des / Johann Traeg, / zu Wien, in der Singerstrasse Nr. 957, / zu haben sind. / Kostet 30 Kr. / Wien, 1799. / Gedruckt, mit v. Ghelenschen Schriften.'

Westphal = 'Verzeichniß / derer / Musicalien, / welche / in der Niederlage auf den grossen Bleichen / bey / Johann Christoph Westphal und Comp. / in Hamburg / in Commiſſion zu haben sind / 1782. / .... / Hamburg / Gedruckt bey Joh. Philipp Christian Reuß.' (with various supplements).

### III. The Sources.

Admont = Benedictine monastery, Styria (Austria). Music archives for many years in the Stadtpfarrkirche at Bad Aussee (Styria), now in Graz (*infra*).

BM = British Museum, London.

Brussels = Bibliothèque du Conservatoire.

Bst = Former Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, now divided into Berlin (= Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek), Marburg (= Westdeutsche Bibliothek), Tübingen (= Universitätsbibliothek) and Poland (?) (present whereabouts unknown).

Cambridge = Fitzwilliam Museum.

Copenhagen = Royal Library.

Darmstadt = Hessische Landesbibliothek.

Dresden = Saxonian State Library (destroyed in World War II).

Donau-Eschingen = Library of Prince Fürstenberg.

EH = Esterházy archives, now in National Museum, Budapest.

Eibiswald = Stadtpfarrkirche, now at Graz (*infra*).

Einsiedeln = Benedictine monastery (Switzerland).

Florence = Conservatorio Luigi Cherubini.

GdM = Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.

Genoa = Biblioteca di Liceo Musicale.

Gerber = article 'Haydn' in *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, 1812-1814.

Göttweig = Benedictine monastery, Lower Austria.

Graz = Fürstbischöfliches Seckauer Ordinariat (Diözesanarchiv).

Harburg = Library of Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein, formerly in Mählingen, now in the castle at Harburg, Bavaria.

Hermannstadt = Library of Baron Brukenthal (Roumania).

Herzogenburg = Augustinian monastery, Lower Austria.

Kremsmünster = Benedictine monastery, Upper Austria.

Lambach = Benedictine monastery, Upper Austria.

Lilienfeld = Cistercian monastery, Lower Austria.

Manchester = Henry Watson Library.

Melk = Benedictine monastery, Lower Austria.

Michaelbeuern = Benedictine monastery near Salzburg.

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Milan = Conservatorio Giuseppe Verdi. A number of important sources was removed for safety during the war and has not yet (1954) been returned. Some of these, particularly for early symphonies, are of considerable importance and have been listed here.

Modena = Biblioteca Estense; the Haydn copies appear to have been made for the Austrian Archdukes in the 19th century.

Munich = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

Naples = Conservatorio S. Pietro a Majella.

Padua Antoniana = Library of the Basilica.

Padua = Library of the Conservatory of Music.

Paris Cons. = Bibliothèque du Conservatoire de Musique.

Paris Nat. = Bibliothèque Nationale.

Regensburg = Library of Prince Thurn und Taxis, Bavaria.

Reichersberg = Augustinian monastery, Upper Austria.

Rottenmann = Monastery in Styria, no longer in use; library formerly in Admont (*supra*), then in Stadtpfarrkirche at Bad Aussee, now at Graz (*supra*).

St. Florian = Augustinian monastery, Upper Austria.

St. Lambrecht = Benedictine monastery, Styria.

Salzburg Mozarteum = Library of the Mozarteum.

Salzburg St. Peter = Library of the monastery.

Schlägl = Praemonstratensian monastery, Upper Austria (Mühlviertel).

Schlierbach = Cistercian monastery, Upper Austria.

Schwerin = Library of the Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (East Germany); all the sources from Otto Kade (see bibliography).

Seitenstetten = Benedictine monastery, Lower Austria.

Stams = Cistercian monastery, Tyrol.

Stockholm = Royal Music Academy (Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens).

Venice Cons. = Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello.

Venice Marciana = Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

*Viennese professional copyists* (of unknown identity).

No. 1. The copyist of the Emperor's Collection (Kaiserliche Sammlung) and many MSS. of the period c. 1750-1780. See p. 45, n. 33.

No. 2. Probably the head of one of the copyist firms, c. 1760-1785. See p. 45.

No. 3. Probably a member of a Viennese copyist firm, c. 1785-1810. He is one of the copyists of the Harburg MS. of Symphony No. 92, sent by Haydn: see No. 92, source 2. See p. 35, n. 24.

VNat = Music Collection of the Austrian National Library, Vienna.

VSt = Stadtbibliothek, Vienna.

Washington = Library of Congress, Music Division.

Wiesentheid = Library of the Count Schönborn (Germany).

Zittau = Library (The 'Gymnasialbibliothek'), Saxony.

Zwettl = Cistercian monastery, Lower Austria. All the Haydn symphonies there are by the copyist of the Erzherzog Rudolf Collection, mostly in GdM (*supra*).

### IV. Critical edition.

C. E. = the portion of the Complete Edition published by the Haydn Society;  
G. A. = the portion of the Complete Edition published by Breitkopf & Härtel;  
Eulenburg: miniature scores published by Ernst Eulenburg, Ltd., London-Zürich-Stuttgart-New York. Reference is always to the newest edition (there have been, in some cases, three different editions with different editors).




### V. Corrections to G. A.: see also heading I.

a. r. = alternative source reading. Other abbreviations are self-explanatory.

## Watermark Master Lists

1. *Italian paper, predominantly from mills in Northern Italy.*
  1. 3 half moons of decreasing size (*cf.* Heawood 867, 869, etc.).
  2. 3 half moons of equal size.
  3. A single half moon, usually with a strong profile.
  4. 'REAL' and 3 half moons of decreasing size (*cf.* 23, 26, 27, 28, 37, 77).
  5. 'M', often in conjunction with 1.
  6. 'CS' under cartouche (*cf.* 13).
  7. 'AS' under a kind of fleur-de-lys (*cf.* 32, 52).
  8. 'EC'.
  9. 'OA' (or 'AO'?) occasionally with cartouche (Sym. 30, 49, 72 in *Regensb.*)
  10. 'GB' under cartouche (*cf.* 82, 83).
  11. 'W' (*cf.* 34).
  12. 'W' in ornate baroque frame, with a 3-dimensional (schematic) crown.
  13. 'CS' C (*cf.* 6, *supra*, and Heawood 874: Venetian paper).
  14. Crown with a Maltese cross.
  15. 'A', often in conjunction with 1 (*cf.* also 53).
  16. 'GF' (*cf.* Heawood 870: Venetian paper).
  17. 'GF' / 'SOTOIMPER' (*cf.* Heawood 876/877 and *infra*, 45, 56: Venetian paper).
  18. 'GF' under cartouche: Venetian paper.
  19. 3 stars in ornate frame with half-moon hanging from it and crown above (*cf.* Heawood 824: Venetian paper).
  20. 3 stars in ornate frame with crown but without half-moon: Venetian paper.
  21. 'IMPERIAL', with 1: Venetian paper.
  22. 'MA' (or 'AM'?) and half-cup with kind of arrow running through it (*cf.* Heawood 878).
  23. 'FM' C.
  24. 'PS': probably Venetian paper (*cf.* 42).
  25. 'A' (*cf.* Heawood 820, 884: Venetian paper).
  26. 'HF' 'REAL' (Venetian paper).
  27. 'REAL' 'F' (Venetian paper).
28. 'REAL': above a kind of fleur-de-lys, beneath a half-moon with a multi-pointed base.
29. 'FC' (*cf.* 55).
30. A sea star.
31. 'F', often in conjunction with 1 (*cf.* 81).
32. 'AS' in ornate frame (*cf.* 7, 52).
33. 'GV' in the same frame as in 12 (*cf.* 76).
34. 'W' under a kind of fleur-de-lys (*cf.* 11).
35. Cartouche with cross over 'BV' C (*cf.* 89).
36. 'VC'.
37. 'REAL' A'.
38. 'O' CZ' (Venetian firm of Olibro, Comici & Zucchetta).
39. A bird with outstretched wings, curving slightly downward, over: 'COMICI ZUCCHETTA OLIBRO', Venetian firm.
40. Paper from same firm but 1 partner different: 'CZF'.
41. Ditto, without 'P' partner: 'CZ'.
42. 'PS' in ornate frame similar to that of 12 (*cf.* 24): Venetian paper.
43. 'GFA' (*cf.* Heawood 1262/1263: Venetian paper).
44. 'GFA' under cartouche.
45. 'GFA' SOTOIMPERIAL' (*cf.* 17, 56 and Heawood 876/877).
46. Eagle and 'GFA' (Heawood 1262/1263).
47. 'FL' under cartouche.
48. 'FA' C (*cf.* 51).
49. 'GCFS' under cartouche.
50. 'PE' in ornate frame similar to that of 12.
51. 'FA' under cartouche with fleur-de-lys on top (*cf.* 48).
52. 'AS' alone (*cf.* 7, 32).
53. 'A' under cartouche (*cf.* 15).
54. 'C', often in conjunction with 1.
55. 'FC' under cartouche (*cf.* 29).
56. 'GF' SOTOIMPERIAL' (*cf.* 17, 45 and Heawood 876/877).
57. Bird; underneath, letters 'P' OG' (*cf.* 74).

# Appendix I

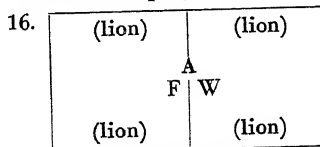
58. Baroque man on half-moon (letters illegible: Sym. 29, source 3).
59. 'VG', often under ornament looking like 2 feathers.
60. 'NIC HEISLER', probably a mill at Modena.
61. 
62. 'AZ' and half-eup with a kind of arrow running through it, as in 22.
63. 'AFC'.
64. Wheel with spokes, beneath: 'AFC' (cf. 71).
65. Half-moon in crowned ornament.
66. 3 stars with letters 'FV' (cf. 84)
67. 'HF' (cf. 25, 26).
68.  (half-moons) cartouche.
69. 'RGA' under cartouche.
70. 3 stars in ornament with half-moon (similar to 19) with letters 'AC'.
71. Wheel with spokes, beneath: 'AF' (cf. 64).
72. 'AGA'.
73. 'EGA' and crown.
74. Bird, with 'DG' beneath (cf. 57).
75. Crown over 'ITEVT'.
76. 3 stars with letters 'GV' (cf. 33, 66).
77. 'A' HF' in ornament; above, a half-moon, below 'REAL' (cf. 25).
78. 'C' WZ' in ornate frame similar to that of 12.
79. Monogram Æ.
80. 'VB' under cartouche.
81.  (cf. 31).
82. 'BG' T' (cf. 10, 83).
83. 'GB' in ornate frame (cf. 10, 82).
84. 'FV' (cf. 66).
85. Single star.
86. 'FA' under cartouche.
87. 'C' RA' under crown.
88. 'RA'.
89. 'BV' under cartouche (cf. 35).
90. 'VA' under cartouche.

II. *Paper from the Princely Esterházy mill, Lockenhaus (Lower Austria).*

1. 'IGS' in simple frame; running stag. 1762-68: Larsen stag Nos. 1 & 2): reproduction on title page of Larsen, HUB (reduced size).
2. 'IGW'; jumping stag. (1766[?] - 69: Larsen stag Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7).
3. 'IGW'; stag, running or jumping (1769-1773: Larsen stag Nos. 8 & 9, both with characteristic curl at top of both legs; reproduction in HUB, p. 165).
4. 'IGP' in ornate frame; a little man in frock coat, pointed cap and knee breeches, holding something (bird?) in right hand. (c. 1772-1774: Larsen HUB, p. 166).
5. 'IGW'; stag with rather fat legs, springing but with rear legs on ground (1774-75: Larsen stag Nos. 10 & 11).

III. *Paper from the mill at Kremsmünster.* The owner of this mill, which originally belonged to the monastery there, was the family Wurm, who managed the mill from 1540 to 1841.

1. Jumping horse with rear legs on ground; 'FAW' over small posthorn.
2. 'FAW'.
3. Twin lions in coat-of-arms with letters 'FAW' in circular frame.
4. Eagle with crown and letters 'FAW'.
5. 'W'.
6. Four-part coat-of-arms of Kremsmünster monastery with letters 'FAW'.
7. Six-part coat-of-arms of Kremsmünster monastery with letters 'FAW'.
8. Serpent coiled around branch.
9. Serpent coiled around tree.
10. Fleur-de-lys and letter 'W'.
11. Lion in crown.
12. Twin lions facing each other.
13. Small ornate crown.
14. 'W' in ornate frame; small posthorn.
15. Small leaping horse.



17. 'CREMSMUNSTER' in semicircle over stag with letters 'FAW'.
18. Crowned fleur-de-lys with 'FAW' in simple frame.
19. Double coat-of-arms in two circles, the left apparently with large cross.
20. Crowned star with 'FAW' overhead and 'W' beneath.

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21. Large fleur-de-lys and 'FAW' (not to be confused with 18).
22. 'CREMSMUNSTER' in semicircle over 'FAW'.
23. Floating sea plant (?).

### IV. Paper from an Upper or Lower Austrian mill (possibly at Linz).

1. 'IK'; man holding hammer, and standing beside a shield; within the shield, crossed hammers.
  2. 'I [pillar] K  
W'.
  3. 'IK'; lion in crown.
  4. 'IK'; springing lion in coat-of-arms.
  5. 'IK'; two little lions in frame.
  6. Man holding hammer, and standing beside a shield; within the shield, crossed hammers (as in 1); letters 'IGI' (?).
- (The above types occasionally with letters 'LK'.)

### V. Paper from a mill in St. Pölten, Lower Austria.

1. Fleur-de-lys; 'IAVG'.
2. 'S POLTEN' in semicircle over an eagle; 'ICP' (?) beneath eagle.
3. Eagle in coat-of-arms.
4. Man, holding an ornament over his head; letter 'I' on left and letter 'P' on right side; 'E' underneath. Possibly not from this mill, but IP would seem to be related to ICP.

### VI. Austrian or Hungarian paper mill (notice similarity of letters to those of Group II).

1. Heart, within (a) crown and (b) star; letters 'IGS'.
2. Crowned eagle with letters 'IGS'.
3. Fleur-de-lys and letters 'IGZ'.
4. Crowned eagle and letters 'IGZ'.

### VII. Paper from mills in Tyrol, mostly Innsbruck.

1. Number '4'; a heart attached to bottom; within heart letters 'IC'.
2. Number '4'; a heart attached to bottom; within heart letter 'H'.

### VIII. German paper mills, mostly in Augsburg and Nürnberg.

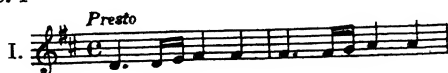
1. 'WOLFEG' (cf. Heawood 1378, 1379, etc.).
  2. Ornament and 'WOLFFG' ('WOLFGG' on occasion).
  3. Crowned lion (or horse?) with much ornamentation; beneath, letters 'A  
WOLFFG' (=watermarks of EK/III!).
  4. Crowned ornament  
'IAV  
WOFE' or 'WOLFEG' (Heawood 1378, 1379).
  5. Number '4' with heart attached; within heart, letters 'AD'.
  6. 'IAV' in simple frame.
  7. As in No. 5, but with 'LI'.
  8. As in No. 5, but with 'ML'.
  9. Large fleur-de-lys; letters '\$B'.
  10. Large coat-of-arms and 'HCB'.
  11. Fleur-de-lys and 'ICB'.
  12. Large coat-of-arms as in 10 but with 'ICB'.
  13. Crowned fleur-de-lys and 'CB'; '4' over heart containing illegible letters.
  14. Crowned fleur-de-lys and 'ICB'.
- (It is possible that Nos. 9-14 were all specially manufactured for the Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein; we know at least one type of paper in which the Oettingen-Wallerstein coat-of-arms with letters 'ICB' is found as watermark: see Symphony No. 60, source 9).

### IX. Paper from English mills, mostly London: almost all reproduced in Heawood.

1. Ornate crown above a framed fleur-de-lys with letters 'GR'.
2. A lyre with 3 strings running diagonally across frame; above, an ornate design incorporating letter 'W' (=firm of J. Whatman); beneath a fleur-de-lys.
3. 'E & P' (=firm of Edmeads & Pine).
4. 'J WHATMAN'.
5. 'J W' (=J. Whatman).
6. 'J LARKING'.
7. 'PORTAL & BRIDGES'.
8. 'I TAYLOR'.
9. Date '1794'.
10. Fleur-de-lys alone.

# Appendix I

† No. 1



II. Andante, G, 2/4.

III. Presto, D, 3/8.

Date of comp.: Lukaveč, 1759 (Griesinger, p. 21).

Scoring: 2 ob. (or fl.?), 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

Cat. ref.: EK, missing; Kees, No. 11: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni'; HV 10 (tempo: 'Vivace'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1766, p. 10: 'VI. Sinf. del Sigr. Gius. HAYDEN, Mus. di Cam. / del Princ. Esterhasi. Racc. I. [No.] III. a 8 V [oci]. 2 C. 2 Ob.'; Lambach cat. 1768, p. 273: 'a 2 Violini / 2 Cor: 2 oboe. / Viola. e / Basso'; Sigmaringen cat. 1766: erroneously under Fils (= Filtz), 'Synfonia in D. / a. 2: VV. 2. flauti: / 2. Corn: Viola, Basso [No.] 5'.

Authentic sources: none.

Sources:

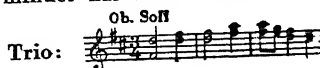
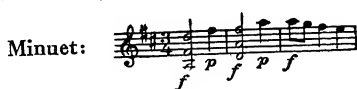
(1) MS. parts, St. Florian; title: 'Sinfonia / Ex D# / à / 8. Instrum: / 2 Violinis / 2. Obois / 2. Cornibus / Viola et / Basso / Del Sigr. Haydn [changed to "Hayden"]'. From library of Dr. Stocker; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian paper mill (watermarks: IV, 1); local source; date of MS.: c. 1770-75 (?).

(2) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 818; title: 'Sinfonia ex D: / à / Violino Primo / Violino 2<sup>do</sup> / Viola / Due Oboe / Due Corni / et / Basso / Del: Sig: Heyden'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 4, 22); Viennese source; date of MS.: c. 1780 (?).

(3) MS. parts, Munich, cat. Mus. Ms. 1610; title: 'Sinfonia in D / à. 8. / Stromenti / a moy sartory / No. 8 / Del Sig: Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: eagle with letter 'W' in centre); origin of source: ?; pts. for 'Flauto Travers: oboe 1mo' & 'Flauto Travers: Secondo' instead of ob.; date of MS.: last quarter of 18th cent. (or a few years earlier?).

(4) MS. parts, Venice Marciana, cat. It. IV, 1274 (10917); a collection of 'XII / Sinfonie Del / Sigr. Giuseppe Haydn', containing Nos. 2, 27, 1, 18, 9, 3, 5, 19, 37, 25, 33 and 4; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 38); origin of source prob. Venetian, but deriving from Austrian MS. (in the ob. I part of No. 2 is the word 'Pause'); pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor. (in No. 27 cor. are marked 'Tacent') & str.; dup. vln. I, vln. II and basso pts. on same paper, partly by same copyist as orig. pts. Date of MS.: last quarter of 18th cent. (c. 1780-90?).

(5) MS. parts, Stams, cat. L I, 140; title: 'Sinfonia / à / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Viola obligato / Due Traversiere / Due Corni / con / Basso / Del Sig: giuseppe Hayden / [theme] / Ad chorus Stams. / Ex Rebus Martini Wörz [crossed out]'; oblong paper from German (?) paper mill (watermarks: number '4', letters 'AST' — cf. No. 3, source 3); origin of source: ? (local ?); date of MS.: 3rd quarter of 18th cent. Between 2nd and 3rd movts. a minuet has been added:



The first horn part, occasionally the 2nd, too, has been rewritten (e. g. 1st movt., bar 8, octave higher).

(6) MS. parts, Schwerin; title: 'Sinfonia / à 8 Stromenti / ex D# / à due Viol., / due Flauti, / due Corni, / Alto Viola / e / Basso ...'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper; on pts. the remark: 'bene'.


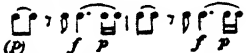
(7) MS. score, Stockholm.

Critical edition: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 1-10, with minor errors; based on two scores in GdM: Pohl's copy of Otto Jahn's score and another of unknown origin.



# Appendix I

## Corrections to G. A.:

### I.

- C not C.  
 3, 61: *poco f* 2nd half of meas.  
 3/4: vla. slurred (in most sources 61/62, too).  
 5, 63: *f* (not 6, 64).  
 10: remove *p* (in none of the sources; cf. 68).  
 16: vln. I 2nd, 3rd, 4th notes *d'* *c* *#' b*.  
 17/18: vln. II slurred.  
 18: *f* superfluous (see 10).  
 22: vla., vcl.-cb. stacc.  
 29/31,  
 76/78:   
 32: ob., vln. II, vla., vcl.-cb. *f* on 2nd note (cf. 79).  
 35: vcl.-cb. 3rd and 4th notes *c* *#*.  
 36: ob. II 2nd half has minim *g* *#'* all sources; reading of G. A. better.  
 45: vln. II 2nd note *g'* (cf. 44).  
 50: str., ob. one slur for each group of 4 notes.  
 52/53:   
 (dynamic in accomp. pts. accordingly).  
 54: str. *f* on 2nd note.  
 59/60: cor. II tied (cf. 1/2).  
 71: vla. last 2 notes *e'*.  
 73: *f* on last note.  
 83: ob. II, cor. II *a. r. tr.*

### II.

- 2, 30: *p* on 2nd note (in vln. I 3rd).  
 7, 52,  
 54: vla. instead of dot, note repeated (i. e. ).  
 15, 65: *p* 2nd note? (indication in sources).  
 21, 71,  
 23, 73: vln. I., II slur over whole bar.  
 22: vcl.-cb. 2nd half of bar crotchet *A*; *p* beginning 23.  
 22, 72: remove decresc.  
 25/26: vla., vcl.-cb. tied (cf. 75/76).  
 32: vln. I *p* on 3rd note; vln. II *p* beginning 33; vla., vcl.-cb. remove *f*.  
 33: vln. I remove appogg.  
 34/35: *p* superfluous (cf. 32).  
 38 ff.: vln. I slur over each group of triplets, no stacc.  
 47: vln. I *f* last note.  
 48: vln. I, II *a. r. p* on 1st or 2nd note.  
 55: vln. I last 3 notes in following rhythm: 

### III.

- 16/17: vla., vcl.-cb. slur to 1st note 17.  
 29: vla. *a. r.* 3 quavers *d'* *f* *#'* *f* *#'*.  
 38/39: vln. I, II semiquavers two to a slur (cf. 15 ff. and 40).  
 46: vln. I *tr.* on 1st note.  
 46/47,  
 47/48: vln. II, vla. slurred.  
 80/81: vln. II double stops with *d'* as well (*a. r.* also in vln. I).

## No. 2



### II. Andante, G, 2/4.

### III. Presto, C, 3/8.

Date of comp.: c. 1757-61 (?). Earliest ref.: Venier, 1764 (see below).

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

Cat. ref.: EK/III, p. 33; Kees, missing; HV 104; Quartbuch; Br. cat., missing; Lambach cat. 1768, p. 273: 'à 2 Violin / 2 Cor: 2 oboe / Viola. / è / Basso.'; Sigma-ringen cat. 1766, 'Synfonia. Ex C / à 2 V. V. 2. Oboe. 2 Corn: / et Basso—Viola [No.] 51'.

Authentic sources: none.

### Sources:

- (1) MS. parts, Lambach; title: 'Sinfonia, in C: / à / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe. / 2 Corni. / Viola / è / Basso / Del Giuseppe Haydn.'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster paper mill (watermarks: III, 14); origin of source: local; date of MS.: c. 1760-68 (cf. cat. ref.).  
 (2) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 1, source 4.  
 (3) MS. parts, Munich, cat. Mus. Ms. 280/12; title: 'in C / Symphonia / à / Violini / Clarin 2 / Viola / Violonzello / Del Sig Giuseppe Haidn'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown



## Appendix I

origin (watermarks of pts: letters 'HSI', coat-of-arms with crown; watermarks of title page: letters 'MV' under cross, double 'W' under coat-of-arms with twin circles enclosing designs with half-moon); origin of source: ?; date of MS.: 2nd half of 18th cent. The oboe pts. omitted, and there are pts. for trumpets (Clarini) or horns.

(4) Printed parts, Venier, Paris, 1764 (announced in the *L'Avant-coureur*, March 26, 1764); Paris Conservatoire, cat. H-118 a-d; part of a collection of various composers, of which this is 'Sinfonia XIV / Del Sigr. Heyden.' Parts only for vln. I, vln. II, vla., basso, but the title says: 'Les parties de Cors de Chasse, Hautbois, Flutes et Bassoons y seront comprises, mais le plus souvent elles ad Libitum', and as there are no wind parts for any of the symphonies in this collection, it may be that there were originally oboe and horn parts of Haydn's work, 'ad Libitum'.

Further MS. sources: (5) Milan, (6) Stockholm (score).

Critical edition: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 11-22, lacking the oboe parts and with other grave errors; based on source 3.

Corrections to G. A.:

The missing oboe parts are printed at the end of this appendix.

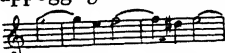
I.  
2, 6, 20, 71, 75, 77, 79 etc.: all the sources except, occasionally, Munich are written  $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$ , not  $\text{♩} \text{♩}$ ; Lambach has in meas. 6  $\text{♩} \text{♩}$  (sic). Haydn in EK/III, however, writes  $\text{♩} \text{♩}$ , although the Quartbuch (his source for this part of EK/III) lists the theme with quavers, and it may be that we are dealing with a baroque abbreviation.

5: cor. I 1st note  $e''$ , not  $c''$ .

7, etc.: semiquavers with *tr.* slurred

throughout movt.:  $\text{♩} \text{♩}$


16: vln. I appogg.  $g'$  before 3rd note.

20/22: vln. I 

(Munich misread by old G. A.).

25, 27: vln. I last 3 notes each meas. stacc. (cf. 109, 111).

31: vln. I instead of last 2 notes crotchet  $g''$ .

36: vln. II 

42, 44: vln. I remove appogg. (cf. 156, 158).

54, 168: vla., vcl.-cb. (cor.)  $f$  here, not 55, 169; vln. II  $f$  on 2nd note; 54, 168 vcl.-cb.  $f$  on 2nd note.

55, 169: vla. minim with minim rest.

57: cor. II Venice-cor. I, both tied from 56.

61: vln. I stacc.

II.

A difficult problem is raised by the *tr.* The sources scarcely agree in a single instance, and it is not possible to decide where the *tr.* really belong. The phrasing is almost as confused.

7: vln. I, II stacc. (cf. also 60).

13: vln. I, II last note  $b'$ .

37: vln. I, II last note  $g''$ .

62: vln. I (+II)  $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩}$

62: vla. instead of last 2 notes crotchet  $c''$ .

63: vla., vcl.-cb. 2nd notes  $e''$  and  $e'$  resp.

82:  $p$  2nd half of meas. (vla., vcl.-cb. Venice  $p$  81).

86: general  $pp$ .

95: vln. II  $f$  here, not 94.

113: vln. I *dolce* (vln. II 114) and  $pp$ ; vla., vcl.-cb.  $pp$  2nd note.

117 *ff.*: vln. II stacc.

119: vln. I crotchet appogg.  $g''$  before note.

122: vln. II appogg.  $b b'$  before 4th note.

123: vln. I appogg.  $b b''$  before 1st note, appogg.  $a''$  before 4th note (remove tie).





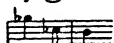
127: vln. I appogg.  $a''$  before 1st note, appogg.  $g''$  before 4th note (remove tie).

146 *ff.*: vln. I, II all quavers slurred; vla. slurred across meas. until 149/150.

40: vln. I, II 2nd note  $f \#''$ .

44: *a. r.* vla., vcl.-cb. slurred.

# Appendix I

- III.  
 3/4, 94/95, 102/103, 120/121, 176/177, 184/185, 220/221: vla. c's tied across meas.  
 7/8,  
 98/99: vln. II notes should read as in meas. 180/181.  
 11/12, 39/40, 212/213: vla. should read as in 3/4 (but tied across bar-line).  
 19,  
 106, 192: cor.   
 59, 81: vln. II appogg. c' before 1st note.  
 77: vln. I   
 85: there are no ♯; c minor continues until meas. 92; meas. 91: ♯ before all 1st notes (and 2nd — H. uses 2♯ in signature, not 3. Bar 90 last note a ♯).  
 87: vln. II 1st note c'.  
 88: remove f, insert meas. 92.  
 106/107: vln. I should read as vln. II.  
 108: remove p, insert 113 (vln. I, II on 2nd note); cor. p 114.  
 111/112: vla. 8va higher from 2nd note 111.  
 112: cor. II 1st note g'.  
 114/115,  
 116/117: vln. I, II slur across meas.  
 117: vla. 8va lower.  
 118: cor. I, II should read as in meas. 1.  
 125: vla.   
 132/149: } vla. col basso (the G. A. part  
 156/169: } is spurious).  
 150/151: vln. I   
 151/152: vla.   
 169/171: semiquavers slurred, not stacc.  
 174: vln. I, II (short) appogg. e' before 1st note.  
 207: remove f, insert 210.  
 211: cor. I, II as in meas. 2.

## No. 3



II. Andante moderato, g, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, G, 3/4.

IV. [Allegro], G, C.

Date of comp.: c. 1760-62. Earliest ref.: Göttweig, 1762 (cat.).

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

Cat. ref.: EK/III, p. 34; Kees, missing; HV 96 (tempo: 'molto Allo'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1769 (see source 9); Br. cat. 1773 (see source 10); Sigmaringen cat. 1766: 'Synfonia à 2. V. V. Ex G / 2. oboe. 2 corn: viola / con Basso [No.] 50'; Göttweig cat., p. 858, 'Comp R P Josephus 1762' (parts lost).

Authentic sources: none.

### Sources:

(1) MS. parts, St. Florian; title: 'No. 25 / in g# / Sinfonia / à / 2 Violini / 2 oboe oblig. / 2 Cornui oblig [bracket for ob. & cor.: "in Trio"] / Viola oblig / con / Basso / Del Sigre: giuseppe Haydn / pro usu J: Mich: Planck'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper (or Lower?) Austrian paper mill (watermarks: anchor, on left side 'F', on right 'B', underneath 'W'); local; date of MS. c. 1765-70.

(2) MS. parts, Melk, cat. IV, 62; old title page destroyed; original pts.: 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Lower (?) Austrian paper mill (watermarks: two designs with springing lion in each, letters 'W' or 'I'); dup. vln. I and vln. II by another copyist on different paper (watermarks: letters 'HP' and coat-of-arms); origin of source: local; date of MS.: 2nd half of 18th cent.

(3) MS. parts, Schlägl; no title page extant; pts. as in 'scoring'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); source of local origin, c. 1770.

(4) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. 4<sup>o</sup>, 564; title page and first pages of basso part missing, therefore erroneously under anonymous works; oblong German (?) paper

# Appendix I

(watermarks: number '4', letters 'AST'; cf. No. 1, source 5); origin of source: local or South German: date of MS.: 2nd half of 18th cent.

(5) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 696; title: 'N: 23 / in G / Sinfonia [added later:] in g / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / 2 Corni / Viola / e Basso / Del Sigr<sup>e</sup> Giuseppe Heydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 19); Viennese source; date of MS.: c. 1780. The oboe pts. missing entirely, and are not even rewritten in the vln. pts.

(6) MS. parts, Venice Marciana, cat. It. IV, 1269 (11156); a collection of 'VI Sinfonie / Del Sigr Giuseppe Haydn', containing Nos. 11, 23, Symphony in C major (Larsen DKE, C-1), 10, 5 and 3; oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); source of local origin, c. 1770-80.

(7) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 1, source 4.

(8) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 1; title: 'N: 10 / Sinfonia / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / Viola / e / Basso / Del Sig: Giuseppe Heyden'; original pts. on 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin and date; origin of source: ? (German); dup. vln. I, vln. II and basso by another copyist on other paper. Date of MS.: ?

(9) MS. parts, Einsiedeln, cat. 27, 7; title: 'Sinfonia / à / Due Violini / Due Corni in G / Alto Viola / con / Basso / [theme] / Del Sig: Haidn'; oblong paper from paper mill at Wangen, Switzerland (watermarks: crown, with letters 'FAL' / 'WANGEN'); local source from 2nd half of 18th cent. The oboe parts have been rewritten in the vln. pts., making the source worthless for purposes of a critical edition.

(10) Printed parts, Bailleaux, Paris, c. 1766-67 (Gerber; announced in Br. cat. 1769); title: 'Six Symphonies à huit Parties mis au jour par Bailleaux, Oeuvre VII' (from Pohl); other five works are: Nos. 17; III, 20; 29; 28; and 9. Reviewed in *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen, die Musik betreffend, auf das Jahr 1770*, 5. Stück, pp. 37 f. by J. A. Hiller.

(11) Printed parts, Mme Berault, Paris, c. 1766 (or later?) (Gerber; announced in Br. cat. 1773); title: 'Six Simphonies / Pour deux Violons, deux Hautbois, / deux Cors, Alto, et Basse. / Par / M.<sup>r</sup> Hayden / Maître de Musique de Chapelle A Vienne / Oeuvre VIII / ... A Paris Chez Madame Berault...' (Paris Cons. Ac. e<sup>4</sup>. 40, without wind pts.; Paris Nat. Vm<sup>7</sup>, 1569, with wind pts.: for Nos. I-III, 'Oboe o Flauto' I & II). Included are: Nos. 14; 3; III, 2; IV, 22; 5; 23.

Critical edition: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 23-36, with minor errors; based on source 1.

Corrections to G. A.:

I.

- 9: vla. 1st 2 notes e'.
- 20: vln. II 1st note g', tied from 19.
- 25, 26: vln. II tr. on 2nd note.
- 25/26,
- 26/27: bass (vla.) slurred.
- 28: vln. II tr. on last note.
- 35: ob. II 1st note d'' (should be tied from 34);
- vln. I crotchet appogg. a'' before 1st note (add tr. on basis 112).
- 38/39: ob. I tied.
- 42: vln. I last note tr.
- 44/45: vln. II = vln. I.
- 45 (1<sup>ma</sup> volta): vla., vcl.-cb. (vla. col B)



45 (2<sup>da</sup> volta): vla., vcl.-cb. (vla. col B)

a. r. or

65: vla. a. r. quavers (Einsiedeln quavers also 66/68).

69: vln. II 1st note e'', tied from 68.

77: ob. II a. r.

85: ob. I, II tr. on 1st note.

89/94: vla. a. r. 8va higher.

92: ob. I

94: vln. I 1st 4 notes e'' g'' f'' e''.

96: cor. I e'' (= h').

102: vln. II last note f''.


103/104,

116/118: vla., vcl.-cb. slur 2nd-3rd quarter of meas. (poss. ob. as well, esp. 116/118).


# Appendix I

- 105: vln. I, II *tr.* on last note.  
 111/112: ob. II, vln. II tied.  
 112: vln. I *tr.* on main note.  
 114: *general f.*  
 114/115: cor. I, II tied.  
 115: ob. II *a'*.  
 119: ob. I (prob. ob. II as well)  
 appogg. as in vln. I, (II); vln. I,  
 II *tr.* on last note.  
 122: vla., vcl.-cb. hold on 1st note  
 (i. e. 2<sup>da</sup> volta 2nd note omitted).

## II.

- 5, 64: vln. II   
 17: vln. II 2nd note *e*  $\flat$ '.  
 23, 25,  
 81, 83: *p*'s on 2nd notes.  
 25: vln. II 3rd note *c'* (cf. 83).  
 86: vla., vcl.-cb. hold on 1st note  
 (i. e. in 2<sup>da</sup> volta last 2 notes  
 omitted).

## III.

- 4: vln. II *tr.* 2nd note.  
 5: vla., vcl.-cb. either *tr.* on second  
 note or  (vla. col B 8<sup>va</sup>  
 bassa).  
 9: ob. I, II = vln. I, II.  
 18: ob. I, II 2nd note *a'*.  
 27: vln. I, II (+ ob.) appogg. *f*  $\sharp$ ' be-  
 fore 1st note and *tr.* on last.

## No. 4



II. Andante, d, 2/4.

III. Tempo di Menuetto, D, 3/8.

*Date of comp.*: c. 1757-61 (?). Earliest ref.: Göttweig, 1762 (cat.).

*Scoring*: 2 ob., (fag.), 2 cor., str. [cemb.]. Fag. from (2), below.

*Cat. ref.*: EK/III (Kees), No. 84: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni' (tempo, 'Spiritoso' added by Haydn); Kees, No. 84, 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni'; (HV 82 ('Spiritoso', see EK); Br. cat. 1767, p. 4, 'VI. Sinf. di HAYDEN. Racc. III. [No.] I. a 2 Corn. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. B.'; Göttweig cat. p. 858 'Comp. RP / Josephus 1762' (parts lost).

*Authentic sources*: none.

*Sources*:

(1) *MS.* parts, Melk, cat. IV, 48; original title page destroyed; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); origin of source: ? (local?); date of *MS.*: 3rd quarter of 18th cent.

(2) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 1, source 4.

(3) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 2; title: 'N: 13 / Sinfonia / a / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / e / 2 Corni / Violetta / e / Basso / [theme] / Del Sig: Haydn'; oblong paper of unknown origin (watermarks: almost illegible ornament); origin of source: prob. German (local); date of *MS.*: 2nd half of 18th cent. Two

- 36: vln. I crotchet (= minim?) appogg.  
*b'* before dotted note; ditto *g'* vln. II.  
 37: *general f str.*  
 41: vln. I, II *p*; 43 vla., vcl.-cb. *p*.  
 42: vln. I *tr.* on 2nd note.  
 47: ob. I, II, vln. I, II *tr.* on last note.  
 48: vln. I *g'*.

## IV.

Sources no tempo except Mme Berault  
 (= Allegro).

1 *ff.*: *pp* (except bass, 13).

23/24,

25/26: vln. II tied.

38, 102: remove decresc.

48: vln. I ( $\sharp$ ).

58/59: vla. tied (add to cor.?).

64/65, 66/67, 68/69: vcl.-cb. slurred.

65, 67: *a. r.* ob. I 1st 2 notes =  
 vln. II.

67: ob. II *a. r.* 2nd note *c''*, tied  
 to 68 (Harburg = G. A.).

68: ob. I *a. r.* instead of rest  
 crotchet *c''*.

86: cor. I, II semibreve *f''* (= *c''*),  
 tied to 87.

97/98: vla. tied.

107: vln. II semibreve *d'*, tied to 108.

115/122: cor. I, II tied throughout.

120/121: vln. II, vla. tied.

121/122: vla. ditto.

## Appendix I

flute pts. are included, in addition to the oboe pts.; the copyist has changed a number of passages, *inter alia* the main theme of the 1st movt.; a simplified vln. II pt. for the 2nd movt. has been pasted over the original; in the basso part, the significant remark 'Senza Fagotti' stands at the head of the 2nd movt; dup. vln. I, vln. II and basso by same copyist but with slight deviations from original pts.

(4) MS. parts, Zittau, cat. 25; score made from these parts in GdM, cat. XIII, 40835, from coll. of C. F. Pohl; this copy used as source for G. A.

Additional MS. sources: (5) Milan, (6) Stockholm.

Critical edition: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 37-48, with various minor errors and one major dynamic error in finale; based on source 4.

Corrections to G. A.:

I.

5: vln. I as in meas. 66.

7/8: cor. I, II tied.


13: vln. I, ob. I appogg. prob. to be perf. as in 12 and 71, 72 (i. e. as crotchet followed by two quavers).

30: vln. I appogg. *a'* before 5th note (cf. 89).


68: ob. II *f*  $\sharp$ .

69: ob. I, II tied (only Reg.).

78: vln. II *a. r.* 2nd quarter of

meas. 

89/90: vln. II tied.

96: cor. I, II 

II.

25: vln. I *tr.* on 1st note.

34, 36, 72, 74: vln. I 1st 2 notes each meas. tied.

38/39, 76/77: vln. I *a. r.* tied.

39: vln. I *penultimate* note *f*.

70: vln. I 2nd triplet *d' g' e'*.

77: vln. I *tr.* on last note.

III.

Suggestion:  $\star$  should be placed over crotchet in meas. 28, etc. and *tr.* over last note, meas. 29, etc. This latter occasionally in Regensburg.

10: vla., vcl.-cb. *p* here, not 9.

18: cor. I, II *f* here, not 19.

45, 47: cf. 107, 109: sources indicate either possibility.

53: remove *p*, insert meas. 61 (horns 62).

68: cor. I, II *pp* here.

89: vln. I, II, ob. slur over whole meas. (*a. r.* Venice slur over each two notes).

No. 5



II. Allegro, A, 3/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, A, 3/4.

IV. Presto, A, C.

Date of comp.: c. 1760-62. Earliest ref.: Götting, 1762 (cat.).

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

Cat. ref.: EK, missing; Kees, No. 9: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni' (first *tr.* of theme missing); HV 9 (tempo: 'poco Adagio'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1766, p. 10: 'VI. Sinf. del Sigr. HAYDEN, Mus. di Cam. [del Princ. Esterhasi. Racc. II. [No.] III a 8V.2C. 2 Ob.] (first *tr.* of theme missing); Br. cat. 1773 (see source 10); Sigmaringen cat. (1766, addition I): 'Synfonia in A. à 2.VV. 2. oboe. 2 corni / viola con Basso'; Götting cat. p. 858 'P. Leandri / 1762' (parts lost); Götting cat. 1767 (originally under Leopold Hoffmann, see source 3).

Authentic sources: none.

## Appendix I

### Sources:

(1) *MS.* parts, GdM, cat. XIII, 1336; original title no longer extant; title at head of most pts.: 'Synfonia'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: fantastic man in Papageno-like costume with letters 'BP' [?] in parallelogram); dup. pts. for 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla. & 2 bassi by another copyist on different (newer) paper; wax droppings on some pts. (e. g. vla.) and other indications of perf.; date of original *MS.*: 3rd quarter of 18th cent.

(2) *MS.* parts, St. Florian; title: 'Revit. / B / No. 27 / in a<sup>#</sup> / Sinfonia, / a / 2 Violini [later: "in Dupplo"] / 2 oboe obl: / 2 Corni obl: / viola et / Basso [later, with bracket for vla. and basso, "in Dupplo"] / Del Sigre: Joseph Hayden / pro usu Jo: / Mich: Planck / [later, in left corner:] incorrect in Prim: / è Basso'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian paper mill (watermarks: original, IV, 2; dup. pts., IV, 1; title page, anchor-like ornament, on left side 'C', on right 'B'); local source; date of *MS.*: c. 1765-70.

(3) *MS.* parts, Göttweig. There was once an earlier set of pts. in Göttweig, dated 1762, with the correct order of movements; whereas this has the order of the 1st and 2nd movts. reversed; title: 'NB / Synphonia Ex A: <sup>#</sup> / Violino 1: <sup>mo</sup> / Violino 2: <sup>do</sup> / Oboe 1: <sup>mo</sup> / Oboe 2: <sup>do</sup> / Corno 1: <sup>mo</sup> / Corno 2: <sup>do</sup> / Viola / con / Basso / Authore: Hoffmann' [the name was later crossed out and "Jos: Hayden" substituted] / Comparavit P: Joseph / A<sup>o</sup>: 766'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); origin of source: local. Perf. dates on back cover from '19 Marty 773' to '12 Maji 1872'.

(4) *MS.* parts, Melk, cat. IV, 45; original title page destroyed; there are *in toto* six copyists on three different kinds of 4<sup>o</sup> paper, partly from the Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 1), partly from unknown source (watermarks: [1] a very large lily, c. 13 cm. in length; [2] coat-of-arms with lily interwoven and crown above). As the dup. vln. I and II pts. differ considerably from original pts., it may be that they once formed part of another set of pts. entirely. Date of *MS(S)*: 3rd quarter of 18th cent. The bass pt. differs from that of the other sources.

(5) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 3, source 6.

(6) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 1, source 4.

(7) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 3; title: 'N<sup>ro</sup> 56 / Sinfonia / a / due Violini / due Oboi / due Corni / Viola / e / Basso / Del Sig Giuseppe Haydn / [theme]'; oblong paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible or non-existent); local source, last quarter of 18th cent. (or as late as c. 1800?). Heavily edited by local copyist, or from the source on which this copy was based, esp. in re dynamic marks.

(8) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 39, 62; title: 'Notturmo in a / Violin 2. / Viola / e / Basso. / Corno 2. obl. / [theme] / Par Monsieur Joseph Hayden. / P. Benedictus Grustdorff. P. C. 1764'; oblong paper, probably from Kremsmünster mill (no watermarks visible); source of local origin; like so many copies of this period in Kremsmünster, the oboe pts. are omitted.

(9) *MS.* parts, Bst (Marburg), cat.  $\frac{9990}{1}$ ; title: 'Symphonia in A / à / Violini Due / Oboi Due / Corni Due / Viola di Alto / con / Basso / Del Sig Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper; date of *MS.*: 2nd half of 18th cent. [Microfilm].

(10) Printed parts, Mme Berault, Paris, c. 1766 (or later?): see No. 3, source 11.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 49-62, based on a score from C. F. Pohl's coll. (GdM XIII, 1336); with very grave errors: 1st and 2nd movts. are reversed, though Pohl's score had the correct order; other serious errors throughout.

## Appendix I


### Corrections to G. A.:

#### I.

Melk has a rewritten bass part throughout the symphony.

1/2 (vln. II), 31/32 (vla.), 35/36 (vla.), 54/55 (vln. II) tied.

13 *ff.*: semiquavers in most sources slur over each two notes throughout movt.

20: vln. I 1st 2 notes  in most sources.

22/23, 23/24, 69/70, 70/71: vln. I tied.


25, 72: *f* in some sources here (doubtful?).

28: *general p* (therefore 31 *p* superfluous).

29: cor. II two quavers *d''* (= *b'*). vln. I *tr.* on last note.

35: vln. II appogg. *g''* before 2nd note.

37: vln. II *a. r.* last note *a'*, bass *a. r. c#*.


40: vln. I last 2 notes  in most sources.

45: remove *p*, vln. I, ob. I, II; *p* other instr. 2nd half of meas.

50: vln. II 5th note *b*.

65: remove *f* (in many sources *p*, though superfluous); 69: *p* superfluous.

73, 74: vln. I remove *tr.*

81: remove *f* (*a. r. f* Regensburg, but very doubtful). ob. I, II, vln. I, II appogg. figure should read ; vln. I *tr.* on last note.

#### II.

2 (*etc.*): str. marcato.

10: vln. II 1st note *a'* (*cf.* however 95).


12, 97: vln. II 1st note *e''*.

23, 25: vla. 1st note crotchet *b'*.

34, 117: vln. I slur over each 2 semiquavers.

35/37,

118/120: vln. I quavers slurred.

36: vln. II should read 

38 (and all parallel meas.): slur over each 2 semiquavers.

39, 41, 43, 122, 124, 126: vln. I, II slur over whole figure.

40, 42, 123, 125: vln. II *tr.* on 1st note.

44: vln. I appogg. *e''* before 1st note (*cf.* 127).

vla. instead of minim, 4 quavers *b'*.

vcl.-cb. last note *g#* (some sources *e*).


55: vln. I *a. r.* 2nd note *e'*.

65: vla. 1st note *a. r. e'*.


70: vln. II, vla. *p* on 2nd note.

82: vcl.-cb. instead of crotchet, 2 quavers *d'-d* (some sources as in G. A.).

84: vln. I, II *tr.* on 1st note.

119: vln. II 

121: vln. I *tr.* on 1st note.

128: vln. I should read 

133: cor. I, II last note crotchet.


#### III.

2, 4, *etc.*: vln. I, II quavers slurred.

7: cor. *f*.

10: ob. I, II, vln. I, II slur over semiquavers.

vln. II remove bottom note of double stop.

11: cor. 

vln. I *tr.* on last note.

21: vla, vcl.-cb. *f* here, not 20.

29, 51: ob., vln. I last note *tr.*

37: ob. I *tr.* on last note.

50: ob. I *tr.* on 2nd note.

vln. II 3rd and 5th notes *b* and *c#* resp.

#### IV.

$\text{C}_b$ , not C.

5: *general f* except vln. I; bass should read as in 48 (remove *p* 6).

7: vln. II *p* on 2nd note.

11: *general f* except vln. I.

12 — end of movt. ob. *pts. reversed*;

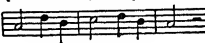
34/39: ob. I



32: vln. II 2nd note *b*.

44: vln. I, II *p* on 2nd note.

48: *general f* (vln. I *f* 49).

57/59: ob. I *a. r.* 

(Melk, Götweig, Venice).

# Appendix I

† No. 6

I. *Adagio*  
 ; Allegro, D, 3/4.

II. Adagio—Andante—Adagio, G, 4/4 (♯?) — 3/4 — 4/4 (♯?).

III. Menuet & Trio, D, 3/4, d, 3/4.

IV. Allegro, D, 2/4.

'Le Matin', authentic designation.

Date of comp.: 1761 (Dies, pp. 44 f.; also connection with No. 7).

Scoring: 1 fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., vln. concertante, vcl. concertante, violone (ch.) solo, str. [cemb.].

Cat. ref.: EK, missing; Kees, No. 1: 'Le Matin, a più Stromenti Concertanti'; HV 1; Br. cat. 1773, p. 8: 'I. Divert. da Gius HAYDEN, a Viol. conc. 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. / Viola. Flauto Solo. Violonc. obl. Fag. obl. Contra Basso obl. e B'; Traeg cat. 1799, No. 151.

Authentic sources: none.

Sources:

(1) MS. parts, GdM (Kaiserliche Sammlung), cat. XIII, 27013; title: 'Le Matin ex D. / à piu Stromenti / Concertanti / [theme] / Del Sig: Giuseppe Hayden'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: 1, 1, 5, 6, 30); Viennese source, 3rd quarter of 18th cent.

(2) MS. parts, VNat (from coll. of Dr. Neuwirth), cat. s. m. 22152; five works bound together, viz. Overture II, 13; Symphonies Nos. 6, 7, 8; and III, 13; partly copied by Viennese professional copyist No. 3 (i. e., from a Viennese music firm); 4<sup>o</sup> (Viennese?) paper (watermarks: crossed keys), 4th quarter of 18th cent.

(3) MS. parts, Venice Cons., from the Gustinian Collection, Volume III, which contains Nos. 6-8; title: 'IL MATTINO, IL MEZZODI, E LA SERA' / Tre Sinfonie / Per Violino Principale, due Violini, Secondo di Ripieno, Viola, Violoncello col / Fagotto primo, Violone col Fagotto secondo, Oboe con Flauti, e Corni. / Del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Giuseppe Haydn'; oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 21, 39, 42); origin of source: local (professional copy?), c. 1780-90 (?).

(4) MS. parts, Bst (Marburg), cat.  $\frac{9992}{2}$ ; title: 'Le Matin / Violon / Violoncelle } concertant  
 / Viole obligée / Deux Violons / Deux Cors / Deux Hautbois / une Flute } obligé  
 / e / Basso / de Heyden'; oblong paper; source end (?) of 18th cent. (microfilm).

(5) MS. parts, Göttweig (from Erzherzog Rudolf Collection, mostly in GdM); title: 'H: N: 50 Sinfonia / in D / a / Violino principale / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / Flauto [sic] / 2 Violae / Fagotto / Violoncello oblig: / Violone oblig: / Basso ripieno / Del Sig: Jos. Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper (watermarks illegible) of Viennese (?) origin, c. 1800 (or somewhat later). The two viola pts. are identical with the (single) viola pt. of other sources.

(6) MS. parts, Zwettl (from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.): incomplete, bearing the old cat. no., 'H: N: 50.', as in source 5; 4<sup>o</sup> paper as in source 5, c. 1800 (?).

(7) MS. parts, Zittau. Score made from these parts in GdM, cat. XIII, 27013, from collection of C. F. Pohl; title: 'Divertimento / a / Violino Concertato / 2 Violini / Viola / Flauto Trav: Solo / 2 Oboi / 2 Corni in D / ViolonCello Obl: / Fagotto Obl: / Contra Basso Obl: / Basso Continuo / Del Sigr Giusep: Hayden / [theme]'.  
 (8) MS. score and parts, Stockholm.

(9) Printed parts, Huberty, Paris, c. 1770 (?), announced in the catalogue at the back of 'Six / Symphonies / ... composées / par / M<sup>r</sup> Toesky [Toësch] / Oeuvre 7.<sup>e</sup> ...', Paris Conservatoire, H. 134 a—k. The notice concerning No. 6 reads: 'Gdes



# Appendix I

Simphonies en OEuvres... Hayden la Matina / Concertanta.' No price is listed, which shows that No. 6 must then have been very recently printed. Further announcement in Westphal cat. of 1782. p. 15: 'la Matina a 12 parte concertante, Paris.'

(10) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1802 (probably based on source 9); this is one of the Le Duc series of Haydn's symphonies issued in score during his lifetime but without his approval (indeed, he is said by Griesinger to have objected harshly to the whole undertaking). The title of the series, given here and not repeated for every one of the 26 works is: 'Partition / Des Symphonies / D'Haydn / Ouvrage Proposé par Souscription. / Livraison [1-13] / à Paris / Chez Le Duc, Editeur de Musique, / Rue Neuve des Petits Champs, vis-à-vis la Trésorerie / N.º 1286. / Choizeau Scripsit'; from livraison 14 the title is: 'Collection / des symphonies / D'Haydn / mises en Partition. / Livraison [14-26] / A Paris / Chez Aug.<sup>te</sup> Leduc... / rue de la Loi, N.º 267, près celle Feydeau'. The first 10 livraisons, at least, were printed by 1802, and the series seems to have been completed by c. 1810 (see Larsen, HUB, p. 145, n. 164).

Critical editions: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 63-88, with a number of minor errors, based on source 7; Eulenburg No. 536 (Landon), based on 1, 2, 3, 5, (7).

Corrections to G. A.:

I.

- 10: vln. I *tr.* on 1st note.
- 15/16: cor. I tied.
- 21/22,
- 23/24: *a. r.* vln. I, II slur across bar-line.
- 22, 24: vln. I, II slur over 2nd and 3rd notes.
- 25/26: vln. I slurred across bar-line.
- 27, etc.: vln. I, II quavers stacc.
- 38: vla. four quavers instead of minim.
- 42/43: cor. I, II tied.
- 48: ||:
- 54: ob. I *tr.* on last note.
- 56: fag. quavers.
- 66: fag., vcl.-cb.  $\frac{b}{2}$ , not  $\sharp$ .
- 67: remove *ff* (only Le Duc, Zittau).
- 77: fag. *e'*.
- 79: fag. *d'*.
- 116/117: vcl.-cb. tenor clef as in fag. (i. e. prob. vcl. only = tenor clef, cb. rejoins at bass clef).

II.

- 1: *pp* indicated.
- 1/2: vln. II tied.
- 3: vln. conc. 4 semiquavers instead of last 8 notes.
- 4: vln. conc. 1st quaver also triple stop (Zittau, Le Duc = G. A.).
- 5/6: vcl.-cb. *f*, *p*.
- 22: remove *f* (26 *p* then superfluous).
- 26: vln. conc. *tr.* on 5th note.
- 29, 31: vln. conc. *tr.* on 2nd quarter (doubtful).
- 39, (97) vln. conc. *tr.*; most sources have *e'''* [sic] at 39.

- 40: vcl. conc. *tr.* on last note in VNat (possible): if accepted, add to 98.

- 40, 98: vln. *tr.* last note.

- 47: vln. I *tr.* on 2nd note.

- 86: *general f*, 88 *general p*.

- 97: vln. II *c'*, tied from 96.

- 110: vln. II last quarter of meas. crotchet *d'*, tied to 111.

- 110/111: vln. I tied.

- 112: *a. r.* *general f* (very doubtful).

III.

- 14/15: cor. I tied.

- 15: vln. I, II (+ fl.?) *tr.* on last note.

- 16: fl.  $\text{J J}$ . (in Venice  $\text{J J}$  !).

- 22: fag., vcl.-cb. *f* here, not 23.

- 29: appogg. figure in fl., ob. and vln. as in meas. 15 (triplet quavers preceded by grace); add *tr.* ob. II, vln. I, II.

Trio (35 *ff.*): Sources clearly indicate *Violone* (i. e. *Contrabasso*) Solo, not *Violoncello*. 43/56 for vcl. solo in GdM, from 57 *Violone*; this is not confirmed by other sources.

- 51: violone solo (GdM vcl. solo here)

- 1st two notes dotted as in vla.
- 56: vcl.-cb. instead of 1st 2 quavers, a crotchet *A*.

IV.

- 2, etc.: vln. I, (II)  $\text{r } \text{r}$

- 8: vln. solo VNat appogg. *d''* before note (possible).

- 44: vcl. solo *tr.* (in sources partly 43; *cf.*, however, 123); suggestion: add *tr.* to vln. solo.

## Appendix I

59/61: vln. solo col vln. I. 117: vcl.-cb. rest, *p* 118.  
 100/103: vln. solo col ob. II (doubtful, 123: vln. solo, vcl. solo *tr.*  
 though in all sources except  
 Le Duc).

† No. 7

I.  ; Allegro, C, 3/4.

II. Recitativo: Adagio—Allegro—Adagio, *c* → *b* (4/4).

III. Adagio, G, 4/4.

IV. Menuet & Trio, C, 3/4.

V. Allegro, C, 2/4.

'Le Midi', authentic designation.

Date of comp.: 1761 (autograph).

Scoring: 2 fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., vln. I concertante, vln. II concertante, vcl. concertante, violone (cb.) solo, str., 'Basso Continuo' (i. e. cembalo).

Cat. ref.: EK, missing; Kees, No. 2: 'Le Midi, a piu Stromenti Concertanti'; HV 2 (tempo: 'Larghetto'); Br. cat., missing; Traeg cat. 1799, No. 152.

Authentic sources: (1), (2).

Sources:

(1) Autograph, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 23; photograph in Washington; title: 'Le Midi. In Nomine Domini. Giuseppe Haydn / 761'. Under the signature: 'No. 1'; written on oblong Italian paper, 10-stave; watermarks, identified by Dénes Bartha: I, 1), 31,8 × 22,6 cm. The bottom stave of the first page is entitled 'Basso Continuo'. At end of MS.: 'Laus Deo'. For instr., see facsimile.

(2) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 54; parts (information from Dénes Bartha) for 'Violino Primo Concerto, Violino Primo Ripieno, Violino 2<sup>do</sup> Concerto, Violino 2<sup>do</sup> Ripieno, Viola Oblig., Violoncello, Basso, Traverso 1<sup>mo</sup>, Traverso 2<sup>do</sup>, Oboe 1<sup>mo</sup>, Oboe 2<sup>do</sup>, Fagotto Concerto, Corno 1<sup>mo</sup>, Corno 2<sup>do</sup>'. Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1), source may be dated, according to J. P. Larsen, c. 1761-70.

(3) MS. parts, GdM. (Kaiserliche Sammlung), cat. XIII, 27014; title: 'Le Midi / à / piu Stromenti Conct / Del: Sig: Giuseppe Hayden'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9); Viennese source, c. 1765-75 (?).

(4) MS. parts, VNat: see No. 6, source 2.

(5) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 6, source 3.

(6) MS. parts, Bst (Marburg), cat. mus. ms.  $\frac{9992}{3}$ ; title: 'The / Middy'; oblong paper (microfilm).

(7) MS. parts, Zwettl; 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese paper (watermarks: crossed keys); source from Erzherzog Rudolf Collection (mostly in GdM), c. 1800-20 (?).

(8) MS. parts, Florence (c. 1800?).

Critical editions: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 89-120, with minor errors; based on source 1. Eulenburg No. 513 (Praetorius), based on the G. A.

Corrections to G. A.:

III.

3: vln. solo +, not *tr.* on 3rd quarter.

7: vln. solo +, not *tr.*

10: possibly + instead of *tr.* (aut. unclear).

15: appoggiatura quaver (in parallel passage +, not *tr.*).

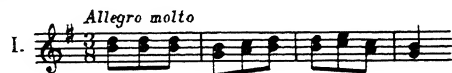
IV.

6: cor. I +, not *tr.* (add to parallel passage in recapitulation).

Trio: autograph clearly indicates *Violone Solo* (i. e. contrabass), not 'cello solo, throughout trio. This is confirmed by many of the secondary MSS.

## Appendix I

† No. 8



- II. Andante (Adagio?), C, 2/4.
- III. Menuet & Trio, G, 3/4; C, 3/4.
- IV. La Tempesta: Presto, G, 6/8.

'Le Soir', authentic designation.

*Date of comp.*: 1761 (Dies, pp. 44 f; also connection with No. 7).

*Scoring*: 1 fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., vln. I concertante, vln. II concertante, vcl. concertante, str. [cemb.].

*Cat. ref.*: EK, missing; Kees, No. 3: 'Le Soir, a piu Stromenti Concertanti'; HV 3 (tempo: 'allo: assai'); Br. cat. 1767, p. 11: 'I. Concertino di HAYDEN. / a 2 Corn. 2 Ob. 1 Flaut. 4 Viol. Viola. Violonc. Fag. Violono.'; Traeg cat. 1799, No. 153.

*Authentic source*: [1].

*Sources*:

[1] *MS.* parts by Johann Elssler, formerly in the archives of Artaria & Co., Vienna; mentioned by Pohl on his copy of the score in GdM XIII, 19052; present whereabouts unknown.]

(2) *MS.* parts, GdM (Kaiserliche Sammlung), cat. XIII, 19052; no title page; instr. as in 'scoring'; 4<sup>o</sup> Austrian or Hungarian paper (watermarks: VI, 3); source of Viennese (Hungarian?) origin; there are 2 copyists, both using same paper: (a) all vln. pts., fl. & bass; (b) remaining pts. Source c. 1770 (?).

(3) *MS.* parts, VNat: see No. 6, source 2.

(4) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 6, source 3.

(5) *MS.* parts, Bst (Marburg), cat.  $\frac{9982}{16}$  (Artaria archives); title: 'Sinfonia in G. / Violino 1<sup>mo</sup> e 2<sup>do</sup>: Obl: / 2 Violini Rip: / Flauto Traverso Obl: / 2 Oboe 2 Corni. / Viola e Violoncello obl: / Con Basso. / Del Sig: Hayden.'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper; source prob. of Viennese origin (microfilm).

(6) *MS.* parts, Bst (Marburg), cat.  $\frac{9982}{4}$ ; title: 'Le Soir / La Tempesta / a piu Stromenti / Concertanti / del Sign Gius: Hayden'; pts. as in 'scoring'; 2 copyists, both writing on oblong paper (microfilm).

(7) *MS.* parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 19052; title: 'La Tempesta / Sinfonia / a / 2e Violini Principale / 2e Violini Oblig:ti / 2e Oboe e 2e: Corni obl: / Flauto-Travso e Fagotto / Viola ex Violoncello / col / Basso / Del Sigre Giusep: Heydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: 1, 1, 4, 12, 13); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-85 (?); dup. pts. for vln. I, II and 1st, 3rd and 4th movts. of fag. (in the original pt. only the 2nd movt. was written out) on other, newer paper by other copyist.

(8) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 4; title: 'La Sera / Sinfonia / a / Due Violini Principali / Due Violini ripieni / Flauto Solo / 2 Oboi / 2 Corni G / 2 Fagotti / Violoncelli / e / Violone / Da Giuseppe Haidn'; oblong paper of unknown origin (German? watermarks illegible); source of local origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent.; the solo 'cello pt. of the other sources is rewritten, with various alterations, in the 2nd bassoon pt.

*Additional MS. sources*: (9) Schwerin, entitled 'Concertino'; (10) Florence (c. 1800?).

(11) Printed parts, Bailleux, Paris, 1776 (announced in the *Almanach Musical*, 1776, p. 100; date on copy in P. Cons. — see below — is also 1776); title: 'Six Simphonies / A Grand Orchestre / Dont la derniere est la Soirée / composées / par / M.<sup>rs</sup> Hayden, Wanhall, et Lausenmayer...' Copy in Paris Conservatoire, cat. H 135. a—k, bound in a volume entitled 'Musique du Roy 1776'. The sixth work is Haydn's Symphony No. 8. The flute part in this copy is lost; two *MS.* clarinet parts were

## Appendix I

added in 1777; the solo bassoon part for the 2nd movt. as well as the solo 'cello part for the 2nd and 3rd movts. are missing. Another copy in Naples. The print also includes (in this order): Symphony in F (Vanhel), Symphony in D (see Appendix II, No. 60), Symphony in B flat (Vanhel: but see Appendix II, No. 131), Symphony in D minor (Vanhel), Symphony in C (Lausenmayer).

*Critical editions:* G.A. Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 121-150, with serious errors; based on 7. Eulenburg No. 515 (Landon), based on 2, 7, 8 and 11.

*Corrections to G.A.:*

General: VNat, Venice have many *a. r.* of which only the most important are listed below.

### I.

- 7, etc.: appogg. = semiquaver.  
 35: ob. II *g''*.  
     fag., vcl.-cb. *f* here, not 34.  
 51/52: ob. stacc. 51, 52 as in vln. I, meas. 3; ditto 55/56.  
 53/60: vla. has slur each meas.; should be added to bass and fag.  
 66: vln. I *ff*.  
 76: ob. II: *e''-d''*.  
 77, 81 (add to 225, 229): vln. II semiquavers slurred.  
 84/85, 88/89, 232/233: phrasing as in vln. I, meas. 3.  
 86, 234: fl., vln. I, II slur each 2 semiquavers.  
 87: cor. II last note = cor. I, not rest (*a. r.* also 1st note = cor. I, VNat and Venice).  
 132: ob. II dotted crotchet *e'*, tied to 133.  
 162/163: vln. I, II tied.  
 165/172: convincing fl. part in VNat and Venice: 165/169 = vln. II 8va higher, 170/172 = vln. I 8va.  
 167/170: cor. I, II *g'* and *g*, resp. (tied throughout).  
 175/180: vcl.-cb. rest, *Fagotto Solo*.  
 179: ob. I, II, cor. I *a. r.* (VNat, Venice) appogg.: *e''* (ob. I), *b'* (ob. II), *g''* (= *d''*) (cor. I).  
 180: ob. I crotchet, not quaver.  
 190/191, 192/193, 194/195: vln. II, *a. r.* (VNat, Venice) tied.  
 195: vla. quavers (*i. e.* col basso).  
 235: *fl.* = ob. I.  
 3, 56: vcl. solo slur (add to vcl.-cb. and meas. 8, 94, 96).  
 14, 98: vln. I, II: *poco f* in VNat (convincing); *p* at 16 and 100.  
 23, 107: vln. solo auxiliary notes dotted quaver and semiquaver.  
 24/25, 105/109: vcl. solo phrasing prob. as in 109.  
 26, 110: vcl. solo slur from 2nd note (*a. r.* only middle notes slurred).  
 34: fag., vln. I, II, vla., vcl., cb.: crotchet instead of quaver.  
 36: vln. I solo, vln. II solo, vcl. *f*; vln. I, II, vla. mezzo *f* (GdM, others *f*); 117: vln. I, II mezzo *f* (GdM, others *f*), rest of orch. *f*.  
 38: vcl. solo slur; vln. I solo appogg. *a''* in Venice.  
 40: general *p* except soli.  
 45, 125: general *p*; 128: general *pp* (not 127).  
 47/48: vla., vcl. solo, vcl.-cb. tied.  
 60: general *f*, *p* at 61.  
 62: vln. I solo *a. r.* 2nd note *g''*, 3rd note *fz''*.  
 70: fag. 1st crotchet: rest.  
 76: general *p* (therefore *p* 81 superfluous).  
 101/102: fag., vcl. solo tied.  
 117/118, 118/119: vla. tied, 117/118 vln. I + II solo slurred.  
 120: general *p* except soli (*cf.* 40).  
 123: vcl. solo in VNat, Venice 2nd note = crotchet rest (*cf.* also 43).

### II.

In some parts of some sources: *Adagio* (doubtful).

- 2/3 (vln. II solo, vla.), 7/8 (fag., vla.)  
 50/51 (fag., vla.), 55/56 (vln. II solo, vla.), 93/94 (vln. II solo, vla.), 96/97 (fag.) tied; sugg. ties: 12/13 (vla.), 16/17 (vcl. solo).

### III.

- 3, 27: stacc., not slur (in GdM & Venice, fl. & ob. retain slur: possible).  
 6, 30: many sources indicate slur over 1st two notes, stacc. on 3rd.

# Appendix I

- 9: remove *p*.  
 17: remove *p* cor.  
 17/21: *fag. solo, vcl.-cb. tacent* (in VNat and Venice Tutti Bassi at 25, not at 22: possible).  
 21: fl. *p* 2nd note, ob. I, II *p* 1st note; remove fl. tie to 22.  
 22: (*fag. p* on basis 21).  
 35: *general f; a. r. cor. II 1st note e'' (= b')*, convincing.  
 65/69: ob. I, II instead of dotted crotchet, crotchet and quaver rest.  
 75: *only vln. I solo semiquavers, rest quavers.*  
 94: vln. I solo *f*.  
 104, 114: *general p; vln. I solo, vln. II solo f on 2nd note.*  
 105, 115: *general f (a. r. see Eulenburg).*  
 110: ob. I 1st note *b'*.  
 116: vla. instead of crotchet rest, crotchet *d'*.  
 117: fl. *a. r.* last 2 notes *d'', f#''*: possible.  
 120: vcl.-cb. in tenor clef (see 16/17, *supra*).  
 128/132: *fag. tacent* in VNat (convincing).  
 132: vcl. solo *tr.* on last note.  
 133, 141: ob. II 1st note *b'* in VNat & Venice.  
 141: vln. II rip. = vln. I rip.

## IV.

- 16/17, 26/27: vcl.-cb. written as vcl. solo in tenor clef (*i. e.* cb. tacet?). Bass clef as in vcl. solo.  
 21, 31: vln. I solo, II solo *f* 2nd note (*a. r.* see Eulenburg).  
 49: vln. I solo *tr.* on last note.  
 52: cor. should read as in 55.  
 60/63: *a. r. fag. solo, vcl.-cb. tacent* (convincing).

## No. 9



II. Andante, G, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, C, 3/4.

(Possibly the overture to one of Haydn's Italian comedies of 1762.)

*Date of comp.*: 1762 (autograph).

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., str. [cemb.]; fag. solo only in trio.

*Cat. ref.*: EK/II, p. 25; Kees, No. 4: 'Sinfonia, con Flauti, Oboe, e Corni'; HV 4 (tempo: 'Molto Vivace'); Quarthbuch; Br. cat. 1767, p. 4: 'IV. Sinf. di HAYDEN, Raccolta IV. [No.] I. a 2 Corn. 2 Ob. 2 Fl. 2 Viol. V. B.'; Br. cat. 1769 (see source 10).  
*Authentic source*: [1].

## Sources:

[(1) **Autograph**, dated 1762. Examined by Alois Fuchs and listed in his catalogue (Bst); present whereabouts unknown.]


(2) *MS.* parts by Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 19059/60; title page missing; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 17, 18); origin of source: Viennese; dup. str. pts., partly bound with Haydn's Symphony No. 24, on other, newer paper; date of *MS.*: c. 1770-80 (?).

(3) *MS.* parts, Herzogenburg; title: 'No. 1 / Sinfonia in C / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secondo / Corno Primo / Corno Secondo / Viola Con Basso / Del Sigr Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> pts. of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); replacements for a number of pts. (ob. II, fl. I, II, Clarino [!] II) on other 4<sup>o</sup> paper (watermarks: crossed keys with letter 'W' beneath; an eagle with illegible letters). Date of original pts.: c. 1765-75. Indication for bassoon in trio lacking.

(4) *MS.* parts, Göttweig; title: 'Parthia in C / à / Violini 2. / Oboi 2. / Corni 2. / Viola / con / Basso / Del Sig. Giuseppe Haydn / 10 / P. Leandri / Professi Gottweigenis 766'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: fleur-de-lys with letters 'FCP'); origin of source: local. Performance dates on rear cover from 1777 to 1784. Indication for bassoon in trio lacking.

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- (5) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 1, source 4.  
 (6) *MS.* parts, from Admont (or Rottenmann?), formerly Aussee, now Graz; title page destroyed; pts. for ob. II and cor. I missing; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 16, 19); origin of source: local (or Viennese?), c. 1770-85 (?). Indication for bassoon in trio lacking.  
 (7) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 5; title: 'N<sup>o</sup> 103 / Sinfonia ex C / a / 2. Violini / 2 Oboe / 2. Flauti / 2 Corni / Viola / e / Basso / del S: Haidn'; oblong paper of unknown (German?) origin (watermarks illegible); origin of source: local; 2nd half of 18th cent.  
 (8) *MS.* parts, Schwerin; title: 'Sinfonia à 10 ex C a due Viol., 2 Corni, 2 oboes, 2 Flauti, 1 Viola e Fondamento...'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper.  
 (9) *MS.* score, Stockholm.  
 (10) Printed parts, Bailleux, Paris, c. 1766-67: see No. 3, source 10.  
*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 151-158, based on source 2.  
*Corrections to G. A.:*

- I.  
 24, 26, 112, 114: vln. I, II appogg. 74: ob. I g".  
 131/132: vcl.-cb. in tenor clef (i. e. cb. tacet?).  
 figure a. r.  III.  
 25: vln. I a. r. as in 27 (doubtful). 27: vln. I tr. on last note (Göttweig only).  
 vln. II crotchet g' and crotchet rest.

## No. 10



- II. Andante, G, 2/4.  
 III. Presto, D, 3/8.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1757-61 (?). Earliest ref.: Br. cat. 1766; Sigmaringen cat. 1766.

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.:* EK, missing; Kees: No. 75, 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni'; HV 74 (tempo: 'molto all[egro]'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1766, p. 10: 'VI. Sinf. del Sigr. Gius. HAYDEN, Mus. di Cam. / del Princ. Esterhasi. Racc. II. [No.] I. a 8 V[oci] 2 C. 2 Ob.'; Sigmaringen cat. 1766: 'Synf:<sup>a</sup> in D. à 2:VV / 2 Corni Viola. / con Basso No. 9'.

*Authentic sources:* none.

*Sources:*

- (1) *MS.* parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 1, GdM (Kaiserliche Sammlung?), cat. XIII, 6652; title: 'Simfonia / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboa Prima / Oboa Seconda / Corno Primo / Corno Secondo / Viola e Basso / Del Sigre: Giuseppe Hayden / [theme] / [monogram:] HL [HI?]' oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 11 [5?]); Viennese source, 3rd quarter of 18th cent.  
 (2) *MS.* parts by Kees copyist, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 6; title: '94 / N<sup>o</sup>. 2 / Sinfonia In D: / a / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / Viola / e Basso / Del Sig Giuseppe Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 20, 26); Viennese source, 4th quarter of 18th cent.  
 (3) *MS.* parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 2, St. Florian; title: 'Sinfonia in D# / à 8 / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / Viola / con Basso / Del Sigre Giuseppe Hayden [another handwriting:] Ex Musical- Dris Stocker Physici Provincialis Lincensis'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from mill somewhere in Austro-Hungarian Empire (watermarks: VI, 2); origin of source: Viennese (or possibly Hungarian?); date of *MS.*: 3rd quarter of 18th cent.

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(4) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 28, 228; title 'Sinfonia, in D, / 2 Violini, / 2 Oboe, / 2 Corni, / Viola obl: / & / Basso, / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster paper mill (watermarks: III, 2); origin of source: local; date of *MS.*: c. 1765-80 (?).

(5) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 3, source 6.

(6) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons., from the Gustinian Collection, Volume VI, which contains 'V Sinfonie / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Haydn', Nos. 22, 58, 38, 29 and 10; oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); origin of source: local; pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor. & str. The source is called 'Op. XXXVI', the significance of which cannot be determined. Date of *MS.*: c. 1770-85.

(7) Printed parts, Hummel, Amsterdam-Berlin; 'Periodique Simph. No. 13'; 1771 (Hummel's supplementary cat.): copy in Stockholm.

(8) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1793; copy in Manchester; title: 'No. [1] from op. [12] / A Favorite Sinfonia / For A / Grand Orchestre. / Performed at the / Professional and other Concerts. / Composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / Price s/3 / London / . . . . Willm Forster No. 348 next door to the Lyceum near Exeter Change / Strand.'; plate no. 149; probably a reprint of source 7. Later copies, No. 22, York St., Westminster (c. 1803-16).

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 159-170, with minor errors; based on a score from the collection of Franz Gehring.

*Corrections to G. A.:*

I.

8, 67: vln. I, II 1st 2 notes tied in Venice (doubtful).

9, 68: vln. I ditto.

9: vla. 1st semiquaver *a'* (cf., however, 68).

10, 69: vcl.-cb. *a. r.* 5th note *d'*.

12: cor. I, II 2 minims (doubtful, cf. 71).

14: vln. I *tr.* on 2nd note.

24: vln. I *a. r.* appogg. *c#'* (cf. 77).


29: vln. I last 4 notes not dotted (even quavers): cf., however, 82.

32, 85: vla., vcl.-cb. *f* on 2nd note, semiquavers slurred.


34/35: vcl.-cb. tied (add to 87/88).

38, 40: vln. II, vla. *p* on second note; ob. *p* (39: general *f*; vln. II, vla. 40, *f* on 1st note, *p* on second); ob. slurred.

42: general *f* 2nd note.

47: vln. I instead of last rest: 

48: vln. II 1st note, remove lower *g*.

54: cor. I, II 

56/57: ob. II, cor. II tied.

57: cor. II 2 minims *g'* (= *a*).

67: vla. 2nd note *f#'* (cf., however 8).

73: vln. II 1st 2 notes slurred (add to 74?).

77: vln. I appogg. *f#'* before last note.


II.

5: vln. II last 2 notes not dotted (cf. 67).

6, 68: vcl.-cb. *tenuto*.

12, 14, 74, 76: remove all *p*'s except vln. I (on 3rd note), insert 16 and 78.

29: *p* on 2nd notes, *f* 30.

30, 31: *p* on 2nd notes (*a. r.* ).

36, 90: *f* not *sf*, remove *p*'s, insert vln. I 37, 91, 2nd note; remove decresc., add *f* vla., vcl.-cb. 36 and 90, remove their slurs 36/37, 90/91.

38, 92: remove decresc.

39/40, 40/41, 93/94, 94/95: vcl.-cb. remove slurs.

62: vln. II *tr.* on 1st note.

67: vln. II, vla. last 2 notes not dotted (cf. 5).

86: vla. 1st note *d'*.

87: general *p* 2nd note.

92: vln. II last note *a*.

93: vln. II 1st note *g*.

III.

Tempo: *Presto*, not *Divace*.

The following *tr.* are to be added: ob. I, II, vln. I, II: 4 (1st note), 7 (1st and 3rd), 12 (1st), 48 (1st), 49 (1st), 56/58 (vln. I, II — 1st), 86 (1st), 89 (1st and 3rd), 94 (1st).

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- 33/34: cor. tied.  
 37: cor. *f*; vln. I, II stacc. (add stacc. 119: thus Regensburg).  
 44: vla. *a. r.* quaver *a'* (Regensburg, St. Flor.) — doubtful.  
 61 *ff.*: remove all slurs (not ties).  
 82: quaver and 2 quaver rests.  
 86, 94: vla. 1st note *d'*, tied from 85 and 93 (*cf.* 3/4, etc.).  
 91: vla. 1st note *f g'* (*cf.* however 9).  
 98/99: vln. II should read exactly as in 16/17.  
 111/112: remove *p*, insert 116.

## No. 11



I. Allegro, E flat, C.

III. Menuet & Trio, E flat, 3/4; B flat, 3/4.

IV. Presto, E flat, 2/4.

*Date of comp.*: c. 1760-62. Earliest ref.: St. Florian, 1769. In a now lost catalogue of symphonies which Haydn sent to Breitkopf & Härtel, the composer referred to the work as 'one of the earliest'.

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.*: EK, missing; Kees, No. 5: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni'; HV 5 (tempo: 'Andante'); Quartbuch; Br. cat., missing; Göttweig cat., p. 865: 'Comp R P / Marianus 1776' (parts lost).

*Authentic sources*: none.

*Sources*:

(1) *MS.* parts by Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 19054; title page no longer extant; title at head of some pts.: 'Sinfonia / Del Sigre Giusep. Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 11, 18); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-80.

(2) *MS.* parts, St. Florian; title: 'ex Dis / Sinfonia à 8 Instr.: / 2 Violini: / 2 Oboe. / 2 Corni. / Alto Viola / con / Basso. / et / Violone. / Del Sigre: giuseppe Hayden / pro usu J. Mich: Planck'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 3, 4, 5); source of local origin; dates on rear cover: Dec. 1769, Aug. 1776, Oct. 1777.

(3) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 825; title: 'Nr. 105 / Sinfonia in Eb. / a / Duo Violini / Viola / Duo Oboe / Duo Corni / e Basso / Del Sig: Giuseppe Haydn'; two copyists: (a) str. and ob. I, II; (b) cor. I, II. Italian 4<sup>o</sup> paper (watermarks for a: I, 1, 27, 29; for b: I, 1, 4, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85 (?).

(4) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 3, source 6.

(5) *MS.* parts, Schlägl, cat. 28; title: 'Symphonia In E moll. / Violino Primo. / Violino Secundo. / Oboe Primo. / Oboe Secundo. / Cornuo Primo. / Cornuo Secundo. / Alto Viola. / Con Basso. / Del Sig: Joseph Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); source of local origin, c. 1770-80 (?).

*Critical edition*: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 171-186, with a few slight errors, based on a score made from source 1.

*Corrections to G. A.*:

- I.  
 18: vln. I remove  $\text{♩}$  (*cf.*, however, 65).  
 22: vla. *minim g'* (*cf.* 69).  
 23: vln. I add slur over stacc. as in 24.  
 25/26: suggest vla. tied (*cf.* 72/73).  
 26: vln. I 1st quaver *b flat'*, not *c''* (*cf.* also 73).  
 27, 74: vln. I, II suggest tie 1st to 2nd note.



# Appendix I

- 48, 75, 77: vln. I, II dynamics should read as in 28.  
 50: vln. I, II possibility tie 2nd to 3rd note.  
 73: vln. I 1st quaver *e flat'*, not *f'* (cf. also 26).  
 II.  
 19: vla. 1st 2 notes *eb'*.  
 26/28,  
 130/132: vln. I slur to each 2 quavers.  
 74: vln. II, vla., vcl.-cb. *f* on 2nd note, not 75.  
 93: vln. II 1st note *d''* (cf. sequence from 91).  
 96: ob. II = ob. I.  
 115: cor. II *a. r. e'* (= *g*).  
 118: vln. I *f* 2nd note, not 120.  
 140/142: vla. *a. r.* 8va higher (doubtful).  
 III.  
 21: vln. I appogg. before triplets doubtful (missing in Harburg, St. Flor., etc.); vla., vcl.-cb., remove *p*.  
 37 *ff.*: vla., vcl.-cb. marcato.  
 44, 52: vln. I crotchet with appogg.  
 IV.  
 3, 7, etc.: vln. I sources indicate *tr.* on 1st (real) note, also vln. II, 32/35: this is convincing.  
 32, 107: str. except vln. II *f* 2nd note.  
 91: vln. I *f* on 2nd note, not 92.

† No. 12



II. Adagio, *e*, 6/8.

III. Presto (originally Allegro di molto?), *E*, 2/4.

Date of comp.: 1763 (autograph).

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. (fag.) [cemb.]. Fag. from 5.

Cat. ref.: EK/II, p. 27; Kees, No. 12: [Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni.]; HV 11 (tempo: 'Allegretto'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1767, p. 4: 'VI. Sinf. di HAYDEN. Racc. III. [No.] IV. a 2 Corn. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. B.' (C instead of C).

Authentic source: (1).

Sources:

(1) Autograph. EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 25; photograph in Washington; title: 'Synfonia. In Nomine Domini. Giuseppe Haydn. 763.' 20 pages, 4°, 22,5 (23) × 35 (36) cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 1). 12 staves. Instr.: '2 Corni Ex E# / 2 Oboe / Violino 1<sup>mo</sup> / [Violino] 2<sup>do</sup> / Viola / Basso'.

(2) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 840; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85.

(3) MS. parts, Göttweig, 'P. Leandri/766'; 4° paper of unknown origin (watermarks: large ornament with crown and letters 'VC'; baroque ornament with letters 'FCF'); source of local origin.

(4) MS. parts, Schlägl, cat. 18 (wrong title included); 4° paper of unknown origin (watermarks: coat-of-arms with oval-shaped centre, within which are gates with two towers and battlements; on other MSS. in Schlägl using this type of paper, one finds the letters 'IRP' in a simple frame: cf. the copy there of the Stamitz Violin Concerto in A major); source of local origin, 3rd quarter of 18th cent.

(5) MS. parts, Melk (from Erzherzog Rudolf Collection, mostly in GdM), cat. IV, 90; cat. no. of original coll.: 'H N 58'; two copyists on two different types of paper: (a) 4°, watermarks illegible, prob. Viennese: 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., 3 bass, ob. I, II, fag. (col Basso) and cor. I, II; (b) oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 18, 19, 23): vln. I, II and vla. Possibly this second set originally belonged to another MS., as there are important deviations from the other, Erzherzog Rudolf source. Origin of 1st MS.: c. 1800 (or later), of 2nd MS.: c. 1770-80 (?).

(6) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 6653; only vln. I, II, vla.

## Appendix I

and bass pts. extant, the dup. str. pts. to now lost original source; bound together with spurious Haydn symphony (III, 26); 4° paper (watermarks illegible).

(7) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana, cat. It. IV. 1270 (11149); a collection of 'VI Sinfonie / Del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Giuseppe Haydn', containing Nos. 28, 20, Overture II, 5 ('Acide'), 12, 37 and 59; oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); dup. vln. I and II on other, later Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 38); source of local origin, original *MS.* c. 1770-80. Pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

(8) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana, cat. It. IV. 1276 (10938); a collection of 'XII Sinfonie / Del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Giuseppe Haydn', containing Symphonies Nos. 41, 35, 12, 39, 34, 25, Divertimento in F (HV 20), 59, 28, 23, Symphony in B flat (HV 7) and 49; 4° Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 41); dup. vln. I, II and bass on other Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 38); source of local origin, original *MS.* c. 1780-90. Pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

(9) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons., cat. IV. 8197; a collection of 'N.<sup>o</sup> VI / Sinfonie / del Sig.<sup>r</sup> / Giuseppe Haydn', containing Nos. 28, 39, 23, 34, 12 and 59; oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 18, 43, 47); source of local origin, c. 1780-90. Pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 1, pp. 187-198, based on source 1.

† No. 13



II. Adagio cantabile, G, 4/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, D, 3/4; G, 3/4.

IV. Allegro molto, D, 2/4.

*Date of comp.:* 1763 (autograph).

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., (fag.), 4 cor., (timp.), solo vcl., str. [cemb.]. Timp. added in autograph in an unknown handwriting; the identical timp. part in the source at Harburg. As the drum part is notated in both sources in C and G (*i. e.* transposing), which is contrary to Haydn's customary practice, it is probably not authentic. The majority of the oldest *MSS.* does not have the fag. part, found in Göttweig (Erzherzog Rudolf Collection).

*Cat. ref.:* EK, missing; Kees, No. 15: 'Sinfonia, con 4 Corni, e Varii Stromenti'; HV 14 (tempo: 'Spiritoso'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1767, p. 4: 'VI. Sinf. di HAYDEN. Rac. III. [No.] VI. a 4 Corn. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. Fl. conc. Violonc. conc. V. B.'.

*Authentic source:* (1).

*Sources:*

(1) **Autograph**, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 24; photograph in Washington; title: '[Sinfonia.] In Nomine Domini. Giuseppe Haydn. / 763.' 48 pages, 4°, 22,5 (23) × 35 (36) cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 1). Instr.: Flauto / Corni Ex D 1mo et secondo / Corni 3, 4to / oboe 1mo / 2do / Violino 1mo / 2do / Viola / Basso / [added later, not by Haydn:] Timpano'; 2nd movt.: 'Corno e Oboe, Flauto tacet'; instr.: 'Violoncello Solo' / Violino 1mo / 2do / Viola / Basso'; the autograph has at the end of each stave of each movement some imaginative flourishes in Haydn's handwriting. At end of *MS.*: 'Laus Deo'.

(2) *MS.* parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 1, GdM (Kaiserliche Sammlung), cat. XIII, 19071; (a) pts. for vla., vcl., fl., ob. I, II, cor. I—III & bass on oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 7, 15); (b) pts. for cor. IV and dup. vln. I & II, the latter by another copyist, on oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); source of Viennese origin. On last p. of vcl. pt. is the curious remark: 'diese notten hat mir mein Schicksahl verschaffet[,] denn der Monsieur NB' (here the notice breaks off; 'Monsieur' in Latin script, the rest in German script). Date of *MS.*: c. 1765-75 (?). No timpani part.

## Appendix I

(3) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 814; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 24); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-80 (?). With timpani part.

(4) *MS.* parts, Herzogenburg; 4° paper of unknown origin; source of local origin, c. 1770. Pts. for vln. I and vla. as substitutes for solo vcl. pt. in 2nd movt. appear to be written later. No timpani part.

(5) *MS.* parts, Melk, cat. IV, 80; 4° paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 1); source of local origin. In Melk catalogue this *MS.* is listed as 1782 (the title page of the source destroyed): this prob. represents date when source was acquired by Melk. 'Clarino Primo in D' and 'Clarino Secondo in D' substituted for cor. III and IV. No timpani part.

(6) *MS.* parts, Lambach; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 5, 7); original vln. I pt. lost, and substitute made on paper from Kremsmünster paper mill; origin of source: Viennese (or local? — there is evidence that Lambach ordered Italian paper from Vienna for some of their music); two trumpet ('Clarino') pts. substituted for cor. III and IV. No timpani part.

(7) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 3, 36; 4° paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 6); source of local origin; two trumpet pts. substituted for cor. III and IV. No timpani part. Tempo of minuet: 'Maestoso'.

(8) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 4, 43; 4° paper of unknown origin (watermarks: large fleur-de-lys); origin of source; ? Pts. for cor. III and IV omitted entirely (the title page reads: '2 Corni'); date of *MS.*: 2nd half of 18th cent. No timpani part.

(9) *MS.* parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 19071; 4° paper of unknown origin; Viennese source; vln. I pt. missing; dup. vln. II and bass on other, newer paper (watermarks: large man with club in hand); date of *MS.*: 3rd (4th?) quarter of 18th cent. No timpani part.

(10) *MS.* parts, VNat (from collection of Dr. Neuwirth), cat. s. m. 22153; five Haydn works bound together (probably because of four horn pts.), viz. Nos. 13, 72, 39, 31 and Overture II, 15; partly in hand of Viennese professional copyist No. 3; 4° Viennese paper (watermarks: crossed keys); source of Viennese origin; fl. (in No. 39 a fl. pt. for 1st and 4th movts.), 2 ob., 4 cor., str.; fag. pt. written in bass or vcl. pt. when necessary (e. g. No. 72). 4th quarter of 18th cent.

(11) *MS.* parts, Göttweig (Erzherzog Rudolf Collection, mostly in GdM), old cat. no.: 'HN 39'; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 12, 19, 25); dup. pts. on other (Viennese?) paper; origin of source: Viennese, c. 1800. No timpani part.

*Additional MS. sources:* (12) Modena (cat. D 142, with 'Tymp[ani]', pt. missing); (13) Stockholm (score); (14) Biblioteca Antoniana, Padua: a collection of six symphonies, Nos. 39, 22, 58, 38, 29 and 13 (in that order) with pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor. and str., on Italian paper (watermarks: letters 'WM' and three stars in a crowned frame — cf. I, 20), 4th quarter of 18th cent. I am indebted to my friend Prof. Jan La Rue for a description of this source.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 1-22, with one serious error (cf. vln. II, 1st movt., bars 54 ff.) and several minor errors; based on a score from the collection of Franz Gehring — which included the timpani pt., also in C-G — corrected according to autograph by C. F. Pohl (GdM XIII, 19071).

### Corrections to G. A.

#### I.

1, etc.: autograph clearly suggests slur over semiquavers.

12, 14: +, not tr.

31/32: cor. II, III tied.

43 ff.: vln. I marcato.

48: cor. I-IV probably semibreve, tied to 49 (aut. unclear, Melk, however, clearly as suggested).

54/55, 56/57: vln. II when alone with vln. I 3rd lower (57 1st note g', then as in vln. I).

58/59: cor. I (IV) tied.

# Appendix I

- 68: vln. I, II *f* on 2nd note. ed by other sources); suggest  
75/76, 77/78: cor. I tied. add + to succeeding quaver (as  
78/79: cor. IV (add to cor. II) tied. in 2, 23).  
II. III.  
2, 23: vcl. solo +, not *tr.* 19, 21: vln. I +, not *tr.*  
14: vcl. solo 1st semiquavers in IV.  
aut. possibly dotted (unsupport- 128/129: ob. I tied (add cor. II).

## No. 14



II. Andante, D, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, A, 3/4; a, 3/4.

IV. Allegro, A, 6/8.

*Date of comp.*: c. 1761-63. Earliest ref.: Göttweig, 1764 (cat.).

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.]. Vcl. solo in Andante.

*Cat. ref.*: EK, missing; Kees, No. 8: 'Partita, con Oboe, Corni'; HV 8 (tempo: 'molto Allo:'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1766, p. 10: 'VI. Sinf. del Sigr. Gius. HAYDEN, Mus. di Cam. / del Princ. Esterhasi, Racc. II [No.] IV. a 9 V. 2 C, 2 Ob. Violonc.'; Lambach cat. 1768, p. 273: 'à 2 Violin. / 2 Cor: 2 oboe / Violoncel: solo / Viola. Basso'; Sigmaringen cat. (1766; addition I under Dittersdorf) erroneously under Carl Dittersdorf: 'Symph. in a. a 2. VV. / 2. oboe. 2 corni. viola e / Basso [No.] 42; Göttweig cat., p. 858: 'P. Leandri / 1764' (parts lost).

*Authentic source*: (1).

*Sources*:

(1) *MS.* parts by Joseph Elssler, St. Florian; title: 'Synfonia in A. / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe 1<sup>mo</sup> / Oboe 2<sup>do</sup> / Corno due / Viola / Violoncello Solo / col / Basso / Del Sig Giuseppe Haydn. / [later:] Ex Musicalibus D<sup>ris</sup> Stocker / Physici Provincialis Lincensis'; 4<sup>o</sup>, 10-stave paper from St. Pölten paper mill (watermarks: V, 1); origin of source: authentic copy from Eisenstadt or Esterháza, c. 1761-70.

(2) *MS.* score, Göttweig; title: 'Symphonia Del Signore Giuseppe Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 30); origin of source: local (or Viennese?).

(3) *MS.* parts, St. Florian; 'pro usu J: Mich: / Planck'; oblong paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); source of local origin, c. 1765-70.

(4) *MS.* parts, Melk, cat. IV, 44; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: letters 'EKW' [IKW?]) and coat-of-arms); origin of source: local, c. 1770-80. No horn parts.

(5) *MS.* parts, Melk (Erzherzog Rudolf Collection, mostly in GdM), cat. IV, 91; orig. cat. no. 'HN 76'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 35, 36); source of Viennese origin, c. 1800 or later.

(6) *MS.* parts, Lambach; oblong paper from Kremsmünster paper mill (watermarks: III, 8, 9); source of local origin, c. 1770-80.

(7) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 7; 4<sup>o</sup> German paper (watermarks: number '4' combined, at the bottom, with anchor; superimposed are letters 'IGS' [ICS?]); source of local origin, 2nd half of 18th cent.

(8) *MS.* parts, Bst (Marburg), cat. <sup>9989</sup>/<sub>1</sub>; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: letters 'SW'); origin of source: ? 2nd half of 18th cent.

(9) *MS.* parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), part of cat. XIII, 19069 and 1337 (Symphony No. 18); of No. 14 only the dup. vln. II pt. is extant.

(10) *MS.* score, Stockholm.

# Appendix I

(11) Printed parts, Mme Berault, Paris, c. 1766 (or later?): see No. 3, source 11.  
 (12) Printed parts, Simon & Fils, Paris, 1770; title: 'Oeuvres / de / trois Symphonies / A GRAND et PETIT ORCHESTRE / Par del Signor Richter, del Sig. GINSEPP — TOESCHI, / del Sig. HUYDEN [sic] / ... A Paris Simon & Fils / M. DCC. LXX'; at the head of No. 14 is the title: 'SYMPHONIA / del Sig. HAYDEN'. It appears, at least to judge from the incomplete copy of this print in Paris Nat., cat. Vm<sup>7</sup> 1565, that the finale was not printed.

(13) 2nd movt., arranged for clavier; in J. A. Hiller's *Wöchentliche Nachrichten, Zwey und dreyszigstes Stück* (3rd February 1766), pp. 248-50 as 'Andante del Sgr. HAYDEN'.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 23-32, with minor errors; based on three sources: (a) score from C. F. Pohl's collection, which in turn is based on a score from the collection of Otto Jahn; (b) a score made from parts in GdM; and (c) score from the archives of Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig.

## Corrections to G. A.:

### I.

4/5: cor. I, II tied.  
 7/8: vcl.-cb. marcato.  
 16/17, 18/19 (add to parallel): vln. I, II last note 16, 1st note 17 stacc.  
 25 ff. (add to parallel): stacc.  
 (29/30),  
 84/85: crotchets stacc.  
 40/41: ob. II, vln. II tied.  
 52: f on 2nd note.  
 54: cor. I, II appogg. g''-e'' (e''-c #'') before 1st notes.  
 59/60: cor. I, II tied.  
 60: only str. ff.  
 65/66: cor. I, II tied.  
 (40), 96: vln. I slur over all 3 notes.  
 96/97: vln. II tied.

### II.

1, 9, etc.: vla., vcl.-cb. remove slur. At beginning of movt. 'staccato' in these pts.  
 5/6, 32/33, etc.: vln. I, II, vcl. slur across bar-line (next slur begins 2nd note).

11: phras. as in 9.

13/14, etc.: all quavers stacc.

15: vla., bass 3rd note d, not e.

20, 60: vla. (vcl., bass) slur over each 2 quavers.

23, 25,

63, 65: vla., bass f 2nd note.

25: vln. II appogg. b before 1st note.

### III.

4, 22: vln. I, II slurred.

11: vln. I, II last note e'.

### IV.

4: vln. I tr. on 1st note.

(20/21),

57/58: vla. tied, f on 2nd note.

24/25: cor. I, II tied.

32: cor. I last note crotchet, followed by quaver rest.

41, 43,

45: all crotchets stacc., vln. I 1st note stacc.

46: vla., vcl.-cb. ff.

54: cor. pp.

## No. 15

*Adagio* *tr*  
 I.  ; Presto (St. Flor. partly Allegro assai), D, 4/4; Adagio, D, 3/4.

II. Menuet & Trio, D, 3/4; G, 3/4.

III. Andante, G, 2/4.

IV. Presto, D, 3/8.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1760-63. Earliest ref.: Göttweig, 1764 (cat.).

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 cor., str. with 2 violas or solo vcl. in trio [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.:* EK/III, p. 34; Kees, missing; HV 94 (tempo: 'Cantabile'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1767, p. 4: 'IV. Sinf. di HAYDEN. Raccolata IV. [No.] II. a 2 Corn. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. B.' (tr. missing in bar 2); Sigmaringen cat. (1766; Addition II): 'Symph. a. 2. VV. / 2 oboe. 2 corni viola / e Basso [No.] 69'; Göttweig cat., p. 858: 'Comp. R P / Josephus 1764' (parts lost).

## Appendix I

*Authentic sources:* none.

### *Sources:*

(1) *MS.* parts, Lambach; title: 'Sinfonia in D / a / Violini. 2. / Oboe. 2. / Corni. 2. / Viola. / Violonzello Solo in Trio / e / Basso. / Del Sig Giuseppe Hayden / [theme] / [later:] A A L[ambach]'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks, I, 1, 7, 15); origin of source: Viennese (or local? — see comment to No. 13, source 6). The title page (cover) on local paper from Kremsmünster paper mill. Approximate date of *MS.*: c. 1770-1775 (?). The oboe pts. differ from those of the G. A.

(2) *MS.* parts, St. Florian; no title page extant; the handwriting is identical with the copies of Haydn's symphonies in St. Florian made for J. Michael Planck, and it may be assumed that this was also copied for him. Pts. for cor. I, vln. I, vln. II, 'Alto Viola oblig.', for the trio 'Alto Viola 1ma.' as substitute for 'Violoncello Solo'; 'Basso'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown (local?) origin (watermarks: letters 'IP', unicorn in coat-of-arms); source of local origin, c. 1770.

(3) *MS.* parts, Herzogenburg; no title page extant; pts. for vln. I, II and bass; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: only vertical striped lines); origin of source? 2nd half of 18th cent. The trio of the minuet is not that of the other sources.


(4) *MS.* parts, Stams, cat. MII, 24; title: 'Partita / a / 2 Violini / 2. Flauti Traversi oblig / 2 Corni / Alto Viola / e / Violone / Ad Chorum Stamsensem / Del Sigre Giuseppe Hayden / [theme] / 1771'; oblong paper from Innsbruck or Tyrolean paper mill (watermarks illegible, but paper is almost identical with other extant types of Tyrolean manufacture); source of local origin. There are two oboe pts., written on the same paper, perhaps somewhat later; the work has been arranged and the orchestration of the trio as well as the end of the last movt. considerably enlarged, possibly by Stefano Paluselli, *Regenschori* at Stams until the end of the century. The oboe pts. agree in part with those of Lambach.

(5) *MS.* score, Stockholm.

(6) Printed parts, La Chevadière, Paris, c. 1768 (announced in the *Mercure de France*, April, 1768); title: 'Six Symphonies / ou / Quatours Dialogués / pour deux Violons, Alto Viola, et Basse. / composés par / Mr. HAYDEN / Maître de Chapelle à Vienne / Mis au jour par Mr. De la Chevadière / Prix 9th / OEUVRE IV / A Paris / Chez M. de la Chevadière Md. de / musique du Roi, rue du / Roule à la Croix d'Or... / Avec Privilège du Roy.'; copies in Bst, Venice Cons. (cat. IV-A, III, 2369). The print contains No. 33, Divertimento HV 9, Nos. 32, 15, Symphony in B flat (HV 7) and No. 25. Wind parts omitted.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 33-48, from a score (GdM XIII, 40843) from Pohl's collection, in turn based on a *MS.* from the Frankfurt collection; with very grave errors, including two spurious bars in the minuet, added by Mandyczewski (or Weingartner?).

### *Corrections to G. A.:*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>I.</p> <p>6: vln. I <i>appogg.</i> <i>a''</i> before 1st note (cf. 117).</p> <p>7: vln. I <math>\sharp</math> before 1st note (cf. 118).</p> <p>9: vln. I slur over whole meas.</p> <p>16: cor. <i>pp</i> (or <i>p?</i>).</p> <p>17, 19,</p> <p>121, 123: last 2 quavers slurred (<i>a. r.</i> slur over last 5 notes).</p> <p>24/25,</p> <p>128/129: vln. I <i>a. r.</i> tied (Lambach, Stams).</p> | <p>26, 130: (vla.), vcl.-cb. <i>tenuto</i>; slurred to 27, 131.</p> <p>27: cor. I last note = 2 semiquavers, as in II.</p> <p>33: cor. I <i>a. r.</i> 2nd note 8va lower (Lambach, Stams, St. Flor.).</p> <p>34: tempo St. Flor. in part 'Allegro assai'.</p> <p>35/36,</p> <p>106/107: ob. I, II Lambach</p> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p>37: cor. I crotchet, as in II.</p> |
|---|---|

# Appendix I

37/38, 81/82: ob. II Lambach = ob. I except last 3 notes 81 (= G. A.).  
vln. I, II quavers stacc.

39/40,

83/84: ob. II Stams tied (good).

40, 84: ob. II instead of last 2 notes, crotchet *c*♯".  
cor. I, II last note crotchet, not quaver.

43: ob. II, vln. II 1st note *a'* (cf. 87).

44/46,

87/90: vln. I, II confusion in sources: prob. either slur for each two notes or slur for each four, not mixed; two appears more likely.

48: cor. II also dotted minim, no rest.

49: vln. II *p* on 2nd note.

50 (vln. II), 94 (vla.): last 4 notes stacc. (*a. r.* last 3 stacc. so vla., 94 in Lambach).

52, 53,

96, 97: vln. I 1st 2 notes stacc.

57: vln. I begins with crotchet *a* (cf. 101).

58/59,

102/103: remove all *f*'s and *p*'s: these are *spurious*.

60, 104: *p* on 1st note (*a. r.* 60: vln. II last note *d'*).

61/62: ob. I tied Lambach.

63: ob. II Lambach 1st note *a'* (doubtful).

64: vln. II *a. r.* 1st note *a'*; cor. II *a. r.* *g'* (= *a*).

66: cor., vln. II *f* 2nd note.

67: ob. I *a. r.* (Lambach) for minim, 2 crotchets *g''*.

70: Herzogenburg: *cresc.*; Lambach no *p*.

72: str. *ff*.

73: str. *pp*.

74: vln. I, II *p* 2nd note.

91: cor. II semibreve *c'* (= *d*) tied to 92.

92: ob. I, *a. r.* last note = ob. II.

93: vln. I, II 1st note crotchet (cf., however, 49).

108: ob. I Lambach *d''*.

## II.

Ob. variants Lambach: 1/5, ob. II = ob. I; 6: ob. I ♯ ♯ ♯; 21/25 ob. II = ob. I (doubtful).

2, 22,

24: vln. I, II remove *appogg*.

2/3: *should read:*

2 meas. in G. A. therefore removed (between 2 and 3); the *tr.* in 25 also *spurious*.

7: remove *f*'s and *p*.

8: remove *f* (superfluous).

17: vln. I penultimate note *f*♯' in Lambach, Stams: prob. correct.

19: vln. I *a. r.* ♯ before 1st note.

20: vln. I, II remove dot after minim, substitute rest.

26: vla. last 2 notes *a. r.* *e'-d'*.

27: vln. I Stams ♯ before 1st note.

29/30: vln. I remove *p*, *f*.

32: vln. I, II as in 20 (cf. *supra*).

vla., vcl.-cb. on 1st note (*i. e.* at da capo last 2 notes not played).

33 *ff.*: Trio: St. Flor. *a. r.* 'Alto Viola 1ma' substitute for 'Violoncello Solo' (latter part, however, also included); the trio completely re-orchestrated in Stams; in Herzogenburg another trio entirely.


## III.

8: vln. I remove *appogg*.

10: vln. I, *a. r.* (Herzog., Lamb.) *appogg. e''* before 1st note. vln. II 1st note *a'*; vla. 1st note *g'*, last note *c*♯'.

18: suggest vln. I *f* penultimate note as in 64.

20: *ff* seems to be on 2nd half of meas. (cf. 39).

21: vln. I last note  (*i. e.* two quavers: cf. 40, 67).

37: suggest *f* here as in 18, 64.

38/39: phrasing as in 19/20.

47/48: sources indicate *p* not here but 49 (vln. I, II) and 50 (vla., vcl.-cb.).

66: no *ff*, but cf. 20: suggest *ff* 2nd half of meas.

# Appendix I

IV.  
47/48, 55/56, 77/78, 99/100: vln. I tied  
in Lambach & Stams (77/78  
St. Flor.).  
61/62, etc.: suggest vla. 8va lower where  
over the stave.

158: Stams adds 8 meas., probably  
composed by Stefano Paluselli,  
in which the theme dies away  
to 'pppmo' (1).

## No. 16



II. Andante, E flat, 2/4.

III. Allegro (Presto?), B flat, 6/8.

Date of comp.: c. 1757-61 (?). Earliest ref.: Göttweig, 1766.

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor. (B flat, prob. alto), str. [fag., cemb.]; vcl. obl. in Andante.

Cat. ref.: EK, missing; Kees, No. 13: 'Concertino, a Violoncello, Oboe, e / Corni?';  
HV 12; Quarthuch; Br. cat. 1767, p. 4: 'IV. Sinf. di HAYDEN. Raccolta IV. [No.] IV,  
a 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. Violonc. obl. B.'

Authentic sources: none.

### Sources:

(1) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 983; title: 'N: 81 / Sinfonia in B fà /  
a. / Due Violini / Due Oboe / Due Corni / Violoncello obl. / Viola / è / Basso / Del  
Sigre Hayden?'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 12); source of Viennese  
origin, c. 1770-80.

(2) MS. parts, St. Florian; title: 'No. 32 / in B / Sinfonia / à / 2 Violini /  
2 oboe / 2 corni [bracketed with oboes:] Rip: / Viola oblig / Violoncello in andte: /  
è / Basso. / Del Sigre giuseppe Haydn / pro usu J: Mich: / Planck'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from  
Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 5, 11, 12, 13); source of local origin, c. 1765-  
1775.

(3) MS. parts, Melk, cat. IV, 63; title page destroyed; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or  
Lower Austrian paper mill (watermarks: IV, 1); source of local origin; date of  
MS. or (more likely) date when MS. was acquired by Melk: 1782 (entry in Melk  
catalogue).

(4) MS. parts, Göttweig; title: 'Sinfonia in B. / à / Violini 2 / Oboi 2 / Corni 2 /  
Viola / Violoncello Solo / con / Basso / Del Sig: Giuseppe Heyden / P. Leandri /  
Professi Gottweig / 766?'; the wind and 1st. vln. parts missing; origin of 4<sup>o</sup> paper: ?  
(watermarks: large eagle; crowned coat-of-arms with letters 'AL' [?] embedded;  
a rather surrealistic tree with letters 'FCP' beneath); origin of source: local.

(5) MS. parts, Seitenstetten; title: 'Sinphonia ex B. / à / 2 Violinis / Alto Viola /  
2. Hautbois } ad lib. / con Basso. / Authore Haydn. / Sub R. P. M. O. / 1770?'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper  
of unknown origin (watermarks: letters 'CR'; baroque man; eagle); source of local  
origin; performance dates on rear cover from '10. Augusti 785...'

(6) MS. parts GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 19055; title: 'Sinfonia /  
2 Violini / 2 oboe viola / Violoncello obl. / con Basso / [later, in red ink:]  
No. 8 / Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn / [theme]'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from two different mills,  
both unidentified (watermarks of all pts. except ob. I: fleur-de-lys with three  
illegible letters; of ob. I: that of source 4, viz.: crowned coat-of-arms with 'AL';  
tree with 'FCP'); 2 dup. vln. I and 2 dup. vln. II pts. by two other copyists on  
different paper; origin of source: ? (Viennese?), 3rd quarter of 18th cent. (or  
later?).

(7) MS. parts, Zittau.

(8) MS. parts, Stockholm: see No. 20, source 8.

Critical edition: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 49-58, lacking the horn parts and with



## Appendix I

other (minor) errors; based on Pohl's copy (GdM XIII, 19055) of a score from Otto Jahn's collection.

Corrections to G. A.:

*The missing horn parts are printed at the end of this appendix.*

I.

Tempo in St. Florian in part *Allegro molto*.

Trills should be added as follows: 28 (ob.), 30 (ob.), 32 (ob.), 33 (ob., vln. I, II), 43 (ob., vln. I), 44 (ob., vln. I), 48 (ob., vln. I), 49 (ob., vln. I), 75 (ob., vln. I, II), 76 (throughout), 92 (ob.), 93 (ob.), 104 (ob., vln. I).

1: vln. II 'staccato'.

35, 37,

95, 97: vln. I in most sources no tr. and no appogg.

46/47,

106/107: ob. I, II, vln. I, II tied in many sources.

56, 58/60: vln. I slur over whole meas.

63/64: ob. I tied.

79/80: vln. II tied.

98/101: vla. in Göttweig and Melk different from G. A.; St. Flor. similar to these MSS. but cruder; GdM and Harburg agree with G. A. Göttweig, Melk have quavers  $6 \times f'$  (98),  $6 \times e \flat'$  (99),  $6 \times d'$  (100),  $2 \times c'$ , then as G. A. (101).

105: vla. a. r. col basso (Göttw., Melk).

II.

Tempo in Harburg: *Andante moderato*.

21, 23: vln. I, vln. II, vcl. solo 1st 4 notes even semiquavers in Melk, St. Flor., Göttw. and one of the two GdM. sources.

24: vla. last note octave lower.

25: vla. 1st note octave lower.

26, 72: remove appoggiature: these are spurious.

42: vla. last 3 notes a third higher.

III.

Tempo: *Allegro* in St. Flor., Melk, Göttw.

35, 37: vln. I slur only over 2nd and 3rd notes.

No. 17



II. Andante ma non troppo, f, 2/4.

III. Allegro molto, F, 3/8.

Date of comp.: c. 1757-61 (possibly as late as c. 1762-63). Earliest ref.: Sigmaringen cat. 1766; Br. cat. 1766.

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

Cat. ref.: EK/III, p. 33; Kees, missing; HV 105 (tempo: 'Allo: modto'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1766, p. 10: 'VI. Sinf. del Sigr. Gius. HAYDEN, Mus. di Cam. / del Princ. Esterhasi. Racc. I. [No. I.] a 8 V[oci]. 2 C. 2 Ob.'; Br. cat. 1769 (see source 7); Sigmaringen cat. 1766: 'Sinfonia F. / à 2. VV. 2. Obois / 2. Corni / Viola, / et Basso [No.] 48.'

Authentic sources: none.

Sources:

(1) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 843; title: 'N: 98 / Sinfonia in F: / à / Due Violini / Due Oboe / Due Corni / Viola / é / Basso / Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn.'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85 (?).

## Appendix I

(2) *MS.* parts, Seitenstetten; title: 'Sinfonia Ex F / à / 2 Violini / 2 Oboi / 2 Cornui / Viola / e / Basso / Del Sig: Hayden.'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); origin of source: local. Performance dates on rear cover from '26 Marty 780 I Allo' to '29 Juny 785'. Date of *MS.*: c. 1770-80.

(3) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 28, 232; title: 'Sinfonia in F / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Viola obl: / 2 Corni ad libitum / e / Basso / Del Sig: Giuseppe Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 10); source of local origin, c. 1775-1780 (?). Used for G. A.

(4) *MS.* parts, Göttweig; title page lost (it bore the date 1772); only vln. I pt. extant, on 4<sup>o</sup> paper (watermarks illegible).

(5) *MS.* score, Stockholm.


(6) *MS.* parts, Genoa ('Sonata').

(7) Printed parts, Bailleux, Paris, c. 1766-67: see No. 3, source 10.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 59-68, lacking the oboe parts and with other (minor) errors; based on Mandyczewski's copy of source 3 (GdM XIII, 40836).

*Corrections to G. A.:*

*The missing oboe parts are printed at the end of this appendix.*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>I.</p> <p>5, 117: vla., vcl.-cb. <i>p</i> on 2nd note.</p> <p>34, 143: remove <i>p</i>, cor., vla., vcl.-cb.</p> <p>49: Harburg (vln. I) has <i>ff</i> here; in recapit., meas. 159 (vln. II), 2nd quarter of meas. Suggest: general <i>ff</i>, 50 and 160.</p> <p>53: cor. II <i>a. r.</i> 6 quavers <i>g'</i> (=c): possible.</p> <p>67: vln. II 1st note <i>b flat'</i>.</p> <p>110: <i>str.</i> general <i>pp</i> on 2nd note.</p> <p>120: remove <i>f</i>, insert (all instr. except vln. I) 121 (cf. 8).</p> <p>163: cor. I, II should read: </p> <p>II.</p> <p><i>Tempo: Andante ma non troppo.</i></p> | <p>4: add <i>tr.</i> vln. II.</p> <p>27: vln. (I) II <i>tr.</i> on last note (add to 96).</p> <p>54: remove <i>tr.</i>; vla., vcl.-cb. last note crotchet.</p> <p>III.</p> <p>6: vln. I, II slur over whole meas. (add throughout).</p> <p>7: vln. I, II slur over each two semiquavers.</p> <p>19: cor. II notes should read <i>g'</i> (=c).</p> <p>21, 23,</p> <p>67, 69: general slur over last 2 notes.</p> <p>86: general <i>ff</i>.</p> |
|--|---|

### No. 18



II. Allegro molto, G, 4/4.

III. Tempo di Menuet, G, 3/4.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1761-64. Earliest ref.: Sigmaringen cat. 1766; Br. cat. 1766.

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.:* EK/III, p. 33 with comment by Haydn: 'violino 2<sup>do</sup> comincia'; Kees, missing; HV 103 (tempo: 'Andante'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1766, p. 10: 'VI. Sinf. del Sigr. Gius. HAYDEN, Mus. di Cam. / del Princ. Esterhasi. Racc. I. [No.] II a 8 V[oci]. 2 C. 2 Ob.'; Br. cat. 1766 p. 10: 'VI. Sinf. del Sigr. Gius. HAYDEN, Mus. di Cam. / del Princ. Esterhasi. Racc. II. [No.] V' with the theme of the 2nd movt. (Allegro molto) 'a 8 V. 2 C. 2 Ob.'; Lambach cat. 1768, p. 273, 'à 2 Violin. / 2 Cor: 2 oboe: / Viola è Basso' (tempo: 'And.'): Sigmaringen cat. 1766, 'Sinfonia G. / à 2. VV. 2 Obois / 2. Corn: viol: et Basso [No.] 49.'

*Authentic source:* [1 ?]

## Appendix I

### Sources:

(1) *MS.* parts, GdM, cat. XIII, 40838; title: 'Lit: V No. 15 / Sinfonia in G / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / 2 Oboi / 2 Corni / Viola / Con / Basso / Del: Sig: Giuseppe Hayden / [slightly later:] Zur Hochfürstl: Capell'; oblong paper of unknown origin (watermarks: anchor with letters 'ER'); origin of source: one of the princely collections in Austria (it is just possible that by 'Hochfürstl: Capell' the Esterházy band is meant); date of *MS.*: 3rd quarter of 18th cent.

(2) *MS.* parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 40838; title: [right top: theme] / 'Due [added later, when bound?] / Sinfonia / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Alto Viola / 2 Oboe / Corni / e / Basso / Del Sig: Giuseppe Hayden'; bound together with Symphony No. 14; 4<sup>o</sup> format; origin of paper: Austro-Hungarian empire (watermarks: VI, 1); origin of source: ditto, 4th quarter of 18th cent.

(3) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 1, source 4.

(4) *MS.* parts, Bst (Marburg), cat.  $\frac{9982}{10}$ ; title: 'Sinfonia ex G / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Hautbois Primo / Hautbois Secondo / Corno Primo / Corno Secondo / Viola et / Basso / di Heyden' [latter underlined] / [theme]; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin; source from about 4th quarter of 18th cent. (microfilm).

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 69-80, with the 1st and 2nd movements reversed, and with other mistakes; based on C. F. Pohl's copy (GdM XIII, 40838) of a score from the collection of Otto Jahn.

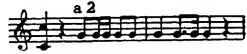


### Corrections to G. A.:

#### I.

*Tempo:* Andante moderato, not Andante molto.

- 4: vln II remove *tr.*  
 10/12 (cor. I), 38/41 (cor. I, II): tied.  
 16, 18,  
 51, 52: vln. I *tr.* on 1st note.  
 19, 72: vln. I, II *tr.* on 1st and last notes.  
 24: vla. last note *c.*  
 27/28: vla., vcl.-cb. slur from crotchet to 1st quaver next meas.  
 28: ob. I 2nd and 3rd notes dotted as in vln. I.  
 28, 56: vln. I *tr.* on last note.  
 34: vln. I 1st 4 notes even semiquavers.  
 53: vln. II 1st 2 notes dotted quaver and semiquaver.  
 61: vla., vcl.-cb. last note *g* and *G*, resp.  
 65: vla., vcl.-cb. *p* on 2nd note.  
 68: vln. I, II *p* on 2nd note, general *f* antepenultimate note.  
 73/74,  
 74/75: vln. II slur from last note of each meas. to first note of succeeding meas.

#### II.

- 6: vla. 2nd note *g.*  
 7, 45: for *tr.* read + (add to vln. II, 7).  
 9, 47: vln. I, II (in 9 + ob. I, II) last note *tr.* (read +).  
 11/12: cor. I, II  
  
 15/16: vln. I, II either  or slur over all 4 notes.  
 24: *f* on antepenultimate note.  
 27/28: vla., vcl.-cb. last 3 notes marcato.  
 30: vln. II 2nd note *c* #".  
 31, 33,  
 76, 78: vln. I, II remove 2nd *tr.*  
 34, 79: vla. col basso.  
 37: (add *tr.* vln. II—cf. 82).  
 44: remove *p* cor., insert 45; vla., vcl.-cb. *p* on 2nd note.  
 49: general *f* (in [vln. II], vla. last note 48).  
 58, 60: last 4 notes 

#### III.

Trills should be added to the last notes of the oboes, vln. I and II in following meas.: 7, 15, 27, 71, 79, 91, 97, 99 (ob.).

# Appendix I

- 32, 58: vln. I 1st note quaver.  
 34, 36,  
 60, 62: vln. I as in 60, 62; vla.,  
 vcl.-cb. slur over each meas.;  
 remove slurs vln. I, 59 to 60  
 and 61 to 62; ob., 34, 36: *p*.
- 51, 53: vln. I slur over whole meas.  
 64: vla., vcl.  $\curvearrowright$  over 1st note (*i. e.*,  
 at 2da volta, omit last 5 notes).  
 92/95: vcl.-cb. (vla.) marcato.  
 97: cor. I = 91?

† No. 19



II. Andante, d, 2/4.

III. Presto, D, 3/8.

*Date of comp.*: c. 1757-61 (?). Earliest ref.: Br. cat. 1766.

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.*: EK/III, p. 34; Kees, missing; HV 93 (tempo: 'Allo:'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1766, p. 10: 'VI. Sinf. del Sigr. Gius. HAYDEN, Mus. di. Cam. / del Princ. Esterhasi. Racc. I. [No.] IV. a 8 V[oci]. 2 C. 2 Ob.'; Lambach cat. 1768, p. 273: 'à 2 Violin. / 2 Cor: 2 oboe. / Viola, è Basso'; Göttweig cat., p. 860: 'Comp. R P / Odo 1769' (parts lost).

*Authentic sources*: none.

*Sources*:

(1) *MS.* parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 1, GdM (Kaiserliche Sammlung?), cat. XIII, 1340; title: 'Sinfonia / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secondo / Corno Primo / Corno Secondo / Viola è Basso / Del Sigre: Giuseppe Haydn. / [theme]'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 31, 32); source of Viennese origin, 3rd quarter of 18th cent.

(2) *MS.* parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 1340; title: [right top: theme] / 'Sinfonia / à / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Alto Viola / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / è / Basso / Del Sig:re Giuseppe Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Austro-Hungarian empire (watermarks: VI, 1); origin of source: Viennese (?), 4th quarter of 18th cent.

(3) *MS.* parts, Seitenstetten: title: 'Sinfonia ex D# / à / 2. Violini / 2. Oboe / 2. Cornui / Viola e / Basso. / Del Sig. Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: almost illegible coat-of-arms); source of local origin. Performance dates on rear cover from '5 Juny 771' to '28 Octobris 785 Andte'. Date of *MS.*: c. 1770.

(4) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 1, source 4.

(5) *MS.* parts, Bst (Marburg), cat.  $\frac{9984}{1}$ ; title: 'Sinfonia ex D# / Corno Primo / Corno Secondo. / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secondo. / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Viola / et / Basso / Del Sig Haydn / [theme]'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper; source c. 1760-85 (?) — (microfilm).

*Additional MS. sources*: (6) Stockholm, score; (7) Stockholm, parts.

Note: On Pohl's copy of the score (see below) there is a reference to a Parisian edition, 'Op. VII'; this work is not, however, included in Bailleux's *Opus VII*, and Pohl's notice may be a mistake.

*Critical edition*: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 81-90, with minor errors; based on source 2 and C. F. Pohl's copy (GdM XIII, 1340) of a score from the collection of Otto Jahn.

*Corrections to G. A.*:

- I.  
 2, 10, 47, 51, 84 (vln. II), 93 (vln. I):  
 remove tie.
- 3, 11, 52, 85: cor. remove slur.  
 3, 11, 28, 30, 32, 48, 52, 85, 103, 107:  
 vln. I 1st slur only over semi-  
 quavers († ob. & vln. II where  
 nec.).

# Appendix I

- 9: remove *p*, insert 2nd note 10 (vln.) and 11 (vla., vcl.-cb., cor.).
- 28, 103: vla., vcl.-cb. *p* 2nd note.
- 42, 43, 117, 118: ob. I, II, cor. I, II last note crotchet.
- 64: remove *p*, insert vln. II, vla. 2nd note 65 and vln. I, 66.
- 68: vla. *a. r.* quavers.
- 69: ob. II 2nd note *f*♯; vln. II 2nd note *e*′.
- 71: ob. I, II, vln. I, II remove *tr.*, tie 1st to 2nd note.
- 77: general *pp*.
- 78: cor. should read as in 80.
- 116: vla. last 2 notes octave higher.
- 3: general *p* 2nd note.
- 11: vln. II *a. r.* 1st 2 notes 2 quavers (not dotted).
- 11, (47): last 2 notes stacc.
- 13/16, 33/36, (49/52): vcl.-cb. marcato (13, 49 from 2nd note).
- 41: vln. I remove *appogg.*
- III.
- 10/11: cor. I tied.
- 14/16: vla., vcl.-cb. slur over all three meas.
- 26: vln. I *f* penultimate note.
- 35: cor. should read as in 32.
- 51: general *f* (vln. II *f* 52).
- 65: vln. I, II *pp*, not *p*.
- 69: remove *f* (str. *p* 76 superfluous).
- 85: vla., vcl.-cb. *p*.
- II.
- 2: *a. r.* vla. last 2 notes dotted quaver and semiquaver; vcl.-cb. last note crotchet *c*♯′.

## No. 20

*Allegro molto*



- II. Andante (cantabile), G, C.
- III. Menuet & Trio, C, 3/4; F, 3/4.
- IV. Presto, C, 3/8.

*Date of comp.*: c. 1757-61 (possibly as late as c. 1762-63?). Earliest ref.: Br. cat. 1766.

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 cor. (C, prob. *alto*), 2 clarini (trpt.), timp., str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.*: EK/I (pencil), p. 2; Kees, No. 6 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni']; HV 6 (tempo: 'Spiritoso'); Br. cat. 1766, p. 10: 'VI. Sinf. del Sigr. GIUSEPPE HAYDEN, Mus. di Cam. / del Princ. Esterhasi. Racc. I. [No.] V. a 11 V[oci]. 2 Cl[arini]. Ty[mpani]. 2 C. 2 Ob.'; Br. cat. 1772 (see source 9).

*Authentic sources*: none.

### Sources:

- (1) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 689; title: 'N: 102 / Sinfonia ex C. / à / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Viola / 2. Oboi / 2. Clarini, Timpano / 2. Corni / con Basso / Del Sig Giuseppe Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: ob. I, II: I, 1, 4, 24; bass, cor., trpt., timp., I, 4, 22; other pts., I, 28, 33); there are 3 handwritings, viz.: (a) str. and ob. I, II; (b) and (c): cor., trpt., timp. Source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-85 (?).
- (2) MS. parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 2, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 8; title: '128 / Sinfonia In C / à 11 / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / 2 Clarini / Tympano / Viola / con / Basso / Del Sigr Giuseppe Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Austro-Hungarian empire (watermarks: VI, 1); source of Viennese origin; dup. vln. I, II and bass on local, German paper; date of original source: c. 1770-85 (?).
- (3) MS. parts, partly written by Viennese professional copyist No. 2, GdM (Kees Collection?) cat. XIII, 19067; title: [various numbers crossed out] / 'In C / Sinfonia / [red ink:] N<sup>o</sup>. 62 / à / 2 Violini / 2 oboe / 2 Corni / Viola è Basso / [ornament] del Sig:re Giuseppe Haydn / [theme]'; timp. part included, prob. forgotten on title page. There are 5 copyists on 5 different kinds of paper, mostly

# Appendix I

4<sup>o</sup> Italian (watermarks *inter alia* I, 2, 7, 18, 19, 20, 34). Approximate date of MS.: c. 1770-85 (?); some of the dup. pts. c. 1780-85 (?), others still later.

(4) MS. parts (from Rottenmann?); original title missing, later one, written by Admont copyist: 'Divertimento festivo, / à / 2 Violinis conc. 2 Obois, 1 Alto Viola oblig. / et fundamento. / ex C. / [left bottom:] NB 2 Clarini et timpana / non oblig. desunt. / [right bottom:] del Sigr. Giuseppe Hay- / -den.'; title page on 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 1), pts. from same mill but earlier paper (IV, 3); origin of source: local. The Admont copyist has added tempi, etc. At the end of some pts., the original copyist wrote: 'A : B : G : C : G :'. 3rd quarter of 18th cent.

(5) MS. parts, Admont; title: 'Parttitta in C / Violin 2 / Viola / Clarini seu Corni 2 a piac. / e / Basso. / et / Tympano / [theme] / Par Monsieur Joseph Hayden.'; old. cat. no. 6; origin of 4<sup>o</sup> paper: ? (watermarks: letter 'W' in design; on trpt. pts. a large, nearly illegible coat-of-arms; source of local origin, c. 1780.

(6) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 12, source 7.

(7) MS. parts, Bst (Marburg), cat. <sup>9983</sup>/<sub>10</sub>; title: 'Sinfonia Ex: C: / Clarino-Primo / Clarino-Secondo / Tympani / Corno-Primo / Corno-Secondo / Oboe-Primo / Oboe-Secondo / Violino-Primo / Violino-Secondo / Viola et / Basso / Del: Sig Haydn / [theme]'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible), 4th quarter of 18th cent.

(8) MS. parts, Stockholm ('Symphonie de Haydn'), with No. 16/III as the finale. (9) Printed parts, Hummel, Amsterdam-Berlin, c. 1772 (Gerber: 1772; announced in the Br. cat. of 1772, p. 6: 'III Sinf. di Gius. HAYDEN, a 2 Cor. 2 Fl. o Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B. / Opera X. Amsterd.'). Included are Symphonies Nos. 41; III, 36 (without appoggiatura in Br. cat.) and 20. Title (in oval frame): 'Trois / simphonies / a / Deux Violons, Taille & Basse. / Deux Flutes ou Hautbois et / Deux Corns de Chasse (ad libitum.) / Composées / par / Giuseppe Haydn / Oeuvre X / A Amsterdam chez J. J. Hummel, / au Grand Magazin / de Musique. / N.º 238 Prix f 4.—10'. Pl. no. 238. Copies in Bst (Marburg 222, 630), Copenhagen, etc.

(10) Printed parts, Mlle de Silly, Paris, 1779 (Royal Privilege granted October 1, 1778 [Cucuel, *Quelques documents*]; announced in the *Mercure de France*, 25 March 1779; further announcement in *Gazette de France*); title: 'Trois / Simphonies / A Grand Orchestre / dédiées / A Madame / D'ALLERAY / composées / par G. Hayden. / Gravées par M.elle De Silly.... A Paris...'; pts. for ob. I, ob. II, cor. I, cor. II, vln. I, vln. II, vla., basso. Paris Cons., cat. H 241 a—h. Included are Symphonies IV, 19; 20, and 38.

(11) Reprint of Hummel's Op. X by Forster, London, c. 1792; general title page for all three works: 'Nº. [1, 2, 3] from Op. [10] / A Favorite Sinfonia / For A / Grand Orchestre / Performed at the / Professional and other Concerts / Composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / Price 3s / London / .... Will.º Forster No. 348 next door to the Lyceum near Exeter Change / Strand.' Pl. no. 139. Copy of No. 20 in Manchester, of 1st vln. pts. of all three in BM (h. 656. I. 50), of III, 36 in GdM (XIII, 40825). Later copies: No. 22, York St., Westminster (c. 1803-16).

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 91-106, with grave errors (in the 1st movt., two bars are omitted, etc.); based on C. F. Pohl's copy (GdM XIII, 19067) of a score from the collection of Otto Jahn; source 3 is said to have been used, but this appears doubtful.

## Corrections to G. A.:

I.

3, 7, etc.: vln. I, II a. r. (Rottenmann, Admont) 1st 2 notes tied (doubtful).

9/10,


129/130: ob. II, vln. II tied.

11/12: all sources indicate that these two meas. are to be repeated

before 13/14 (i. e. 15/16);

vln. II 11/12  , 13/14

as in G. A. 11/12; timp. 11/12:

 , 13/14 as in G. A. 11/12.

20: ob. II 2nd note crotchet f #".

21: ob. II a. r. 1st note d" (Rottenmann, Harburg).

# Appendix I

37/38, 39/40, 149/150, 151/152: vln. I tied.

42, 154: vln. I, II (add to vcl.-cb.?) slur over each 2 notes.

44, 48, 50, 156, 160, 162: vln. I (II when necess.) remove slur over stacc.

52: vln. II *f* here, not 51.

54: cor. I *g*".

54/57: vla. *semiquavers* from 3rd note 54, not *quavers*.


94/96: vcl.-cb. slur over each meas. 99: vla., vcl.-cb. instead of dot, quaver rest.

113: ob. II *b*'.

135: vln. II *semiquavers*, not *quavers*.

136: vln. I, II *#* before last note (cf. 137).

146: timp. last note crotchet G.

158: vln. II , in Admont *#* before last note. G. A. reading in any case superior.

164: vln. II *f*.

172: cor. I, II should read as clarini.

II.

♩ not C.

1: all pts. *cantabile*.

1 *ff*: phrasing of 2nd violin different in almost every source; last 4 notes of meas. often stacc.


2: vln. II last note *g*'.

7, 65: vln. I *tr.* on minim.

21: general *poco forte*; general *p*, 22.

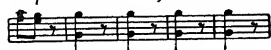
IV.

The following *tr.* should be added to ob. I, vln. I, II: 19 (1st note), 21 (1st note), 29 (vln. I only, last note), 172 (1st note), 174 (1st note), 182 (vln. I only, last note).

26, 83, 179, 236: vln. I, II: 

74/78,

227/231: cor. I, II Admont



† No. 21



II. Presto, A, 4/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, A, 3/4; a, 3/4.

IV. Allegro molto, A, 4/4.

Date of comp.: 1764 (autograph).

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

28: vln. I, II *tr.* on 1st note.

31: vla., vcl.-cb. *tenuto*.

33: vln. II *tr.* on last note.

43: vln. I remove *appogg.*

47: *poco forte* 2nd half of meas., *p*, 48; vln. I slurred to 48.

51: *poco forte* 2nd note, vla., vcl.-cb; *p*, 52.

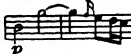
52: vln. I *tr.* on 1st note.

vla., vcl.-cb. *pizzicato* 2nd note (cf. 79 *col'arco*).

54/55: vln. I tied.

72: vln. I 2nd note *g*'.

79: general *poco forte*; *p*, 80.

80/81: vln. I should read 

84: vln. II *a. r.* (Rottenmann, Admont) *b*.

III.

4, 14, 26: ob. I, II, vln. I, II *tr.* on 1st note (vla. 14, too).

30: ob. I, II, vln. I, II remove *appogg.*

Trio: upbeat 31, vln. I *p*; 31/32: vln. I *f* 1st note, *p* 2nd; 33: *f*.

36: vln. I slur 1st 2 notes.

vla. last note *g*.

37, 53: vln. I *tr.* on last note.

||: vla., vcl.-cb. *p*; vln. I, II *p* 39 (*p* 42 superfluous). 43/44, 44/45 (Harburg 42/43 - doubtful): vln. II tied.

47/48: vln. I *f* 1st note, *p* 2nd; *f* 49.

54: vln. I, II remove *appogg.*

80, 82, 233, 235: cor. I, II Admont = clar. I, II.

86, 239: vcl.-cb. Rottenmann, Admont 1st note 8va lower (doubtful).

## Appendix I

*Cat. ref.:* EK, missing; Kees, No. 17 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni']; HV 16 (tempo: 'Larghetto'); Quartbuch; Br. cat.: missing.

*Authentic sources:* (1), (2).

### Sources:

(1) **Autograph**, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 28; photograph in Washington; title: 'Synfonia. In Nomine Domini. Giuseppe Haydn. 764.' 4<sup>o</sup>, 20 pages, 22,5 (23) × 35 (36) cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 1). At end of MS.: 'Laus Deo'.

(2) *MS.* parts by Joseph Elssler, St. Florian; title: 'Synfonia in A. / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secondo / Corno Primo / Corno Secondo / Viola / col / Basso / [later:] Ex Musicalibus Dris Stocker / Physici Provincialis Lincensis / [original title contd.:] Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn.'; origin of 4<sup>o</sup> paper: as in source 1, with same watermarks; origin of source: authentic copy from Eisenstadt or Esterháza, c. 1764-70.

(3) *MS.* parts by Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8483; orig. pts. on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 18); source of Viennese origin; dup. pts., also of Viennese origin, by seven other copyists, mostly on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks *inter alia* I, 1, 4, 12, 13, 24); date of original source: c. 1770-90.

(4) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 686; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); origin of source: Viennese, c. 1780; the 2nd horn part has been replaced in another hand.

(5) *MS.* parts (incomplete), Göttweig; the now lost title page bore the date 1767; pts. for str. only are extant; origin of paper: ? (watermarks illegible); origin of source: local.

(6) *MS.* parts, Göttweig, 'Comparavit P. Odo / An[no] 769'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 5, 7); origin of source: probably local.

(7) *MS.* parts, Herzogenburg; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 7); origin of source: Viennese (or local?), c. 1770.

(8) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana, cat. It. IV, 1277 (11043); a collection of 'No. VI / Sinfonie / Del Sigre Giuseppe Hayden', containing Nos. 52, 43, 47, 48, 42 and 21; oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 31, 41; dup. vln. pts.: I, 1, 38); origin of source: Venetian (but prob. copied from Austrian source?); pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., str.; date of *MS.* c. 1780-90.

(9) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 4, 42; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (prob. local: except for vertical striped lines there are no watermarks); origin of source: local, c. 1770-80.

(10) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 9; oblong paper of unknown origin (watermarks: except for horizontal stripes, illegible); source of local origin, c. 1780-90; 1st movt. marked 'Adagio grazioso'.

(11) *MS.* parts, Stockholm ('Sinfonie af Joseph Haydn').

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 107-120, based on source 1.

### Corrections to G. A.:

#### I.

46: cor. I Elssler *tr.* 1st note (but not at 23).

47, 63: vln. I, II ~ instead of *tr.*? (Suggestion in aut. and Elssler).

65, 69: ob. I, vln. II, vla., vcl.-cb. 1st note stacc. (under slur).

#### II.


14: cor. I Elssler *tr.* on last note (add to ob. I and parallel passage?).

15: cor. I, II Elssler *d''* (= *b'*).

21: ob. II Elssler semibreve *b'* tied to 22 (tie ob. II 22/23?).

60: vln. I 2nd, 3rd, 4th notes marcato.

#### III.


Last meas. Menuet (32) Elssler  1st note vla., (vcl.-cb.) (*i. e.* at da capo omit last 2 notes).



# Appendix I

33/36, 2nd note 38, 1st note 39: *vla.* IV.

*Elssler 8va lower (much preferable to aut. 'col. Basso').*

39: *vln. I* Elssler 

47:  $\rightarrow$ , not  $\sim$ .

76/80: *ob. I, II à 2 = vln. I in Elssler, at 80 4th quarter crotchet rest, then (81 ff.) as in G. A.*

† No. 22

## I. Original Version:

I. 

II. 

III. 

IV. 

'Der Philosoph' (title used in H's lifetime: see source 12).

Date of comp.: 1764 (autograph).

Scoring: 2 Eng. horns, 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.]. In some sources, 2 flutes or 2 oboes replace the Eng. horns, which are authentic.

Cat. ref.: EK, missing; Kees, No. 21: 'Sinfonia, con Corni, 2 Corni Inglesi / oder Flauti'; HV 20 (tempo: 'poco Adagio'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1767, p. 10: 'VI. Divertimenti di HAYDEN. Racc. I. [No.] III. 2 Corn. 2 Corn. Ingl. 2 Viol. V. B.'.

Authentic sources: (1), (2).

Sources:

(1) Autograph, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 27; photograph in Washington; title: 'Synfonia. In Nomine Domini. Giuseppe Haydn. 764'; 4<sup>o</sup>, 32 pages, 36 × 23,2 cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 1). A separate title page reads: 'N.º 2 / Haydn / Num. 14'. Instr.: '2 Corni Ex E mol / 2 Corni Inglese / Violino 1<sup>mo</sup> / [Violino] 2<sup>do</sup> / Viola / Basso'. The 3rd movt. is entitled 'Minuetta'. At end of MS.: 'Laus Deo'.

(2) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 23; title: 'Nro 40 [struck out] / Sinfonia Ex E moll ["E moll" struck out and altered to "E b"] / Due Violini / Due Corno Inglese [later an added remark "Due Oboe" to the right] / Due Corni e / Viola — e / Basso. / Del Sigre Giuseppe Hayden'; 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II and 2 bass pts.; 4<sup>o</sup> paper; 2 substitute ob. pts. on oblong paper added later: the title reads 'Corno Inglese. et oboe. Primo' but the head of the music reads 'Oboe 1<sup>mo</sup>', and both parts are in *cor anglais* notation. There are also substitute 'Flauto Traverso 1<sup>mo</sup>' and '2<sup>do</sup>' pts., also in *cor anglais* notation, and also added later. The original pts. appear to be early, probably c. 1764-70 (?).

(3) MS. parts, Göttweig, 'Comparavit R. P. Odo, 772'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); there are pts. for 2 fl., substitutes for the cor. ingl. pts., also included in the MS.; the fl. pts. are on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 5, 7) and appear to have been added later.

(4) MS. parts by Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 19056; fl. pts. instead of cor. ingl.; original pts. on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 37); dup.

# Appendix I

str. pts., copied later, also on 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 18, 25); date of orig. pts.: c. 1770-80.

(5) *MS.* parts, Seitenstetten, 'sub / P: M: O. 773'; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 34); origin of source apparently Viennese; fl. pts. instead of cor. ingl.

(6) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 4, 46; the title page does not list the cor., but cor. pts. are included on the same paper and were, therefore, probably forgotten on title p.; fl. pts. instead of cor. ingl.; 4° paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 3); origin of source: ? (prob. not Kremsmünster: ordered from Linz?); date of *MS.*: c. 1770-80.

(7) *MS.* parts, Schlögl, cat. 63; with ob. instead of cor. ingl.; 4° paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); origin of source: ? (prob. local), c. 1770-80.

(8) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana, cat. It. IV, 1268 (11151); a collection of 'VI Sinfonie / Del Sigr. Giuseppe Haydn', containing Nos. 49, 35, 22, 58, 38 and 29; 4° Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19; dup. str. pts.: I, 1, 4, or I, 1, 38); origin of source prob. Venetian, but deriving from Austrian source; pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., str.; date of *MS.*: c. 1770-80.

(9) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 10, source 6.

(10) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 826; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 49); dup. str. pts. on local, German paper; fl. pts. instead of cor. ingl.; source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-90.

(11) *MS.* parts, Modena, cat. D. 145; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 15, 48); source of Viennese origin; prob. copied from *MS.* with cor. ingl., since there is the following remark on fl. I pt.: 'Ein 4 Ton tiefer A ist E'; c. 1780 (or later?).

(12) *MS.* parts, Modena, cat. D. 149; entitled 'Le Philosoph'; fl. pts. instead of cor. ingl.; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 18, 24, 31); source of Viennese origin, c. 1790 (or later?).

*Additional MS. sources:* (13) Zwettl; (14) Milan, cat. <sup>5582</sup>/<sub>28</sub>; (15) Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 10; (16) Antoniana, Padua: see No. 13, source 14.

(17) Printed parts, Huard de Saint Guy, Paris; announced in the *Affiches* of May, 1770; copy in Grima Collection, Gefle, Sweden (cf. Sondheimer, *Haydn*, p. 6). *Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 121-134, based on source 1.

*Corrections to G. A.:*

I.

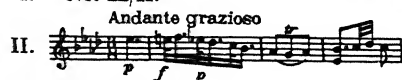
1: vcl.-cb. 'staccato'.  
61: vla., vcl.-cb. 2nd note *e*<sub>b</sub> (some sources 1st note G, some = G. A.).

IV.

Suggested ties: 32/33 (cor. ingl. I, II), 37/38 (cor. ingl. II), 59/60 (cor. ingl. I), 69/70 (cor. I, II); 109/110: cor. I, II tied (add cor. ingl. II); suggest tie cor. I, II 111/112.

I. = No. 22/II.

II. *Revised Version:*



III. = No. 22/IV.

The authenticity of this version is doubtful, and the new slow movement, if it is by Haydn, may originally have been composed for another purpose.

*Cat. ref.:* none.

*Scoring:* 2 fl. (or ob.), 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.], with 2 violas in 2nd movt.

*Authentic sources:* none.

*Sources:*

(1) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 829; title: 'Sinfonia in Dis / a / Due Violini / Due Viole / Due Flauti / Due Corni / e / Basso / Del Sigr. Giuseppe

## Appendix I

Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-90.

(2) *MS.* parts, Washington, cat. M 1001 H 4; a collection of Haydn symphonies, of Spanish (or South American?) origin, end of 18th or beginning of 19th cent.; mostly by one of two copyists, but all on the same paper, usually oblong, a few copies on 4<sup>o</sup> (watermarks: coat-of-arms with letter 'A' surrounded by 3 stars; a star also within legs of 'A'; a Maltese cross hanging from coat-of-arms; letters: 'R[heart] ROMANI'); wax droppings on some pts. Collection includes this version of No. 22, and Nos. 24, 27, 35, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53 (two copies), 54, 55, 56, 57 (2 copies), 58, 60, 61, 62 (3 copies), 66 (2 copies), 67 (2 copies), 69, 70, 71, 73, 80, 81 and a spurious work (Appendix II, No. 29).

(3) Printed parts, Venier, Paris, 1773 (*Mercure de France*, April, pp. 189 f.); title: 'III / Sinfonie / a piu stromenti / composte dal Sig. / Giuseppe Haydn / Maestro di Concerto e Compositore di Musica / di S. E. il Prencipe Esterhasy / opera XV / Nuovamente stampata a spese di G. B. Venier / Le parti d'oboe e corni da caccia sono ad libitum'. Copies in Naples Conserv., Schwerin. Reprint, c. 1780 (?), by Boyer, using original plates (copy in Manchester). Contents: Nos. 22, 58 and 39.

*Critical edition:* none.

### † No. 23



II. Andante, C, 2/4.

III. Menuetto & Trio, G, 3/4; C, 3/4.

IV. Presto assai, G, 6/8.

*Date of comp.:* 1764 (autograph).

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.:* EK, missing; Kees, No. 19 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni']; HV 18 (tempo: 'Modto'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1773: see source 14; Sigmaringen cat. (1766; addition III): 'Synf: in G, à 2. VV: 2 oboe, / 2 Corn: viola. è Basso [No.] 83'; Göttsweig cat., p. 860 'Comp R P/Odo 1769' (parts lost).

*Authentic source:* (1).

*Sources:*

(1) *Autograph*, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 29; photograph in Washington; title: 'Synfonia. In Nomine Domini. Giuseppe Haydn 764'; 4<sup>o</sup>, 20 pages, c. 23 × 36,2 cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 1). At end of *MS.*: 'Laus Deo'.

(2) *MS.* parts, GdM, cat. XIII, 6658; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible), source apparently Viennese in origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent.

(3) *MS.* parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 1, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, 4<sup>o</sup> 512; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 34); source of Viennese origin, c. 1765-75; dup. bass pt. on local German paper (watermarks: VIII, 1).

(4) *MS.* parts, Lambach; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 2, 15); source of local origin, c. 1770.

(5) *MS.* parts, Melk, cat. IV, 49; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from St. Pölten mill (watermarks: V, 2); source of local origin, c. 1770-80.

(6) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 3, source 6.

(7) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 12, source 8.

(8) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons., from the Gustinian Collection, Volume I, which contains Nos. 41, 35, 39, 34, 23 and 49; title: 'Sei Sinfonie / a due Violini, Oboè, Corni da Caccia, Viole, Violoncello, e Basso / aggiunto il Flauto nella Sinfonia I [No. 41] / Del Sigr Giuseppe Haydn'; oblong Italian (prob. Venetian)

## Appendix I

paper (watermarks: I, 1, 1 & 15; 4; 44; 45; 50); origin of source: local; date of MS.: c. 1780-90.

(9) MS. parts, Venice Cons., cat. IV, 1319; a collection of 'VI. Sinfonie grosse / Del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Giuseppe Haydn', containing Nos. 41, 35, 39, 25, Divertimento HV 20, and 23; pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor. and str. 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 41); origin of source: local; date of MS.: c. 1780-90.

(10) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 12, source 9.

*Additional MS. sources:* (11) Regensburg cat. J. Haydn 11 (local origin); (12) Michaelbeuern, cat. XIX/26 (copied by P. W. Rettensteiner); (13) Biblioteca Antoniana, Padua: a collection of six symphonies, Nos. 23, 47, 65, 44, 43 and 49 (in that order) on Italian paper (watermarks: letters 'WM', I, 1 and 4), with pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor. and str., 4th quarter of 18th cent. I am indebted to Prof. Jan La Rue for a description of this source.

(14) Printed parts, Mme Berault, Paris, c. 1766 (or later?): see No. 3, source 11.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 135-148, based on source 1 (note correction list in Revisionsbericht). 1st movt., bars 6, 58, 101 (vln. I only — *sic*) mordent, not *tr*.

No. 24



II. Adagio, G, 3/4.

III. Menuetto & Trio, D, 3/4.

IV. Autograph: no tempo; secondary MSS.: Allegro; D, 4/4.

*Date of comp.:* 1764 (autograph).

*Scoring:* 1 fl. (only in II and III/trio), 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.:* EK, missing; Kees No. 20 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni?']; HV 19; Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1769, p. 2: 'IV. Sinfonie di Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] I. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. Fl. trav. 2 Viol. V. e B.'; Göttweig cat., p. 860, 'P. Leandri 1768'.

*Authentic source:* (1).

*Sources:*

(1) *Autograph.* EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 26; photograph in Washington; title: 'Synfonia. In Nomine Domini. Giuseppe Haydn 764'; 4<sup>o</sup>, 28 pages, c. 22,6 (23) × 35 (36) cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 1). The title is on a separate (blank) page, with an old cat. no.: 'Num 13'. At end of MS.: 'Laus Deo'.

(2) MS. parts by Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 19059/60, bound together with No. 9; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 51); origin of source: Viennese; dup. str. pts. by numerous other copyists on other, newer paper; date of MS.: c. 1770-80 (?).

(3) MS. parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 2, Harburg, cat. III, 41/2, fol. 817; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1 & 15, 7); origin of source: Viennese; dup. str. parts on local German paper (watermarks: VIII, 1); date of MS.: c. 1770.

(4) MS. parts, Venice Marciana, in cat. It. IV, 1281 (10897) (containing various works of Haydn which, as they are separate copies, have been listed individually); oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); source of local origin; dup. vln. pts. on other Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 41); ob. II part missing; date of MS.: c. 1770-80 (?).

(5) MS. parts, Modena, cat. D. 150; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 52); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-80.

(6) MS. parts, Munich, cat. Mus. Ms. 4756; 'N: 7: ... Ad chorum Salemitanu/1773' (i. e., from the Cistercian monastery of Salmannsweiler, secularized in 1802).

## Appendix I

- (7) *MS.* score, Stockholm.  
 (8) *MS.* parts, Washington (comment on cover: 'mala'): see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

(9) Printed parts, Bland, London, c. 1790; title: 'No. [11]... The Favorite / Sinfonie / as Performed at the Nobilitys Concert, / For a Grand / Orchestre / Composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / This Sinfonie may be played as a Quartet. — Price 3. Sh / London, Printed for J. Bland, No. 45 Holborn...'. Copy in Manchester.

(10) Reprint of Bland by Forster, c. 1810-15 (?). Copy in BM, h. 656. I. (25.) has address: '22, York Street, Westminster'.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 149-162, based on source 1.

### Corrections to G. A.:

#### II.

Fl: trills missing in aut. but present in early *MS.* sources: 6 (1st note), 29 (1st note). Aut. has Haydn ornament instead of *tr.* at bar 4 (but *tr.* in 31).  
 20, 40: fl.: unclear if appogg. meant as crotchet or as indication of ~.  
 III. 3: ob. I appogg. *a''* before 1st note.

#### No. 25



II. Menuet & Trio, C, 3/4.

III. Presto, C, 2/4.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1760-64. Earliest ref.: Sigmaringen cat. 1766; Br. cat. 1767.

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.]. G. A. has 2 fl. instead of ob.: this is only supported by the very doubtful source at Zittau (see below), and the ob. pts. are without question correct.

*Cat. ref.:* EK, missing; Kees, missing; HV, missing; Quartbuch; Sigmaringen cat. 1766: 'Symfonia ex C / à 2. V. V. 2. Oboe. 2. Corn: / et Basso-Viola [No.] 52'; Br. cat. 1767, p. 4: 'VI. Sinf. di HAYDEN. Racc. III. [No.] III. a 2 Corn. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. B.' (theme correct but one b erroneously in key-signature); Br. cat. 1767, p. 5: 'IV. Sinfonie di HAYDEN. Raccolta V. [No.] II. 2 Corni. 2 Ob. 2 Violin. V. e B.' (theme mangled); Göttweig cat., p. 866: 'Symphonia / a 2 Violinis / Viola 2 Obois / 2 Corni / Basso / [left:] Comp R P / Josephus'.

*Authentic sources:* none. This is one of two of Mandyczewski's 104 symphonies lacking in HV. Its authenticity is, however, fairly certain.

#### Sources:

- (1) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 12, source 8.
- (2) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 1, source 4.
- (3) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 23, source 9.
- (4) *MS.* parts, Melk, cat. IV, 46; original title page destroyed; two copyists, writing on two types of paper, both 4<sup>o</sup>: (1) all pts. except vln. I & II, paper prob. from St. Pölten mill (watermarks V, 4); (2) vln. I & II on paper from Austrian or Hungarian mill (watermarks: VI, 3); these vln. pts. possibly dup., added later, and orig. pts. have been lost (*cf.* No. 28). Source of local origin, c. 1770-75 (?).
- (5) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 12; title: 'Nro 59 / Sinfonia / a / due Violini / due oboe / due Corni / Viola / e / Basso / Del Sig Giuseppe Haydn / [theme]'; oblong paper, prob. from local German mill (watermarks illegible); ob. I has been replaced by another copyist on other paper; dup. str. pts. by still another copyist on other, newer paper; date of *MS.*: 4th quarter of 18th cent.

## Appendix I

(6) *MS.* score, Stockholm.

(7) *MS.* parts, Zittau, cat. 22; the work has been transposed from C to D major, the bass part considerably altered, and two flute parts substituted for the oboes; these flute parts have been, to all intents and purposes, newly written, and the source — at best doubtful — thus loses whatever worth it might have had.

(8) Printed parts, La Chevadière, Paris: see No. 15, source 6.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 163-174, with very grave errors; based on Pohl's score made from source 7.




*Corrections to G. A.:*

I.

*For flutes substitute oboes, with corrections as noted below; the a. r. of ob. I in Regensburg (not convincing) have not been noted.*

- 1: general *pp*, vln. I *pp* 2.
- 2: vln. II *tr.* on 3rd note.
- 3: vla., vcl.-cb. last note  $\sharp f$ , tied to 4.
- 4: vln. I *tr.* on *f*.
- 7: ob. I, cor. I last note tied to 8.
- cor. II semibreve *g'*, tied to 8.
- 7/8: vln. I (add to II) *p* falls on each 3rd note; vla., vcl.-cb. *p* falls on each 2nd note.
- 8: vla., (vcl.-cb.) last 2 notes slurred.
- 9/10: vla., vcl.-cb. slur over each 2 notes.
- 12: vln. I *tr.* on 2nd note.
- 12/13: cor. I, II tied to 13, in 13 semibreve *g''* and *g'* resp., tied to 14.
- vln. I, II slur over last 3 notes each meas. (add to ob. — thus Regensburg).
- 14: cor. I, II dotted minim.
- 16: general *pp*, remove *f* winds (*p* 17 superfluous).
- vla., vcl.-cb. slur over each 2 quavers.
- 16/17: ob. I, II tied.
- 18: vla., vcl.-cb. slur over whole meas.
- 20: vcl.-cb. slur over 2nd to 3rd notes.
- 20/21: vcl.-cb. last 2 notes 20, 1st note 21 *8va* lower.
- 21/22: vln. I tied.
- vln. II *tr.* on each semiquaver.
- 21/23: ob. I, II *8va* lower, 22 semibreve *g'*, tied from 21 and to 23.
- 22: vla. 1st note *8va* higher.
- 23: general  $\text{cresc.}$  over crotchet rest.
- 24: tempo: *Allegro molto*.

24/1st 2 notes 32: vcl.-cb. *8va* higher.


- 32/33, 141/146: vln. I (and II when necessary) *tr.* on 1st note.
- 33/34: vln. II tied.
- 33/35: from last note 33 to 1st note 35 ob. I, II *8va* lower.
- 43: ob. II *c''*, tied to 44.
- 46, 90/91: vln. I slur over each 2 notes.
- 55/57: from 2nd note 55, vcl.-cb. *8va* higher.
- 62, (164): vln. I *f* last note, not 63, (165).
- 64: vcl.-cb. *8va* higher.
- 65/69: ob. II *8va* lower.
- 71: vcl.-cb. 2nd note *8va* higher.
- 72: vln. II , 73: vln. II = vln. I.
- 74/75: vcl.-cb. last 2 notes 74 and 1st 2 notes 75 *8va* higher.
- 75/77: ob. I, II *8va* lower, 78: 1st note *8va* lower.
- 76/77: vln. II last 3 notes each meas. *a'*.
- 76/78: vla. semiquavers, not quavers.
- 81/82: as in 74/75.
- 82/85: ob. I, II *8va* lower.
- 83/84: vcl.-cb. 2nd and 3rd notes each meas. *8va* higher.
- 94: general *f* here, not 97/98.
- 94/101: vcl.-cb. *8va* higher.
- 105: vln. II *a. r.* 1st 2 notes *c''*.
- 106/107, 108/109: ob. I, II, vla., vcl.-cb. .
- 110/113: vcl.-cb. *8va* higher; slurs vla., vcl.-cb. as in 106/107 (*cf. supra*).
- 121/125: ob. I from 2nd note 121 to 1st note 123 *8va* lower, from here to 125 ob. I, II *8va* lower.
- 123: vcl.-cb. 1st note *8va* lower.
- 130/131: vln. I, Melk and 2 Marciana sources 2nd quaver = .


Regensburg = G. A. but with *tr.* on 1st note; lower str. slur


# Appendix I

- across bar-line 130/131 and 131/132.  
 133/141: vcl.-cb. 8va higher up to 3rd note 141.  
 141/142: vla. col basso.  
 146: vcl.-cb. g.  
 147/155: ob. I, II 8va lower.  
 160: vln. I last note 8va higher.  
 161: vla. instead of 1st note quaver rest.  
 165: vla. a. r. minim e", tied to 166.  
 166: vln. I add minim g'.  
 167: vln. I add minim f'.  
 169: cor. I = cor. II; both tied from 168.  
 vcl.-cb. middle note 8va higher.  
 169/170: vla. tied.  
 170/171: cor. II = cor. I (except Regensburg, = G. A.).  
 174/175: ob. II = vln. II.  
 cor. I, II tied (suggest continue to 176).  
 177: ob. I, II = vln. I.  
 178: vln. II last 4 notes f' — 3 × d'.  
 178/179: ob. I, II 8va lower up to 2nd note 179.  
 179/181: vcl.-cb. = vla.  
 181/182: ob. I, II, cor. I, II tied.  
 185: ob. II 2nd note b'.  
 186/187: ob. I, II from 2nd note 186 8va lower; a. r. ob. I 186 2nd note d".

## II.

- Trills to be added as follows to ob. I, II and vln. I, II: 1 (1st note), 3 (1st note), 5 (1st note), 11, ob. I, vln. I (1st note), 11/12 ob. II, vln. II (1st note), 15 (vln. I, 1st note), 17 (vln. I, 1st note), 19, 23 (1st note str., ob.), 25 (ob. I, vln. I, last note).  
 2/3: vla., vcl.-cb. to 1st note of 3 8va higher.  
 3: vla. for last note   
 5 (ob., vln.), 19 (all pts.), 23 (all pts.): last 2 notes not dotted, even quavers, with slur.  
 7/8: vcl.-cb. last note 7, 1st note 8 8va higher.  
 8/9: vcl.-cb. last note 8 slurred to 1st note 9.  
 9/10: ob. I, II à 2 = vln. I.  
 11/12: ob. I, II 8va lower.  
 vcl.-cb. last note 11 slurred to 1st note 12.  
 11/14: cor. I, II tied.  
 12: ob. I, vln. I slur over meas.

- 13: ob. II 1st note g'; ob. I for last crotchet, read = vln. I.  
 17: cor. II 

- 18/20: ob. 8va lower.  
 19, 23: vcl.-cb. 8va higher.  
 23: ob. I = ob. II.  
 24: ob. I, II, vln. I, II slur over last 2 notes.  
 25: vla. last note 8va lower.  
 26: vcl.-cb. ; vla. col basso.  
 27, 43: cor. II instead of quavers crotchet c".  
 30/31: ob. I = vln. I, ob. II = vln. II until 3rd quarter 31, then = G. A.  
 34: ob. I, II appogg. e", c" before note.  
 vln. I, d", both Marciana MSS.  
 35: ob. II tacet.  
 35/40: cor. I tied.  
 36: cor. II 3rd note c".  
 37: ob. I 8va lower; 38 1st 2 notes c"-e".  
 39: in Melk and the 2 Marciana MSS., this whole meas. omitted (quite possible).  
 40: vcl.-cb. 2nd note 8va higher.  
 42 (41): cor. II remove appogg.  
 vln. I d', both Marciana MSS.  
 45 (44): vcl.-cb. 8va higher.  
 46 (45): vla. c'.  
 48 (47): vln. II 2nd note a. r. e" (Venice).  
 ob. II dotted minim e".  
 50 (49): ob. I, II possibly without appogg.; or if used, add appogg. d" before cor. I (thus Regensburg).  
 vcl.-cb. last note 8va lower.

## III.

- Corrections to oboe pts.: 4/8 8va lower;  
 11/14 ob. II 8va lower; 35/36 ob. II as in 34/35, tied throughout; 40/42 ob. I 8va lower; 44/46 ditto; 62/1st note 65 1st note each meas. ob. II 8va lower; 67/76: ob. II = vln. II; 79/81, ditto (N.B. correction vln. II, 79, see below); 82/83, 84/85, 86/87 ob. I, II tied across bar (cf. correction vln. below); 91/92 ob. I tied, suggest continue to 94; 112/113 ob. I, II from 2nd note 112 8va lower.

- Corrections vcl.-cb.: 8va higher as follows:  
 6/1st 2 notes 7; 28/29; 33: minim c'; 34/1st note 37; 75/76; 83/88; 95/96; 98.  
 11: general f, not p.

# Appendix I

- 12/13 (cor. I), 14/18 (cor. I), 89/90 (cor. II), 91/94 (cor. I) tied.  
 19/27: vln. II = vln. I.  
 19/20, 21/22, 23/24, 25/26, 27/28, 82/83, 84/85, 86/87: vln. I, II tied across bar-line; ditto vln. I, 94/95.  
 30, 32: vln. I, II quavers.  
 33, 90: vcl.-cb. *tenuto*.  
 35/36: vla., vcl.-cb. slur over each meas.  
 39/40, 43/44, 100/101, 108/109 a. r. all sources except Regensb.: vla. col basso.  
 56: remove *f*, also cor. 58: music remains *p*.  
 64/65: vln. II tied.  
 72: ob. I, vln. I *tr.* on 1st note.  
 79: vln. II should read *a'-e''-a'*, vla. *e'-a-a*.  
 90/91: vla., vcl.-cb. tied and slurred, resp.  
 92/93: cor. II 2nd note each meas. *d''*.  
 94: vln. I add *d''* to 1st note.  
 95: vla. last 3 notes *d'*.  
 97, 99: vln. II a. r. (Marciana sources) 1st and last chords have *d'* for upper notes.  
 97/99: vln. I add *d''* to chords in 97, 99, *c''* to 98.  
 112/113: vln. I, II add *c''* to chords.

## † No. 26



II. Adagio, F, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, d, 3/4; D, 3/4.

'Lamentatione', apparently authentic designation, found on many old MSS.

Date of comp.: c. 1768 (entry in EK). Earliest ref.: Herzogenburg, 1772; Göttweig, 1772.

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

Cat. ref.: EK/I, p. 2; Kees, No. 43 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni.']; HV 42 (tempo: 'molto Allo?'); Quarthuch; Br. cat. 1775, p. 3: 'I. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'; Sigmaringen cat. (1766; addition III): 'Synf: in D. à 2 VV. 2 oboe, / 2. Corn: viola è Basso [No.] 80'.

Authentic sources: none.

Sources:

(1) MS. parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 2, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 822; title: 'N:ro 14 / Sinfonia in D minor / à 4tro / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn.'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1 & 15, 7); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-80. Dup. str. pts. on local German paper (watermarks: VIII, 2), added later.

(2) MS. parts, Schlägl, cat. 7; title: 'La Lamentatione / Sinfonia / a / 2. Violini / 2. Oboe / 2. Corni / Viola è / Basso / Del Sig: Haydn.'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 53); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-80.

(3) MS. parts, Göttweig; only vln. I pt. extant; entry in Göttweig cat. reads (p. 862) 'Synphonia / a 2 Violinis / 2 Obois / 2 Corni / Viola / Violone / [left:] Comp R P / Odo 1772'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 9, 16); it is possible that this MS. is of Viennese origin, although it is signed by P. Odo.

(4) MS. parts, Herzogenburg; 'Passio et Lamentatio in D minor [sic]', dated 1772; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 1). Horn II seems to have been lost, and was 'composed' later (the title page indicates confusion as regards horn pts.). Source of local origin, possibly copied from Göttweig source (?).

(5) MS. parts, GdM, cat. XIII, 8114; title: 'Sinfonia in D minor / a / Due Violini / Viola è Basso / Due Oboe / Due Corni / Del Sig: Giuseppe Haydn';



## Appendix I

4<sup>o</sup> paper from Augsburg or Nürnberg paper mill (watermarks: VIII, 3, identical with those of EK / III!); origin of source: ? (German or Austrian), c. 1780-90. Dup. vln. pts. on Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1 & 54, 55), dup. bass pt. also on Italian paper (I, 1 & 15, 7).

(6) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 5, 53; title: 'Sinfonia in D $\sharp$  / a / 2. Violini Viola / 2. Oboe. / 2. Corni in D ed F / Basso / Del Sign. Giuseppe Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: coat-of-arms, almost illegible); origin of source: ? (local?), c. 1770-85.

(7) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana; in cat. It. IV, 1281 (10897) (see No. 24, source 4); title: 'Sinfonia / Del Sigr Giuseppe Haydn'; oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); source of local origin, c. 1770-80. Dup. str. pts. on newer Venetian paper (I, 1, 4, 41).

(8) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 13; title: 'Lamentatio / N 16 / Sinfonia / con / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / Viola / e / Basso / [theme] / D: Sig Hayden'; oblong paper from Augsburg or Nürnberg paper mill (watermarks: VIII, 1); a score of the 2nd movt., made later, is included. Origin of source(s): local, pts. c. 1780-90, score c. 1790 (or later?).

(9) *MS.* parts, Stams, cat. L I, 43; title: 'P. No. 105. / Sinfonia in D minor || La Lamentazione || à / Violino Primo / Violino Secundo / Viola / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secondo / 2 Corni [later: "D et F"] / e / Basso / Del Sig: giuseppe Hayden'; [later:] 'Ad chorum / Stamsensem' with theme in two staves. Oblong paper of unknown (local?) origin (watermarks illegible or not present); source of local (?) origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent.

*Additional MS. sources:* (10) Bst (Marburg), cat.  $\frac{9986}{1}$ ; (11) Melk, lacking 3rd movt.: a local copy; (12) Schwerin: 'La Lamentatione... trovano da Christiano Godofredo Thomasio Candidato di Leggi e Musico in Lipsia...'; (13) Zwettl; (14) Stockholm, score.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 175-186, with various errors; based on source 5 and C. F. Pohl's copy (GdM) of a score from the collection of Otto Jahn.

### Corrections to G. A.:

#### I.

- 10, 12: vln. I *tr.* on minim (*cf.* also 89, 91).
- 28/29: ob. II tied.
- 30/31,
- 113/114: ob. I, II, vln. II *remove ties* (this also agrees with Passion melody); prob. cor. I, 113/114 better without tie.
- 37, 120: vln. I slur over 1st 7 notes (or 2 slurs: 1st-3rd, 4th-7th).
- 47: vcl.-cb. add upper *g* to 1st note (*cf.* also 63); possibly to be added to vla. 47, too.
- 63: cor. I, II prob. semibreve, tied to 64 (thus cor. II, Schlägl).
- 65: *remove p, insert 67.*
- 78/79: cor. II tied.
- 96, 98: ob. I slur over all 3 notes.
- 131: cor. I prob. 2 minims *d''* (= *e'*).

#### II.

- 2, 15, 38: vln. I 2nd and 3rd notes tied.
- 3, 8, 16: vln. I *last 4 notes even semi-quavers.*
- 7: appogg. in some sources *a'*, in some *g'*.
- 10: vln. I in many sources *tr.* on 1st note (rather doubtful).
- 12: ob. I, vln. II in many sources without appogg.
- 25, 51: vln. I *tr.* on 7th note.
- 35: vln. II 2nd note *d'*.
- 56: *f* (or *ff*: thus Herzog.), not *fz*.
- 65/66: ob., cor. *remove tie.*
- 72: vln. I 4th note *b flat*.
- 74/77: from 2nd half 74 to 2nd half 77: vln. I each 3rd note stacc.

#### III.

- 51/52, etc.: vln. I slur over each 2 notes.

## Appendix I

† (CH) No. 27



II. Andante (in some sources 'Siciliano' added), C, 6/8.

III. Presto, G, 3/8.

*Date of comp.*: c. 1757-61 (possibly as late as c. 1761-64?). Earliest ref.: Sigmaringen cat. 1766.

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [tag., cemb.]. The horns are missing in a number of sources; nevertheless, they are probably authentic.

*Cat. ref.*: EK/I, p. 1; EK/II, p. 27; EK/III, p. 34 (all in H's handwriting); Kees, missing; HV 102 (tempo: 'Con Spirito'); Quarthuch; Sigmaringen cat. 1766: 'Synf:<sup>a</sup> in G. à 2 VV. / Viola oblig.<sup>a</sup> con / Basso [No.] 5'; Br. cat. 1769, p. 2: 'IV. Sinfonie di Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] IV. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'.

*Authentic sources*: none.

### *Sources*:

(1) *MS.* parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 3, Melk, cat. IV, 344; title: 'Sinfonia in G / a / 2 Violini / Viola / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / e / Basso / Del Sig: Giuseppe Haydn'. An owner signed his name on bottom right corner: 'Zeppezauer Ignatius / C[hor]o M[elk] 1847'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1790-1800.

(2) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 14; title: 'N<sup>o</sup>. 53 / Simphonia / à / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secondo / Cornu Primo / Cornu Secondo / Alto Viola obl: / e / Basso / Del Sig: Haiden'; oblong paper from Augsburg or Nürnberg mill (watermarks: VIII, 1); source of local origin, c. 1780-90.

(3) *MS.* parts, Schwerin; title: 'Sinfonia à 8 Stromenti ex G<sup>#</sup> a due Violini, 2 Oboi, 2 Corni, Viola e Basso'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper.

(4) *MS.* parts, Göttweig; title: 'Sinfonia Ex G / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Alto Viola oblig: / 2 Obse / con / Basso / Del Signore Giuseppe Hayden / comparavit R: P: Joseph...'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); source of local origin, date in Göttweig cat. 1773. No horn parts; 2 pp. of vln. I missing.

(5) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 3, 29; title: 'Sinfonia. in g. / à / Violino 1<sup>mo</sup> / Violino 2<sup>do</sup> / Oboe 2. / Viola / con / Basso / Del Sigre Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 16); source of local origin, c. 1770-80. No horn parts.

(6) *MS.* parts, GdM, from the collection of Abbé Stadler, cat. XIII, 1338; title: 'in g: / Sinfonia / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / 2. Oboe / Viola obligata / Passo [sic] / Del Sig: [later: "Giuseppe"] Haydn' (theme); 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: letters 'IH', unclear); source of Austrian origin, about 4th quarter of 18th cent. No horn parts.

(7) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 1, source 4. No horn parts.

*Additional MS. sources*: (8) Hermannstadt, dated 1769, without horn pts.; (9) Munich, cat. Mus. Ms. 282, lacking oboe and horn pts.; (10) Donau-Eschingen, without horn pts.; (11) Einsiedeln, the oboe and horn pts. completely rewritten, i. e. 'composed' at Einsiedeln; (12) Washington, without horn pts.: see No. 22, Version II, source 2; (13) Reichersberg — 'Sinfonia... à 4<sup>tro</sup>' (no wind pts.).

*Critical edition*: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 2, pp. 187-194, lacking the horn parts and with other, minor errors; based on source 6 and C. F. Pohl's copy (GdM) of a score from the collection of Franz Gehring.

### *Corrections to G. A.*:

*The missing horn parts are printed at the end of this appendix.*

# Appendix I

## I.

- 12: ob. II last note *d''*.  
 13: ob. II 1st note *e''*. } see 79/80!  
 23: vln. I last note *a''*.  
 30: vln. I slur over 1st 4 notes.  
 40: vla. penultimate note *f#'*.  
 56: ob. I all sources rest; G. A.  
     reading preferable.  
 81: vcl.-cb. 8va higher.

- 42: vln. I penultimate note *e''*.  
 48: 3rd-6th notes erroneously *e''*-  
     *c''-d''-b'* in most sources.  
 49: last notes quavers.

## III.

## II.

- 11: vln. I 5th note in most sources *b''* (cf., however, 41).  
 28/29: vln. I 6th note *g''*, last note *g'*.  
       vln. II last 2 notes *d'-b*.

- 30: vln. I *tr.* on last note.  
 35/37: ob. II tied.  
 38, 105: suggest *tr.* last note vln. I.  
 74: vln. I either *tr.* on 1st note or  
     appogg. *d''* before it.  
 84: vla. 3rd higher.  
 98: vln. I 1st note *g'*.  
 103: ob. I, II quaver.

† No. 28



II. Poco Adagio (in some sources 'Poco Andante'), D, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegro molto, A, 3/4; a, 3/4.

IV. Presto assai, A, 6/8.

Date of comp.: 1765 (autograph).

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

Cat. ref.: EK/I, p. 1; Kees, No. 25: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni.'; HV 24 (tempo: 'Allegro'); Quartbuch; Sigmaringen cat. (1766, addition III): 'Synf: in A. à 2 VV. 2 oboe. / 2 Corn: / Viola. Violoncello: obl: / è Basso [No.] 80'; Br. cat. 1768, p. 2: 'II Sinfonie di Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] II. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'; Br. cat. 1769: see source 18.

Authentic sources: (1), (2).

Sources:

(1) Autograph of the first three movts., Bst (Tübingen), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 17; title: 'Sinfonia In Nomine Domini del Giuseppe Haydn 765.'; 4<sup>o</sup>, 20 pages, 23 × 35 cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 1). For instr., see facsimile.

(2) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 56; parts for 2 ob., 2 cor. and str. with 2 bass pts. Contains Finale. (Information from Dénes Bartha.)

(3) MS. parts by Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII 19058; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 11, 56); dup. str. pts. on other Italian paper (I, 1, 26); origin of source: Viennese, c. 1770 (?).

(4) MS. parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 1, Kremsmünster, cat. H 4, 50; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1 & 15; 7); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770.

(5) MS. parts, Melk, cat. IV, 55; original pts. 4<sup>o</sup>, from St. Pölten paper mill (watermarks: V, 4); dup. vln. pts. on paper from Austrian or Hungarian mill (VI, 3); cf. No. 25, source 4; source of local origin, c. 1770-75 (?).

(6) MS. parts, Lambach; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 6, 13, 1 & 5); source probably of local origin (see comment to No. 13, source 6), c. 1770-75.

(7) MS. parts, Göttweig; only vln. I pt. extant (Italian paper, 4<sup>o</sup>, watermark: I, 1); originally there were two sets of parts, one 'Comparavit / R: P: Odo 1770' and one 'Comparavit R: P: Odo / an[no] 769', but the first set (both titles are extant) may once have belonged to something else, as the words '2 Clarini' and 'Flauto Traverso' are crossed out, and there is no indication of tonality.

(8) MS. parts, Rottenmann, 'Ex reb[us] Jos: Ölmayr / C[hor]o R[ottenmann]

## Appendix I

p[ro] t[empore] Chor: Reg. [i. e. Regenschori]'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 1); source prob. of local origin, c. 1770-80.

(9) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 12, source 7.

(10) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 12, source 8.

(11) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 12, source 9.


*Additional MS. sources:* (12) Bst (Marburg), cat.  $\frac{9990}{10}$ ; (13) Zwettl; (14) Modena, D. 154 (2 copies, one c. 1770-80, the other c. 1800 or later); (15) Michaelbeuern, cat. XIX/25, copied by P. W. Rettensteiner; (16) Stockholm, score; (17) Genoa.

(18) Printed parts, Bailleux, Paris, c. 1766 (or later?) (only the first three movts.): see No. 3, source 10.

*Critical Edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 3, pp. 1-14, based on source 1 and C. F. Pohl's score (GdM, XIII, 1338), corrected according to source 2 (these corrections are, however, largely superficial). The 4th movt. in the G. A. contains several mistakes in the horn pts.

### Corrections to G. A.:

IV.

1 ff.: theme phrased  or not at all (add to 65 ff.).

11/14: vln. I, II stacc., not slurred (add to ob. I, II).

28, 90: vln. I, II *f* on 2nd note.

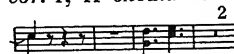
29, 91: vla., vcl.-cb. *f* here, not 28, 90.

36/38: cor. II = cor. I.

73 ff.: as in 11/14 (vln. I, II, however, in some sources as in 72).

79: vln. I *a. r.* 1st note *c*<sup>#</sup>.

80/84: cor. I, II should read:



90/91: cor. II = cor. I.

93, 95: cor. I, II 4th note crotchet with quaver rest.

† No. 29



(in Elssler MS. and other sources: 'Allegro ma non troppo': see p. 129).

II. Andante, A, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, E, 3/4; e, 3/4.

IV. Presto, E, C.

*Date of comp.:* 1765 (autograph).

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.:* EK/I, p. 1; Kees, No. 23: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni'; HV 22 (tempo: 'Allegretto'); Quarthuch; Br. cat. 1769: see source 13.

*Authentic sources:* (1), (2).

*Sources:*

(1) Autograph, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 30; photograph in Washington; title: 'Sinfonia. In Nomine Domini. Giuseppe Haydn 765'; 4<sup>o</sup>, 22 pages, 22,2×35,5 (36) cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 1). Instr.: '2 Corni in E<sup>#</sup> / 2 Oboe / Violino 1<sup>mo</sup> / [Violino] 2<sup>do</sup> / Viola / Basso'. At end of MS.: 'Laus Deo'.

(2) MS. parts by Joseph Elssler, St. Florian; title: 'Synfonia in E<sup>#</sup> Dur / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secondo / Corno Primo / Corno Secondo / Viola obligata / col / Basso / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Haydn. / [later:] Ex Musicalibus D<sup>ris</sup> Stocker / Physici Provincialis Lincensis.'; origin of 4<sup>o</sup> paper: as in source 1, with same watermarks; origin of source: authentic copy from Eisenstadt or Esterháza, c. 1765-70.

(3) MS. parts, GdM, cat. XIII, 8117; dated '7 Aug. 773'; three types of oblong

## This image is a vertical strip characterized by extreme noise and a dark, grainy texture. It appears to be a scan of a physical document, possibly capturing the edge of a page or a heavily degraded section. The visual information is largely obscured by the high level of noise and the dark, irregular patterns.

(4) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ , fol. 839; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (water-marks: I, 1, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780 (?).

(6) *MS.* parts, Göttweig (now incomplete); there were originally two sets, one entitled 'Parthia... Comp. P. Leandri 1767' and another 'Comp. R: P: Odo 1771'.

(8) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 10, source 6.

(13) Printed parts, Bailleux, Paris, c. 1766 (or later?): see No. 3, source 10.

*Corrections to G. A.:*

4, 6, etc.: ob. I, II, vln. I, II 

I. *Allegro*



III. Tempo di Menuetto più tosto Allegretto, C, 3/4.

*Date of comp.:* 1765 (autograph).

*Cat. ref.*: EK, missing; Kees, No. 22: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini, / Flauto, Tympani'; HV 21 (tempo: 'Spiritoso'); Quarthbuch; Göttweig cat. 'Comp R P / Odo 1772', no trpts. & timp. (parts missing); Traeg cat. 1799: No. 126, entitled 'Alleluja': Br. cat. 1773: see source 9.

*Sources:*

(2) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, fol. 802; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780 (?). No trpts. or timp.

(4) MS. parts, Stams, cat. L I, 52; entitled 'alleluja'; oblong paper from Tyrolean or Innsbruck mill (watermarks: VII, 1); source probably of local origin, c. 1770-90 (?). Copyist has written the text of the Gregorian Alleluja melody under the main theme of the 1st movt. No trpt. or timp. pts.

# Appendix I

(5) *MS. parts*, Kremsmünster, cat. H 3, 32; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 6); source of local origin, c. 1770-80; no trpt. or timp. pts.

(6) *MS. parts*, Schlierbach; 4<sup>o</sup> parts: the cover from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 17), the rest on paper made especially for Schlierbach by a paper mill in Wolfsberg, a small town in Styria (watermarks: the Schlierbach coat-of-arms and letters 'WOLFSBERG'); the title page reads 'Cornibus 2' but there are parts for 'Clarino Primo in C' and 'Clarino Secondo in C'. Source of local (?) origin, 2nd half of 18th cent.

*Additional MS. sources*: (7) Zwettl; (8) Stockholm, score.

(9) Printed parts, Mme Berault, Paris, c. 1770 (?) (Gerber: 1767 — III, 27 was not composed till May, 1768! Announced in Br. cat. 1773); title: 'Six / Simphonies / A Grand Orchestre / Par / M.<sup>r</sup> Hayden / Maitre de Musique de Chapelle a Vienna / Oeuvre IX / Prix 12 ff. / A Paris / Chez Madame Berault Marchande de Musique rue de la Comedie Françoise Faubourg S.<sup>t</sup> Germain au Dieu de l'harmonie... / A. P. D. R. / Richomme scripsit'; contents: III, 23; IV, 6; III, 27; III, 22; IV, 35; and No. 30. Copy in BM, cat. g. 75.

*Critical edition*: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 3, pp. 29-40, based on source 1.

† No. 31



II. Adagio, G, 6/8.

III. Menuet & Trio, D, 3/4.

IV. Moderato molto, D, 2/4; Presto, D, 3/4.

'Hornsignal' or 'Auf dem Anstand', designations apparently added in the 19th century.

*Date of comp.*: 1765 (autograph).

*Scoring*: 1 fl. (autograph: 'Flauto / traversi'), 2 ob., 4 cor., vln. principale (in II and IV), vl. solo (in II and IV), str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.*: EK/I, p. 1; Kees, No. 26: 'Sinfonia, a Violin princ: con oboe 4 Corni / Flauto, Violoncello, e Violone obl.'; HV 25 (tempo: 'Larghetto'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1779-80, p. 2: 'VII. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] I a 4 C. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. in And. V. Solo / Fl. V. Violcl. obl. e B.'.

*Authentic source*: (1).

*Sources*:

(1) *Autograph*, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 31; photograph in Washington; title: 'Sinfonia. In Nomine Domini. Giuseppe Haydn 765'; 4<sup>o</sup>, 52 pages; 22,3×33,5 cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 1). At end of *MS.*: 'Laus Deo' (G. A. Rev.-Ber. notwithstanding).

(2) *MS. parts*, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 816; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 12, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780 (?).

(3) *MS. parts*, Herzogenburg; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian paper mill (watermarks: IV, 1); source of local origin, c. 1770 (?).

(4) *MS. parts*, VNat: see No. 13, source 10.

(5) *MS. parts*, Venice Cons., from the Gustinian Collection, Volume II, which contains Nos. 53 (see below), 31 and 60; title: 'Tre Sinfonie / a due Violini, Oboè, Corni da caccia, Viole, Violoncello, e Basso / aggiunto il Flauto nelle Sinfonie I e II [G. A. 53 & 31], ed i Timpani nella III [G. A. 60] / Del Sig<sup>r</sup> Giuseppe Haydn'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 21, 42); source of local (Venetian) origin, c. 1780-90. There are only pts. for cor. I and II; cor. III and IV (in No. 31) are missing.

## Appendix I

(6) MS. parts, Modena, cat. D. 143; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 52); source probably of Viennese origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent.

*Additional MS. sources:* (7) Salzburg, St. Peter (prob. a local copy, c. 1770-80, on Italian paper); (8) Michaelbeuern, cat. XIX/27, with 'Fagotto' (col Basso), copied by P. W. Rettensteiner; (9) Bst (Marburg), cat.  $\frac{9992}{1}$ ; (10) Stockholm, score.

(11) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1785; 'Symphonie concertante', issued as No. 19 of Sieber's 'SIMPHONIES périodiques', with plate no. 360 (pub. no. 60). Copy in Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt.

(12) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1785-88 (?), probably a pirated reprint of source 11; title: 'A / Concertante Sinfonia / for two / Violins a Tenor / a / Violoncello, two Hautboys / German Flute & / French Horns, Obligato. / Composed by Giuseppe Haydn / of Vienna / Pr. 5s. / London / Printed for W<sup>m</sup>. Forster...'; incomplete copy in BM with address '22, York Street, Westminster' and watermark date '1813' (cat. h. 656.1); Union Catalogue dates 'c. 1780', which is certainly too early. Complete copy in Manchester. Print has no plate number.

*Critical editions:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 3, pp. 41-62, based on source 1. Eulenburg No. 512 (Praetorius), based on the G. A.

*Corrections to G. A.:*

IV.

Var. 5: vln. princ. penultimate meas.  
appogg. probably to be construed as quaver (aut. has semi-quaver).

No. 32



II. Menuet & Trio, C, 3/4; c, 3/4.

III. Adagio ma non troppo, F, 2/4.

IV. Presto, C, 3/8.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1757-61 (possibly as late as c. 1761-63?). Earliest ref.: Br. cat. 1766. *Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 cor. (C, prob. alto), 2 clarini (trpt.), timp., str. (fag.), [cemb.]. *Cat. ref.:* EK/III, p. 34; Kees, missing; HV 95 (tempo: 'Con Spirito'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1766, p. 10: 'VI. Sinf. del Sigr. Gius. HAYDEN, Mus. di Cam. / del Princ. Esterhasi. Racc. II. [No.] VI. a 11 V[oci]. 2 Cl. Ty. 2 C. 2 Ob.'; Sigmaringen cat. (1766, addition III): 'Synfon: in C: / à 2. VV. 2 Clarini / Viola et Basso / et Tymp [No.] 25'; Göttweig cat., p. 865: 'Symphonia / a 2 Violinis / Viola / 2 Obois / 2 Corni / 2 Clarinis / Tympani / Basso / [left:] Comp R P / Josephus 1776'.

*Authentic sources:* none.

*Sources:*

(1) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 1339; title: [later: "Tre", when this work was bound with two others:] 'Sinfonia / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe 2 / 2 Clarini e Corni / Tympano / Viola Con Basso / Del Sig: Hayden / [theme]'; on rear cover of title (bass) page, the following is written in red pencil: 'den 19 Septb 784 gut'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1 and 22, apparently without letters 'MA'); timp. pt. and replacements for outside folios of ob. pts. on other paper; dup. pts. on 3 different types of paper by 3 different copyists: 3 vln. I, 3 vln. II, 2 vla. 'Basso e Fagotto' and 2 other vcl.-cb. pts., mostly bound together with Symphony 71; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780.

(2) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 18; title: 'N: 14 / Sinfonia / a / 2 Violini / 2 Corni 2 Oboe / 2 Trombe / Tympano / Violetta / e / Basso / Del Sig:

# Appendix I

Haydn.'; oblong German paper (watermarks: VIII, 4); dup. str. pts. by same copyist on same paper; trumpet parts entitled 'Clarino'; source of local origin, c. 1780.

(3) MS. parts, Schlierbach (incomplete); cover lists pts. for 'Traverso Solo', 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 clarini, str., of which the fl. and ob. pts. are now missing; 4<sup>o</sup> paper, apparently of local origin; source of local origin, c. 1770-80 (?).


(4) MS. score, Stockholm.

(5) Printed parts, La Chevardière, Paris, c. 1768: see No. 15, source 6.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 3, pp. 63-74, with numerous minor errors (mostly omissions); based on source 1 and C. F. Pohl's copy (GdM XIII, 1339) of a score from the collection of Franz Gehring.

## Corrections to G. A.:


### I.

- (3/4),  
144/145: ob. I, II, cor. I (144/145) tied on basis 144/145.  
4 (145): vln. I, II stacc.  
29, 33/35: vln. I, II 1st 2 notes slurred, last 2 notes 35 stacc.  
36 ff.: vln. I, II stacc.  
41/42: ob. I, II tied.  
44/45: cor. I, II tied.  
64: trpt. II = trpt. I.  
69: timp. last 2 notes dotted (as in 190).  
73: vln. I tr. on 2nd note.  
81: vln. II tr. on 2nd note.  
84: vln. I tr. on 1st note.  
86: vcl.-cb. 1st note 8va higher.  
90: timp. rest.  
163/164: ob. I, II, cor. I, II tied.  
164/165: ob. II tied.  
169: timp. Regensb. last 2 notes dotted.  
171, 173: vln. I   
175: vln. I slur over whole meas.

### II.

Ob. pts. in GdM erroneously = cor. I, II; following corrections from Regensb.:

5: ob. I, II à 2 = vln. I;

6/9: 

11/14: 

4, 16, 20: vla., vcl.-cb. 1st 2 notes tied.  
9: cor., trpt. I, II as in 21.

9, 25: vln. I, II (ob.) last note tr.  
11/12, 12/13, 13/14: vla., vcl.-cb. slur across bar-line.

14/15: vln. I tied.  
vcl.-cb. slurred.

26: ob. I, II, vln. I, II: remove appogg.

27/28,

33/34: vln. I slurred.

31, 32: vln. II, vla., vcl.-cb. slur over 1st 2 notes.

36/37,

37/38: vln. II slurred across bar-line.  
37/38, 38/39, 43/44, 45/46, 47/48: vln. I tied across bar-line.

39/41,

54/56: vln. I, II last 2 notes each meas. stacc.

### III.

1: vln. I, II remove 'con sord.'.

2, 42, 55: vla., vcl.-cb. Regensb. tr. instead of appogg.

4: vln. I GdM appogg. c" before 1st note, Regensb. tr. on 1st note.

5/6: vln. I Regensb. tied.

6 (vln. II), 11 (vln. I), 13 (vln. I) 16 (vln. I), 32, 36 (vln. I), 35, 37 (vln. II), 40 (vln. I), 50 (vln. I), 57 (vln. I), 59 (vln. I), 61 (vln. I), 67 (vln. I), 69 (vln. I): tr. on 1st note; 24 (vln. I), 28 (vln. I, II), (77: vln. I), 81 (vln. I): tr. on last note.

7: vln. I Regensb. 1st note g', tied from 6.

7/8: vln. I, II Regensb. tied.

22, 26,

75, 79: p on 2nd note.

31, 84: pp at beginning of meas.

33: vla., vcl.-cb. minim c' and c, resp.

49, 51: vln. I slur over last 3 notes.

### IV.

15: ob., vln. I tr. on 1st note.

25 (vln. II, vla., vcl.-cb.), 26 (vln. II), 27 (vln. I), 83 (vln. II, vla., vcl.-cb.), 84 (vln. II), 85 (vln. I): 1st 2 notes slurred.

52: ob. I f#".



# Appendix I

54: ob. I, II *g'*.  
vln. I *tr.* on 1st note (better +).  
general *p* on last note (add to  
cor. at beginning of meas., to  
*trpt.-timp.* at 55).

58: general *f* last note (add to  
cor. 60, *trpt.-timp.* 65).  
92: remove *p*; 94: remove *f*.

No. 33



II. Andante, C, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, C, 3/4; F, 3/4.

IV. Allegro, C, 2/4.

Date of comp.: c. 1763-65. Earliest ref.: Br. cat. 1767.

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor. (C, prob. *alto*) and / or 2 clarini (*trpt.*), *timp.*, *str.* [*fag.*, *cemb.*]. The *timp.* pt. has not been discovered: a reconstruction by the author at the end of this appendix.

Cat. ref.: EK/II, p. 26; EK/III, p. 34; Kees, missing; HV 101 (tempo: 'poco Allo:'); Br. cat. 1767, p. 4: 'IV Sinf. di HAYDEN. Raccolta IV. [No.] III. a 2 Clar. Tymp. 2 Corn. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. B.'; Göttweig cat., p. 862: 'Sinfonia / a 2 Violinis / 2 Obois / 2 Clarinis / Viola / Basso / [left:] Comp R P / Odo 1772'.

Authentic sources: none.

Sources:

(1) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8085; title: 'In C / [later: "Tre"] Sinfonia / [later: "No. 57 58 59"] / à / 2. Violini / 2. Oboe. / 2 Clarini e Corni / Tympano / Viola e Basso / Del Sig:re Giuseppe Haydn.'; the trumpet and *timp.* pts. lost; it is scarcely possible to determine which of the pts. represent the original, and which are later dup.; there are 3 vln. I, 3 vln. II, 1 vla., 3 vcl.-cb., 2 ob. and 2 cor. pts.; the following kinds of paper could be identified: (1) 4° with watermarks 'ADLER' over letters 'IPP'; (2) 4° with watermark of an eagle and illegible letters; (3) 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 19, 59); (4) ditto (watermarks: I, 1, 25). Source of Viennese origin, c. 1780 (?).

(2) MS. parts, GdM, same cat. no.; title: 'N = 1 / Sinfonia / à / quattro / con / Oboe / Corni / Del Sig Haydn / [theme]'; vln. I, vln. II and vla. pts. missing; 4° Italian paper (watermark: I, 1); origin of source: ? date of MS.: ? (about 4th quarter of 18th cent.).

(3) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 1, source 4.

(4) MS. score, Stockholm.

(5) Printed parts, La Chevardière, Paris, c. 1768: see No. 15, source 6.




Critical edition: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 3, pp. 75-88, lacking the *timpani* pt., and with numerous omissions (ties, *tr.*, etc.); based on source 1 and C. F. Pohl's copy (GdM XIII, 8085) of a score from the collection of Franz Gehring.

Corrections to G. A.:

Reconstruction of missing *timpani* part at the end of this appendix.

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| I.  | 3: vla., vcl.-cb. <i>a. r.</i> (Venice) as in 105 (convincing). | 9, 111: ob. I, vln. I <i>tr.</i> on minim (prob. perf. ). |
| 4/5, 5/6, 106/107, 107/108, 146/147: vla. | slurred across bar-line.  | 11, 12: vln. I <i>p</i> on 4th note.                      |
| (7/9),                                    |   | 13/15: (ob. I, II), cor. I, II tied.                      |
| 109/111: ob. II tied.                     |   | 20: cor. II <i>g'</i> (Venice).                           |
|   |   | 32: vla. GdM <i>rinf.</i> (cf. No. 29/IV  :).             |
|   |   | 36: vln. I  for 1st 4 notes.                              |

# Appendix I

- 40: vln. II instead of minim 4 quavers.  
 45, 143: vln. I slur over last 2 notes.  
 49: vla. Venice last note *c'*.  
 50: vla. Venice 1st note *b*.  
 55/56: (ob. I, II), cor. I, II tied.  
 60: ob. I *tr.* on last note.  
 66, 68,  
 70, 72: ob. I, II *tr.* on 1st note.  
 67: vln. I Venice *tr.* on 1st note (add to vln. II).  
 68, 72: vln. II, vla. *tr.* on 1st note.  
 80: vla., vcl.-cb. *p* on 2nd note.  
 103: ob. I, II *tr.* on last note (*cf.*, however, 1).  
 128: vln. I, II instead of 1st quaver, crotchet (Venice): *cf.* 29.
- II.
- 4, 5, etc.: *a. r.* vln. II, vla., vcl.-cb. (most sources, but not always consistently)   
 7, 47, 79: vln. I, II *p* on 3rd note; vla., vcl.-cb. *p* on 2nd note.  
 15, 16,  
 87, 88: vla., vcl.-cb. *f*, *p* 17, 89.
- 26, (92): vln. I, II *tr.* on last note; vla., vcl.-cb. *p* on 2nd note.  
 66/69: vln. I, II remove ties.  
 100: vln. II Venice  (undoubtedly correct).
- III.
- 9: vla. *tr.* on last note.  
 10: cor. II Venice *g'*.  
 16: vla., vcl.-cb. *f* on 2nd note (in Venice 1st 2 notes tied: doubtful).  
 17: vln. I, II (ob.) *f*.  
 25/26: vla. Venice: 
- IV.
- 1, 51, 91: general stacc.  
 20: vla. Venice *g'* (convincing).  
 42/43,  
 (122/123): (vla.), vcl.-cb. slurred.  
 62/63 (ob. II), 62/65 (ob. I), 64/65 (ob. II), 67/68 (ob. I), 69/70 (ob. II), 72/73 (ob. I, II) tied.  
 82: vla., vcl.-cb. *p* on 2nd note.  
 110, 112: cor. I, II Venice rest.  
 131/133: ob. II, cor. I, II tied.

## † No. 34



II. Allegro, D, 4/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Moderato, D, 3/4.

IV. Presto assai, D, 2/4.

*Date of comp.*: c. 1765. Earliest ref.: Br. cat. 1767.

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.*: EK/II, p. 27 (2nd movt.), EK/III, p. 33 (2nd movt.), Kees, No. 18 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni']; HV 17 (tempo: 'Andante'); HV 91 (2nd movt., tempo: 'Spiritoso'); Quartbuch; Sigmaringen cat. (1766, addition III): 'Synf: in D. à 2 VV. 2 oboe, / 2 Corn: viola e Basso [No.] 81' (2nd movt.); Br. cat. 1767, p. 4: 'VI. Sinf. di HAYDEN. Racc. III. [No.] V. a 2 Corn. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. B.'.

*Authentic sources*: none.

### Sources:

(1) *MS.* parts, GdM, cat. XIII, 6656; title: 'Sinfonia Ex D. / Violino Primo [later changed to "2 Violini Primi"] / Violino Secondo [later changed to "2 Violini Secondi"] / 2. Oboe / 2. Corni / Viola oblig: / Bassi [later "2 Bassi"] / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Haydn. / [theme]'. The theme and the dup. str. pts. added by Viennese professional copyist No. 1; after the theme he wrote: '16½ [Bögen]'. Orig. pts. on 4<sup>o</sup> paper from unknown mill (watermarks illegible); dup. pts. on Italian paper, also 4<sup>o</sup> (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 13); origin of source: Viennese, c. 1765-75 (?).

(2) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 823; title: 'Sinfonia / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Due Oboe / Due Corni / Viola / e / Basso / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780.

## Appendix I

(3) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 19; title: 'No 55 / Sinfonia / a / due Violini / due Oboe / due Corni / Viola / e / Basso / Del Sig Giuseppe Haydn / [theme]'; oblong paper, prob. German (watermarks illegible); source of local origin, c. 1780-90 (?).

(4) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 12, source 8.

(5) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 23, source 8.

(6) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 12, source 9.

(7) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 28, 225; title: 'Sinfonia / In D, / a / Due Violini, / Due Corni, / Alto Viola, / e / Basso, / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Haydn.'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 18); source of local origin, c. 1770-80. The oboe pts. rewritten in the vlns., making source practically useless for critical purposes.

(8) *MS.* score, Stockholm.

(9) *MS.* parts, Genoa.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 3, pp. 89-104, based on source 1 and C. F. Pohl's copy (GdM XIII, 6656) of a score from the collection of Franz Gehring; G. A. has a few minor errors.

### Corrections to G. A.:

#### I.

7: cor. I, II minim with crotchet rest.

19/21,

75/77: str. *p* on 3rd quarter.

22, 78: vln. I, II *f*; vla., vcl.-cb. *f* on 1st, *p* on 5th notes.

29, 30, 85: vln. I, II last 4 notes under 1 slur.

36: vcl.-cb. *a. r.* last note 8va higher (G. A. reading better).

38: vcl.-cb. last note *f*, not *c'* (cf. also 35).

48: before 2nd note *b*, not *ḅ*.

70, 74: vla., vcl.-cb. 1st note crotchet, followed by quaver rest.

72: vln. II slur from 2nd to 6th note; 73, vln. I, 2nd-3rd notes tied.

75/78: cor. I, II tied (remove *fp*).

85: sources do not indicate *ḅ* before 4th note, vln. I (II).

#### II.

4: vla. 1st 4 notes *a* (but cf. 76).

4, 76: vln. I *tr.* on 1st note.


17/21: vla., vcl.-cb. *f* on 2nd note.

24: vln. I, II remove cresc., add *f* 2nd note.


25/26: ob. I semibreve *e''*, tied (add tie cor. I).

28/29: ob. II tied (continue tie 30).

32, 87: appogg. = semiquavers (see 33).

33: vln. I, II  in all sources; meas. 88, however, as in G. A. A revealing insight into the realization of H's appogg.

35, 37, 63, 65, 67, 69, 90 (+ cor.), 92

(+ cor.): ob. 

41: cor. I, II all sources à 2 *d''* (= *e'*), cor. I tied from 40, cor. I, II tied to 42: G. A. reading preferable.

41/42: ob. I tied.

47/48: remove *p* (*f*, 56 superfluous).

55: *ff* (str.), apparently 2nd half of meas. (vln. I 2nd note).

69: remove *decresc.*

71/72: ob. I, II remove tie, add *tr.* 1st note 72.

72: general *f*, str., 2nd note, not 73, slur over last 4 notes; 73 *a. r.* vln. II 1st note *d'* (convincing).

74: cor. II = cor. I.

vla. 1st 4 notes *d'* (but cf. 2).

79, 81: cor. I *g''* (= *a'*).

82: cor. I 1st note *d''* (= *e'*).

83: cor. I 1st note *e''* (= *f#'*).

83/84: ob. II tied (continue tie to 85).

#### III.

2: vln. I, II last 2 notes even quavers.

7: vln. I, II *tr.* very doubtful (lacking in most sources).

12, 28,

36, 52: remove all appogg.: these only partly present in GdM & Kremsm. (and from beneath, not from above!).

# Appendix I

- 30, 34,  
(46), 50: cor. I 1st note in most sources  
e" (= f#); cor. II 50 1st note  
c" (= d'). Most sources indi-  
cate cor. tied across bar-line  
wherever poss. (i. e., 30/31,  
etc.).
- IV.  
1/3, 4/5, 9/11, (12/13), 21/23, (24/25),  
69/71, (72/73), 77/79, 80/81,  
89/91, (92/93), (97/98), (99/100):  
ob. II tied.  
69: ob. II Harburg d".

## † No. 35



II. Andante, E flat, 2/4.

III. Menuetto & Trio: un poco allegretto, B flat, 3/4; E flat, 3/4.

IV. Presto, B flat, 2/4.

*Date of comp.*: December 1, 1767 (autograph).

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 cor. (B flat, prob. alto), str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.*: EK/I, p. 1; Kees, No. 46 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni.']; HV 45 (tempo: 'Allo:'); Quartbuch; Göttweig cat., p. 860: 'Parthia... P. Leandri / 1769' (parts lost); Herzogenburg cat. (parts lost); Br. cat. 1772, p. 2: 'III. Sinf. di Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] I. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. B.'

*Authentic source*: (1)

(1) **Autograph**, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 33; photograph in Washington; title: 'Sinfonia / 2 Violini / 2 oboe oblig. / 2 Corni obbl. / Viola / e Basso'; ['Num 16' in another hand]; this is an otherwise blank page. At the top of the 1st page of music is a second title: 'Sinfonia. In Nomine Domini. del Giuseppe Haydn. den 1ten 10ten 767'; 4<sup>o</sup>, 28 pages, 22×33 cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 2). At end of MS.: 'Laus Deo'.

(2) MS. parts, GdM (Kaiserliche Sammlung), cat. XIII, 27012; oblong Italian paper (watermarks of orig. pts. I, 1, 1 & 5, 7; of dup. str. pts., by another copyist, I, 18, 19); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-75.

(3) MS. parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 2, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 681; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1 & 15, 7); dup. str. pts. on local German paper (watermarks: VIII, 1); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-75 (?).

(4) MS. parts, St. Florian, 'pro usu Joan: Mich: Planck' with dates of perf.: '28 Febr 775' and 'prod 28 Auge 798'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 1); source of local origin, c. 1770-75.

(5) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 22, source 8.

(6) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 12, source 8.

(7) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 23, source 8.

(8) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 23, source 9.

*Additional MS. sources*: (9) Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 20 (local copy, watermarks VIII, 3); (10) Stams, cat. L I, 47 (local copy, horn pts. considerably different from those of aut.); (11) Modena, cat. D. 144 (prob. a Viennese copy; Ital. paper, watermarks I, 1, 7); (12) Zittau; (13) Stockholm, score; (14) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

(15) Printed parts, Venier, Paris, c. 1771 (Gerber); title: 'IV / Sinfonie / è / Quartetti / Per due Violini Alto e Basso Obligatti / Obboe e Corni ad libitum. / Composte / Dall. Sig.<sup>or</sup> Giuseppe / Hayden / Maestro di Capella ala [sic] Corte di Vienna / opera XII. / G. B. Venier [etc.] a Paris...' Included are two spurious quartets, a spurious symphony (Dittersdorf: DKE I, B-1) and No. 35. Copies in Paris Nat., Vm<sup>7</sup> 1560 and in St. Florian (incomplete). Reprint by Boyer in Washington, M. 3. 3. H 18 B 79 op. 12 case.

## Appendix I

(16) Printed parts, Welcker, London, c. 1770 (?); a collection of 'Six / Overtures / in Eight Parts / by the following Composers, / I. Stamitz, / II. Vanhall [= Haydn No. 35!], / III. Mislevecheck, / IV. Princess Royal of Saxony, / V. Haydn [wrongly ascribed to him!], / VI. Vanhall. / The whole collected by / Antonio Kammel...'. Copy in BM, g. 474. (7.). The work attributed to Haydn is listed in Appendix II, No. 112. This edition was reprinted, using the original plates by S. A. & P. Thompson, 'No. 75 S. Pauls Ch. ch Yard' (c. 1779-93): copy in Washington, M 1004, K 215 09, P case.

(17) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1780 (?); 'Simphonie périodique N.º 26', pl. no. 316 (Berlin series); copy in Stockholm.

(18) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1794-95 (?); title: 'Letter[S] / A / Grand Overture / in parts, / Performed at the / Professional / and other / Public Concerts / composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by Wm. Forster at his / Music Warehouse / No. 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand'; pl. no. 151; copy in BM, h. 656. l. 45 (incomplete) and Manchester. Later copies, No. 22, York St., Westminster (c. 1803-16).

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 3, pp. 105—120, based on source 1.

### *Corrections to G. A.:*

G. A. p. 110 penultimate meas.: remove cresc., add *f* 2nd note; p. 120: 3rd before last meas., vln. I, II *f* on last note, not at beginning of next meas.

† No. 36



II. Adagio, B flat, C (or 4/4?).

III. Menuet & Trio, E flat, 3/4; B flat, 3/4.

IV. Presto (or Allegro; or Allegro molto?), E flat, 2/4.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1761-65. Earliest ref.: Br. cat. 1769.

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 cor., vln. solo (in II), vcl. solo (in II), str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.:* EK/III, p. 34; Kees, missing; HV 98 (tempo: 'Tempo giusto'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1769, p. 2: 'IV. Sinfonie di Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] III. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. Violino e Violonc. obl. 2 Viol. V. e B.'

*Authentic sources:* none.

### *Sources:*

(1) MS. parts, GdM, cat. XIII, 6651; title: 'Sinfonia in Eb / à [later: "Violino Solo"] / 2 Violini [later changed to "2 Violini primi" and "2 do 2di", referring to dup. pts.] / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / Violino Primo: Violoncello / Viola / è / Basso / Del Signore Giuseppe Hayden / [theme]'. The theme and dup. str. pts. by Viennese professional copyist No. 1; above the theme is the word 'Soll'. Orig. pts. on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 7, and poss. letter 'B'), by two copyists; dup. pts. also on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 12); source of Viennese origin, c. 1765-75 (?).

(2) MS. parts, St. Florian; title: 'No. 14 / Sinfonia [later "in Dis"] / à / Violino conc. in andante / 2 Violini: / Viola obl: / 2 Basso. / 2 oboe: / 2 corni: / Del Sigre Jos: Hayden / J: Mich: Planck'; left top corner lists perf. dates in pencil: '1 Jrs 780' and '10. Febr. 782'; the parts may, however, be several years older than 1780; 4<sup>o</sup> paper, partly from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 2, 6) partly (cover) from other Upper or Lower Austrian mill (III, 1); source of local origin. Bass pt. of 2nd movt. revised by local copyist.

(3) MS. parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 28, 229; no title; pts. as listed under 'scoring'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 2, 19); source of local origin, c. 1780 (?). Menuet is omitted.

# Appendix I

(4) *MS. parts*, Modena, cat. F. 551; title: 'Sinfonia / à / violino / oboe e Violoncello obl: / Del Sig: Haydn / No. 28'; pts. also for 2 cor. There appear to be two sets mixed together, partly on Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 5) and partly on German (VIII, 1); possibly a third type (with a fleur-de-lys as watermark) belongs to source 5; *MS.* of Viennese or German origin, c. 1790 (?).

(5) *MS. parts*, Modena, cat. D. 140; no title page; pts. as listed under 'scoring'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 60); source of local (Italian) origin, end of 18th cent.

(6) *MS. parts*, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 21; title: 'No 40 / Sinfonia / a / Due Violini / Due Oboe / Due Corni E<sub>b</sub> / Violino Principale / Violoncello / Viola / e / Basso / del S: Haidn'; oblong paper, prob. of local origin (watermarks illegible); source of local origin, c. 1780-90. A good many dynamic and phrasing marks added by local copyist.

(7) *MS. parts* (incomplete), St. Lambrecht; title: 'Parthia in Dis / a / Violino Principali con / Violinis 2 bus. / Obois 2 bus / Corni. 2 bus / Viola / Violonzello conc. / con / Basso / Del Sig: Giuseppe / Hayden'; ob. I, ob. II, cor. I and vla. missing; cor. II belongs to another piece entirely; 4<sup>o</sup> paper, probably from paper mill in Wolfsberg; watermarks almost exactly similar to No. 30, source 6 (i. e. Schlierbach coat-of-arms); source of local origin, c. 1770-80 (?).

(8) *MS. score*, Stockholm.

(9) *MS. parts* ('Sonata'), Genoa.

*Critical edition*: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 3, pp. 121-138, with many minor and some major errors (esp. in 2nd movt.); based on source 1 and C. F. Pohl's copy (GdM XIII, 6651) of a score from the collection of Franz Gehring.

## Corrections to G. A.:

### I.

2 (vln. I), 3 (vln. I, II), etc.: 1st 2 notes not slurred in most sources (St. Lamb. stacc.).

4, 6, etc.: vln. I, II in many sources no ties.

16: vln. II 1st note a<sub>b</sub>'.

29/31: cor. I, II tied.

33, 138: vcl.-cb. slur over each 2 notes.

51: vla. 2nd note *f* in all sources: *d'* perhaps better.

65: vln. I 1st note b flat'.

74: general *f*.

75: vla., vcl.-cb. 1st note b flat'-b flat (G. A. reading better).


83: vln. I, II 2nd note(s) in many sources with *g* in addition.

85, 92: vln. I *tr.* on 1st note in some sources.


94: vla. last 3 notes 8va higher in most sources.

100: general *f* here, not 101.

101: vln. I short appogg. e<sub>b</sub>' before 1st note.


108: vln. II 

113/114, 115/116, 117/118: cor. I, II tied.


114, 116, 118: ob. I, II, vln. I II 

119: cor. II e' (=g).


121: vln. I 1st note with *g*.

129: vln. II 

136: vln. I, II *tr.* on last note.

140: vln. II  etc.

151: vln. I short appogg. b flat' before 1st note.

152: vla:  (cf. also 46).

158/161: ob. II = vln. II. (161 crotchet e flat', 2 crotchet rests): St. Flor., Kremsm.

162: vla. St. Flor., Kremsm. e flat' — e flat' — d'.

ob. I, II *tr.* on last note.

### II.


♢ in some sources.

1, 5/6, etc.: quavers of theme stacc.

3: vln. solo *tr.* on 2nd note in most sources.

*str. f*, not *p* (cf. 21).

8: vln. solo remove appogg.

9: vcl. solo 2nd quarter 

12: vln. II last note c''.

vcl. solo last note crotchet.

14: general *f* 2nd half of meas.; vln. solo = vln. I here; vcl. solo appogg. *f* before note with *tr.*



## Appendix I

origin, c. 1770-80 (?). The oboe parts do not agree with those of the other sources, and are obviously inferior; the *MS.* is of particular value in that it is the only one to include the timpani pt.

(2) *MS.* parts, GdM, cat. XIII, 6654; title: 'Simfonia / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secondo / Corno Primo / Corno Secondo / Viola à Basso / Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn / [theme]'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 1 & 31, 7, 61); source of Viennese origin, c. 1765-75 (?).

(3) *MS.* parts, Götting; title: '# No: 2: / Sinfonia: ex: C: / a: / Violino Primo: / Violino Secundo: / Cornu Primo: / Cornu 2do: / Viola / Con Basso / Del: Sig: Giusepp: Haydn / 23 / [in another handwriting:] Comparavit P. Odo / anno 769'; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 55); origin of source: prob. Viennese (P. Odo's signature perhaps indicates date of acquisition); perf. dates from 1772-1783 noted on cover.

(4) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 28, 230; title: 'Sinfonia In C m / a / 2 Violini / 2 Oboi / 2 Corni [bracket for ob. & cor.: "Ripieni"] Alto Viola oblig / con / Basso / Del Sig Giuseppe Haydn / [theme] / P. L. C. / P. C.'; 4° paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 20); source of local origin, c. 1770-80 (?).

(5) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 12, source 7.











(6) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 1, source 4.

(7) *MS.* score, Stockholm.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 3, pp. 139-150, based on C. F. Pohl's copy (GdM XIII, 6654) of a score from the collection of Franz Gehring; the G. A. contains many serious errors: the timp. pt. is omitted, the 2nd and 3rd movts. are reversed, dynamic marks in 2nd and 3rd movts. distorted or omitted, etc.


*Corrections to G. A.:*

*The missing timpani part is printed at the end of this appendix.*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>I.</p> <p>2/3, 4/5: vla. <i>f-e'-f'-e'</i>.</p> <p>12: cor. I, II </p> <p>15: <i>p</i> missing in all sources except GdM; <i>p</i> vln I., 16 instead of <i>f</i> (if accepted, add <i>f</i> 18).</p> <p>22, 24: vln. I <i>tr.</i> on last note.</p> <p>23: vla. 1st note <i>e'</i>.</p> <p>25/27,</p> <p>135/137: vln. I, II </p> <p>28: vla. rest (<i>sic</i>).</p> <p>40/43,</p> <p>140/143: vln. I, II slur over 4 meas. (to crotchet).</p> <p>70, 76: vln. I, II stacc.</p> <p>73: cor. II instead of 1st note quaver rest.</p> <p>75: vla., vcl.-cb. <i>p</i> on 2nd note.</p> <p>79/80: cor. I, II </p> <p>80: vln. II, vla., vcl.-cb. <i>f</i> on last note, not 82.</p> <p>80/81: ob. I, II </p> <p>100: vln. II = vln. I.</p> <p>111: vln. I, II <i>p</i> on last note, <i>f</i> last note 113.</p> | <p>115: vln. I, II <i>p</i> on last note, <i>f</i> 117.</p> <p>137/138: vla. </p> <p>II.</p> <p>5, 19: remove <i>p</i>, <i>f</i> continues (<i>f</i> 7, 8, 21, 22 superfluous).</p> <p>8, 22: </p> <p>9: vla. </p> <p>ob. II = vln. II.</p> <p>17, 23: vln. I, II <i>tr.</i> on last note.</p> <p>25/27 (vln. I), 29/30 (vln. II), etc.: ; 33/34 vln. II slurred.</p> <p>31 (vln. I, II), 40 (vln. I last 2 notes), 41 (vln. I, II), 49 (vln. I, II): slur over each 2 notes.</p> <p>43: general <i>f</i>: vla., vcl.-cb. on 2nd note; vln. I, II most sources <i>p</i> 2nd quarter 46.</p> <p>III.</p> <p>7: general <i>f</i> 2nd half of meas.; vla. </p> <p>8: vln. I <i>p</i> last note.</p> <p>9: vln. II, vla., vcl.-cb. <i>p</i> 1st note.</p> <p>15: vln. I Regensb., Götting.  (doubtful).</p> |
|--|---|



# Appendix I

- 17, 61: vln. I, II (vla.) slur over 1st 2 notes.  
 19, 63: *f* 2nd half of meas., not 18, 62; remove ties 18/19, 62/63; add slur 1st notes 19, 63 in vln. I, II, vla.  
 25, 68: vln. I *tr.* on last note.  
 26: vcl.-cb. *a. r.* last note 8va higher.  
 39: vln. I slur over each 4 notes.  
 43: vln. I *tr.* on 1st note.  
 45: vln. I, II *tr.* on 1st note. vla. instead of 1st 2 notes crotchet *g.* general *f* 3rd note.  
 53: vla. dotted crotchet.  
 55: vln. I, II *tr.* on 1st note.  
 55/56: slur last note 55 to 1st note 56.  
 56: vln. II, vla., vcl.-cb. *p f* (wide divergencies amongst sources here).  
 60: vln. I, II, vla. *p* 1st note, not 59.  
 67: vcl.-cb. ; G. A. reading preferable.  
 71: vcl.-cb. hold on 1st note (*i. e.*, at 2da volta omit last 2 notes).  
 IV.  
 2, 6, 52, 56: cor. I, II quavers, not crotchets.  
 2/3, 52/53: vln. I, II tied.  
 10: ob., vln. crotchets, not quavers.  
 20/21: cor. II all notes *g'*.  
 34: vla. should read *e'-e'*.  
 60: cor. I should read *e"-f"-g"*.  
 74: bass, timp. Regensb. *f* here (Göttw. bass *f* at 75): doubtful.  
 79: vla. last 2 notes *g-g* (in some sources 2nd note erroneously *f*).  
 80: ob. II should read *d"-c"-b'*.

† No. 38



II. Andante molto, F, 3/8.

III. Menuetto & Trio, C, 3/4; F, 3/4: 'Allegro' in source 1.

IV. Allegro di molto, C, C.

Date of comp.: c. 1766-68. Earliest ref.: Göttweig cat. 1769; Br. cat. 1769.

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor. in C (prob. *alto*); 2 clarini (trpt.), timp., str. [fag., cemb.]. In many sources, trpt. and timp. omitted.

Cat. ref.: EK/I, p. 1; Kees, No. 27: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Timpani, / Clarini'; HV 26; Quartbuch; Göttweig cat., p. 861: 'Synphonia / a 2 Violinis Viola / 2 Obois / 2 Corni / 2 Clarin / Tymp. / Basso / [left:] Comp R P / Odo 1769'; Br. cat. 1769, p. 2: 'IV. Sinfonie di Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] II. 2 Clar. Tymp. 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 V. e B.'; *i. e.* no vla.; Sigmaringen cat. (1766, addition III): 'Sinf: in C. à 2 VV. 2 oboe. / 2 Corni. 2 Clar: Tympano. / viola. è Basso [No.] 78'.

Authentic sources: none.

Sources:

(1) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 799; title: 'N: 103. / Sinfonia [later: "in C"] / à / Due Violini / Viola / è / Basso / Due Oboi / 4 Corni [later changed to "2 Corni e 2 Clarini"] / Tympani / Del Signore Giuseppe Haydn.'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); there are two copyists; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780. The orig. pts. (contrary to title page) include 2 cor. and 2 clarini pts., not 4 cor.

(2) MS. parts, Schwerin; title: 'Sinfonia / a / due Corni, / due Oboi / due Clarini, / Tympani, / due Viol., / Viola, / e / Basso / dal Sign. Josefo Hayd'n / Maestro di capella di S. A. Seren. / il Principe d'Esterhazi / in Presburgo / No. 5 Trovano da Christiano Godfredo Tomasio Candidato di Leggi e Musico in Lipsia'.

(3) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 23; title: 'No 38 / Sinfonia / a / Violino Imo / Violino II<sup>do</sup> / 2 oboe / 2 Corni / 2 Clarini / Tympano / Viola / e / Basso / del S: Haidn'; oblong paper, prob. of local German origin (no watermarks); source of local origin, c. 1780-90 (?).

## Appendix I

(4) *MS.* parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 1 (and others), GdM, cat. XIII, 27011; title: 'Sinfonia / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secondo / Corno Primo / Corno Secondo / Viola è Basso / Del Sigre: Giuseppe Hayden / [theme]'; oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); bass part by another copyist (prob. this is the dup. pt., the orig. having been lost); dup. vln. pts. also by orig. copyist; source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-80.

(5) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 3, 28; title: 'Synphonia ex C / a / 2. Violinis / 2. Oboe / 2. Cornu / Viola oblig. / con / Basso / Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn'; 4° paper from Kremsmünster mill (? watermarks almost illegible: some sort of coat-of-arms); source of local origin, c. 1770-80 (?).

(6) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana, without trpt. & timp.: see No. 22, source 8.

(7) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons., without trpt. & timp.: see No. 10, source 6.

(8) *MS.* parts (no trpt. & timp.), Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

(9) *MS.* parts (no trpt. & timp.), Antoniana, Padua: see No. 13, source 14.

(10) Printed parts, Mlle de Silly, Paris, 1779: see No. 20, source 10.

*The Sources:* There are two distinct groups of sources: the first (1—3) agreeing (as a whole) with the text of the G. A., and the second (4—10) without trumpets and timp., with important deviations in the oboe and horn pts., and different dynamic marks. Perhaps this latter is an earlier version of the work; it is possible that Haydn added the trumpet and drum parts later.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 3, pp. 151-164, based on C. F. Pohl's copy (GdM XIII, 27011) of a score from the collection of Franz Gehring; source 4 was supposedly consulted, but the G. A. shows no record of the wide divergencies between this and Gehring's score (see para. above).

### Corrections to G. A.:

#### I.

Main divergencies of 2nd group of sources (GdM, Kremsm., Mme de Silly, etc.: see above):

49/52: ob. rest; 60/66: ob., cor. rest;

168/171: ob. rest; 179/185: ob., cor. rest.

23: timp. Harburg last 2 notes dotted. (cf., however, 154).

50: vln. I, II GdM, Kremsm. last note *g#*: this is only poss. if ob. rest; Silly (2nd group) has, however, *a*: cf. also 169.

56: vcl.-cb. instead of rest crotchet *G* (cf. also 175).

60, 179: *str. all sources no f* (cf. divergency in 2nd group, above); *f* vln. I, II, 66, 185, 2nd note; vla., vcl.-cb. 68, 187.

77/78,

79/80: cor. I, II (Harburg also ob. I) tied.

83/84 (ob. I), 85/86 (ob. II) etc.: tied in Harburg, occasionally in other sources, too.

93: vln. I *a. r.* 3rd note *e''*.

108: vln. I *a. r.* 1st note *c''*.

112: remove decresc. (*p* here in some sources; doubtful).

113: vln. I, (II) slur over whole meas.

118: vln. I, II last note *f#''*.

154/155: vln. II *a. r.* from 2nd note 154 = vln. I.

#### II.

2nd group of sources: vln. I also 'con sord'; 25: vla. *p*<sub>77</sub>

22, 91: vln. I slur over each 2 notes. 26: vln. I quaver.

#### III.

16: ob. I, II, vln. I 2nd group of sources no appogg. (convincing).

vla., vcl.-cb. *p* on 2nd note, remove decresc.

43: ob. I appogg. *c'''* before 2nd note.

#### IV.

*Tempo: Allegro di molto.*

28/29: vla. Silly tied.

32/33, 34/35, 117/118, 119/120: vln. II remove tie.

74: ob. I *tr.* in 2nd group on *b'* (convincing).

85: vln. I *b* before last note.

# Appendix I

- 128/132: remove all  $\flat$  before e's: music remains in C major; the minor enters at 133.  
 132: ob., vln. I, (II) slur over last 2 notes.  
 133: vln. I 2nd group rests instead of last 3 notes.  
 135/136,  
 136/137: ob. I tied.

† No. 39



I. Andante, E flat, 3/8.

III. Menuet & Trio, g, 3/4; B flat, 3/4.

IV. Allegro molto, g, 4/4 (in some MSS.: 'Allegro di molto').

Date of comp.: c. 1768. Earliest ref.: Göttweig 1770.

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor. in G, 2 cor. in B $\flat$  [alto], str. (fag.), [cemb.].

Cat. ref.: EK/I, p. 2 (in pencil); EK/II, p. 26 (erroneously 'in b fa'); Kees, No. 24: 'Sinfonia, con 4 Corni, Oboe'; HV 23 (tempo: 'Vivace'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1773, p. 3: 'VI. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] II. a 2 C. in G. 2 C. in B. 2 O. 2 Vi. V. e B.'; Traeg cat. 1799, No. 120.

Authentic sources: (1), possibly also (2).

Sources:

(1) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 57; title: '[theme] / Synphonia in G min: / a / 2 Violinis in duplo / Viola oblig: / 2 Obois / 4 Corni / Violonzello, con Violone / Del Sig: Giuseppe Heyden (sic) / Partes 13'; pts. for 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II and 2 bass by the same copyist. 4<sup>o</sup> paper, source (written by a copyist frequently encountered in EH) c. 1770 (?) or somewhat earlier.

(2) MS. parts, Schlägl; title (bluish-green paper with watermarks: 'IGP' and coat-of-arms): 'In G Minor / 4 / Symphonia / A / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni in B / 2 Corni in G [bracket to r. of cor.: "Oblig"] / Viola / Con / Basso / Del Giuseppe Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper, 34 x 21.9 cm., 12-stave, apparently from Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 4); origin of source: authentic copy from Eisenstadt or Esterháza (?), c. 1772-74 (?). Ob. pts. missing (1954).

(3) MS. parts, Göttweig; 'Comparavit R P Odo 770'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1 & 15, 7); source of local origin.

(4) MS. parts, St. Florian; 'pro usu mich: / Planck'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian paper mill (watermarks: IV, 1); source of local origin; perf. date 'fecit / [pencil:] May 779', but source may be several years older than that.

(5) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 697; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 13, 49); three copyists; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780.

(6) MS. parts, Lambach; title includes the following name, crossed out: 'ad me Josephum Kliemstein'; oblong paper of unknown origin (watermarks: an armoured man in ornate frame; letters 'AFH'); origin of source: ? date of MS.: 4th quarter of 18th cent. (?).

(7) MS. parts, St. Lambrecht, 'pro choro / Lambertino / 779' (some of the pts. are dated 1780, some 1779); origin of paper: prob. mill in Wolfsberg (watermarks: bishop, holding staff); source of local origin.

(8) MS. parts, Melk, cat. IV, 61; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 11 under cartouche); source prob. of local origin, c. 1770-80 (?).

(9) MS. parts, GdM, cat. XIII, 6657; 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese paper (watermark: crossed keys in coat-of-arms); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-80 (?).

(10) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Collection?); same cat. no.; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 25); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780 (or later?); dup. str. pts. (Italian paper, I, 1, 4, 43) still later.

## Appendix I

- (11) MS. parts, VNat: see No. 13, source 10.  
 (12) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 12, source 8.  
 (13) MS. parts, Venice Marciana, cat. It. IV, 1281 (10897): see comment to No. 24, source 4; oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19; I, 13; dup. pts. I, 1, 4 — later addition); source of local origin, c. 1770-80 (?).  
 (14) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 23, source 8.  
 (15) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 23, source 9.  
 (16) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 12, source 9.

*Additional MS. sources:* (17) Michaelbeuern, cat. XIX/29, written by P. W. Rettensteiner (only vln. & vla. pts. extant); (18) Collection H. C. R. Landon (from a German monastery?); (19) Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., Melk, cat. IV, 61 with 'Fagotto' (col basso), c. 1800 or later; (20) Schwerin; (21) Schwerin, 2nd copy; (22) Stockholm, score; (23) Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 24 (local copy); (24) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2; (25) Antoniana, Padua: see No. 13, source 14; (26) Genoa (vla. missing).

(27) Printed parts, Venier, Paris, 1773: see No. 22, Version II, source 3.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 3, pp. 165-178, with minor errors; based on sources 1, 9 (or 10?) and C. F. Pohl's copy (GdM XIII, 6657) of a score from the collection of Franz Gehring.

### Corrections to G. A.:

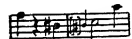
#### I.

- 23: vln. I, II *a. r.* 1st note *c''* (in some sources vln. I *e b''*, vln. II *c''*).  
 55: (vla.), vcl.-cb. *p* 1st note, not 54.  
 57 (vln. I, II), 96 (vln. I) *f* last note.  
 104: ob. I, II 2nd half of meas. = vln. I, II; possibly 105/106 col vln. I, II: aut. may have been vague here.  
 113/114: vln. II last 5 notes = ob. II.



#### II.

- 22: vla, bass *p*; general *f* at 25.  
 43: vln. I, II *b* before 3rd note.

#### III.

- 3/4, 27/28: vla.   
 34: vln. II instead of last 2 notes crotchet *f*.  
 40: vln. I, II *a. r.* last note *d''*.  
 51: vln. I, II Schlägl appogg. *g''* before 1st note (doubtful).

#### IV.

- 17: vln. I, II *a. r.* 1st note *e b'*.  
 94: vln. II *a. r.* ; vla., vcl.-cb. *a. r.* 3rd quarter  (vla. col basso); *cf.* also 36.

### † No. 40 (13 a)



II. Andante più tosto Allegretto, B flat, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, F, 3/4.

IV. Allegro, F, C.

*Date of comp.:* 1763 (autograph).

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., str. [cemb.].

*Cat. ref.:* EK, missing; Kees, No. 16: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni'; HV 15 (tempo: 'Vivace'); Quartbuch; Göttweig cat., p. 863, 'Comp R P/Odo 1770' (parts lost); Br. cat. 1776/77, p. 3: 'VI. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] I. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'

*Authentic sources:* (1), (2).

*Sources:*

- (1) Autograph, BM (from Coll. E. H. W. Meyerstein, London); title: 'Sinfonia.

# Appendix I

In Nomine Domini. Giuseppe Haydn 763<sup>o</sup>; 4<sup>o</sup>, 32 pages; 33 (32) × 23 (22) cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 1). At end of MS.: 'Laus Deo'. For instr., see facsimile.

(2) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 58; pts. for 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., 2 bass, 2 ob. and 2 cor. The trio of the minuet has, instead of the unsupported woodwind and horn solos (2 ob., fag., 2 cor.) of the autograph, additional string support; this is possibly an afterthought, added for some perf. by Haydn. See G. A. p. 189. There were once two separate sources, of which one is now in a very fragmentary state. The title page of the principal source reads: '[Ornament] / Nro 15 [struck out] / Sinfonia Ex F. / a / Due Violino. / Due Oboe / Due Corni / Viola / con Basso. / Del Sigr Haydn.'; of this source the following pts. are extant: 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., bass. The 2nd, fragmentary MS. (by a Viennese professional copyist!) is entitled: 'In F / Sinfonia / a / 2: Violini. / 2: Oboe. / 2: Corni. / Viola / con / Basso. / Del Sigr Giuseppe Haydn'. Only the bass pt. is extant. Both sets are written on 4<sup>o</sup> paper.

(3) MS. parts, Melk, cat. IV, 50; 4<sup>o</sup> parts on St. Pölten paper (watermarks: V, 1, 2, 3); dup. vln. I (perhaps belonging to another set of pts., now lost) on Italian paper (I, 19, 59); source of local origin, c. 1770-80 (?). Trio as in source 2.

(4) MS. parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 5, 65; oblong paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 10, 21); source of local origin, c. 1770 (?). Trio as in source 2.

(5) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8482; three copyists on three types of paper: (a) wind pts., Italian 4<sup>o</sup> (I, 1, 11); (b) 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., 2 bass, Italian 4<sup>o</sup> (I, 1, 4, 18, 22); (c) further dup. str. pts. on Viennese paper (crossed keys in crown); origin of source: Viennese; date of orig. pts.: c. 1770-80 (?). Trio as in source 2.

(6) MS. parts, Venice Marciana, cat. It. IV, 1715 (11297), a collection of various MSS., incl. Gassmann and anonymous pieces; bass pt. of No. 40 missing; oblong Italian paper (I, 1, 13); dup. on paper with I, 1, 4; source of local origin, c. 1770-85 (?). Trio as in source 2.

(7) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 25; oblong German paper (watermarks: VIII, 1); source of local origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent. Trio as in source 2.


*Additional MS. sources:* (8) VNat, s. m. 3702; (9) GdM XIII, 8482, score and pts. from Erzherzog Rudolf Collection (c. 1800 or later), with trio as in autograph (!); (10) additional Erzherzog Rudolf parts, Melk IV, 84 (not, however, the usual copyist); fl. pt. added, and fag., though present, is col basso throughout, and the trio as in source 2; (11) Stockholm, score.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 3, pp. 179-196, with minor errors; based on source 2 and C. F. Pohl's copy (GdM) of a score from the collection of Otto Jahn. In the G. A., all the Haydn ornaments are replaced by *tr.*

## Corrections to G. A.:

### I.

3, etc.: slur over 1st 2 notes.

5: cor. should read 

### III.

Trio: str. in aut. have rests; fag. in bass stave.

## No. 41

### *Allegro con spirito*



II. Un poco Andante, F, 2/4.

III. Menuetto & Trio, C, 3/4.

IV. Presto, C, 2/4.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1769-70. Earliest ref.: Göttweig 1771.

*Scoring:* 1 fl. (in II only), 2 ob., 2 cor. in C alto & C basso, 2 clarini (trpt.). timp., str. (fag.).

## Appendix I

*Cat. ref.:* EK/I, p. 2; Kees, No. 30: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini / Flauto, Tympani'; HV 29 (tempo: 'Allegro'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1772: see source 12.


*Authentic sources:* (1).

*Sources:*

- (1) *MS. parts*, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 59; title (G. A.): 'Sinfonia ex C Nr. 23... Del Sig. Heyden'; 4<sup>o</sup> pts., bass pt. in 2 copies.
  - (2) *MS. parts* by Viennese professional copyist No. 1, St. Florian; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 12, 62); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-80.
  - (3) *MS. parts*, Göttweig: 'Parthia... Comparavit R: P: Odo 1771'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); source of local origin.
  - (4) *MS. parts*, GdM, cat. XIII, 8400; owner's remark: '36 / Johann Nep: Ronner'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 63); source prob. of Viennese origin, c. 1770-80 (?).
  - (5) *MS. parts*, GdM (Kees Collection?), same cat. no.; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin, poss. Viennese (watermarks illegible); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?). Dup. pts. on Italian paper (I, 1, 7).
  - (6) *MS. parts*, by Viennese professional copyist No. 2, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 688; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1 & 15, 7); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-80 (?).
  - (7) *MS. parts*, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 26; 'Sinfonia Maestoso', with 'Fagotto' (col Basso in I, III, IV; tacet in II and trio of III); 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 7, 9, 34); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-80 (?). Dup. vln. pts. on local German paper.
  - (8) *MS. parts*, Venice Marciana, without trpts. & timp.: see No. 12, source 8.
  - (9) *MS. parts*, Venice Cons., without trpts. & timp.: see No. 23, source 8.
  - (10) *MS. parts*, Venice Cons., without trpts. & timp.: see No. 23, source 9.
  - (11) *MS. parts*, Schwerin.
  - (12) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1772; announced in Br. cat. of that year, p. 6; see No. 20, source 9.
  - (13) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1773 (?); title: 'Trois Simphonies / A deux Violons, Alto, et Basse, / Cor, et Hautbois / Composées / Par / G. Heyden / Sieber... Paris...' (copy in Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Vm<sup>7</sup> 1561); included are Nos. 41, III, 36 and 49; there is little doubt that this is a pirated reprint of Hummel's Op. X (1772: see No. 20, source 9), with No. 49 substituted for No. 20, which was already known in Paris through the Silly print (see No. 20, source 10); plate no. 1.
  - (14) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09; a collection entitled: 'A / Compleat Collection / of / Haydn, Mozart / and Beethoven's / Symphonies, / In Score, / Most Respectfully Dedicated, by Permission, to / H. R. H. / the / Prince of Wales. / Price to Subscribers S 5 / Non Subscribers S 8 / London / Printed by Cianchettini & Sperati, Importers of Classical Music / No. 5, Princes Street Cavendish Square'; the following Haydn symphonies are included: Nos. 41, 44, 45, 51, 53, 57, 64, 66, 69, 70, 71, 75, 83, 85, 90, 91, 92, Overture II, 14. Copy in BM, Hirsch III. 307.
  - (15) Reprint of Hummel's Op. X by Forster, London, c. 1792: see No. 20, source 11.
  - (16) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1810, without trpt. & timp.: see No. 6, source 10.
  - (17) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn, No. 20; without trpt. & timp. (VNat m. s. 26561).
- Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 4, pp. 1-20, with a few minor errors or *a. r.*; based on sources 1 and 16.

### *Corrections to G. A.:*

I.


- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>3, 7, 21 <i>et seq.</i>:  (sources 2, 3, etc.).</p> <p>58, 62 <i>et seq.</i>: <i>a. r.</i> vln. I, II slur over 3 quavers, no stacc.</p> | <p>61, 180: vln. I (ob. I, too, 180) <i>a. r.</i> 1st 2 notes tied.</p> <p>144: <i>cor. II</i> 8va lower, tied from 143.</p> |
|--|--|

# Appendix I

## II.

*Tempo: Un poco Andante.*

9, 65: cor. I, II *pp* in many sources.  
10: fl. last note *f*.

10 *ff*: fl. most sources alternate   
with reading of G. A. Perhaps  
best solution is: 9, 11 = G. A.,  
10, 12 as above.

11: ob. I last 2 notes slurred.

13/14: cor. I, II tied.

16/17: ob. I tied.

53/54: fl., cor. I, II remove tie.

54/55: (fl.), ob. I, II, (cor. I, II) tied.

[69/70: cor. II add tie?]

## III.

[4, 26, 32: vln. I, II add  $\sharp$  to minim?]  
Trio: suggest cor. I, II C basso; C  
alto seems most unlikely here.

## IV.

12, 102: winds, timp., vla., vcl.-cb. sources  
clearly indicate *p* here, not  
13 and 103.

59, 136: wind instr. *ff* suggested most  
sources (timp. *ff* 59, 137, latter  
also source 1).

† No. 42

*Moderato e maestoso*



II. Andantino e cantabile, A, 3/8.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, D, 3/4.

IV. Scherzando e presto, D, 2/4.

*Date of comp.*: 1771 (autograph).

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str. (trpt. & timp. poss. added later.).

*Cat. ref.*: EK/I, p. 1; EK/II, p. 25; Kees, No. 36: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini, / Tympani'; HV 35 (tempo: 'Vivace' and with mistake in 1st bar); Quarthuch; Br. cat. 1773, p. 3: 'VI. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] V. a 2 C. 2 O. 2. Trom. Tym. 2 Vi. V. e B.'.

*Authentic sources*: (1), (2).

*Sources*:

(1) *Autograph*. EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 34; title: 'Sinfonia in D. In Nomine Domini di Giuseppe Haydn. 771'; 4<sup>o</sup>, 40 pages, 23 × 36 cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 3). 1st movt., meas. 45 and 143 originally contained sketches for three more bars; at 45 Haydn crossed these out and added remark: 'Dieses war vor gar zu gelehrte Ohren' (G. A. I/IV, p. V). At end of MS: 'Laus Deo'.

(2) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 60; pts. for 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., vcl., bass., 2 ob., 2 cor. (Information from Dénes Bartha.)

(3) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 815; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780 (?).

(4) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 27; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 64, 65); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780 (?). There are also pts. for 2 clarini (trpt.) and timp. (the latter written in transposing C-G!), which are crude in the extreme and are prob. not the same pts. noted in the Kees and Br. cat. Dup. str. pts. on local German paper (VIII, 5).

(5) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 6650 & 8493; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin, poss. Viennese (watermarks illegible); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?). Dup. pts. partly on Italian paper, partly on Viennese paper.

(6) MS. parts, GdM, same cat.; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); dup. vln. pts. by same copyist; origin of source: ? (prob. Viennese), about 4th quarter of 18th cent.

(7) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 21, source 8.

## Appendix I

(8) *MS.* parts, VNat, cat. s.m. 22154; a collection of 6 Haydn symphonies, including Nos. 54, 42, 66, 67, 68 and 69; largely written by Viennese professional copyist No. 3; pts. for 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.; 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese (watermark: crossed keys) and Italian paper (watermarks: 1, 1, 4, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1790.

*Additional MS. sources:* (9) Kremsmünster, cat. H 4, 40 (local copy); (10) Götting, incomplete and n. d. (c. 1800?); (11) Modena, D. 133 (local copy; waterm. I, 60); (12) Schwerin; (13) GdM (Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.), score and pts., c. 1800-20; (14) Stockholm, score; (15) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2; (16) Genoa.

(17) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1785(?); title: 'Letter [D] / A / Grand Overture / in parts, / Performed at the / Professional / and other / Public Concerts / composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by W<sup>m</sup> Forster at his Music Warehouse / No. 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand'; pl. no. 60; copy in Manchester. Later copies, No. 22, York St., Westminster (c. 1803-16).

(18) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1787 (Royal Privilege granted 15th May 1787); title: 'Symphonie / Periodique / à deux Violons Alto & Basse / deux Hautbois et deux Cors / Composée par / J. HAYDN / Prix [4 # 4v] / A PARIS / Chez Imbault, Md de Musique, au Mont d'or rue St. Honoré, entre Hôtel d'Alligre et la rue des Poulies. No. 627 / A. P. D. R.'; at the head of most pts. 'Sinfonia 18.' Copy in Venice Cons. Sieber appears to have issued this work, probably using Imbault's plates (Sieber cat., letter H). Some Haydn symphonies were issued by Sieber and Imbault jointly (e. g. Nos. 44 and 73).

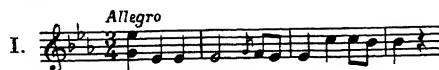
(19) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 4, pp. 21-44: based on source 1. The bassoons, mentioned in the autograph only during the course of the 4th movt., should be col basso throughout the symphony.

**Correction to G. A.:**

+, not ~ throughout in aut., II and IV. In IV suggest add + vln. I, II 40, 102, 132, 134.

† No. 43



II. Adagio, A flat, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, E flat, 3/4.

IV. Allegro, E flat, C.

'*Merkur*': designation from 19th cent.

*Date of comp.*: c. 1771. *Earliest ref.*: Br. cat. 1772.

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 cor., str. (fag.).

*Cat. ref.*: EK/I, p. 1, EK/II, p. 25; Kees, No. 41: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni.'; HV 40 (tempo: 'non troppo Allo.'; Quarbach; Br. cat. 1772, p. 2: 'III. Sinf. di Gius. HAYDEN. [No. II] a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'; Br. cat. 1774, see source 18.

**Authentic sources:** none.

**Sources:**

(1) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 830; title: 'N: 17 / Sinfonia in E mol: / a / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / Viola / et / Basso / Del: Sig: Giuseppe Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); dup. str. pts. on local German paper, also 2 clarinet pts.; orig. source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85 (?).

(2) *MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 28; title: 'In E mol [later changed to "Eb"] with ["No. 21"] / Sinfonia / a / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / Viola / è / Basso / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 62); dup. str. pts. on local German paper; orig. source of Viennese origin, c. 1771-80 (?).*



## Appendix I

(3) MS. parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 1, GdM (Kaiserliche Sammlung?), cat. XIII, 6650; title: 'Sinfonia / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secondo / Corno Primo / Corno Secondo / Viola e Basso / Del Sigre: Giuseppe Hayden / [theme]'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: 1, 1, 4, 13); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775 (?).

(4) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), same cat. no.; no title page extant; pts. as in 'scoring' but with (dup. pt.) 'Basso. Fagotto'; orig. pts. on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: 1, 1, 4, 24); dup. pts. partly on Italian paper (1, 1, 18), partly on Viennese paper of later date; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780.

(5) MS. parts, Göttsweig; title: 'Sinfonia / in Eb / a / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / Viola / Basso / [later: "Fagotto"] / Del Sig: Jos. Hayden'; the present title page is not the original one; two types of 4<sup>o</sup> paper, one Italian (watermarks: 1, 1 with almost illegible letters 'PAM' ['PAL'] and 'CP' [?]) and one of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); cor. I, vln. I and bass missing. Source of local origin.

(6) MS. parts, Göttsweig; title: 'Divertimento In E mol [later, on top of 'E mol': "Es"] / a / Violino Primo. / Violino Secundo / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secundo. / Alto Viola. / con / Basso. / Del Sigre Giuseppe Hayden. / Comparavit R. P. Marianus / 778'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); source of local origin.

(7) MS. parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 28, 224; title: 'Sinfonia: In Dis. / con / Due Violini. / 2 Oboe. / 2: Corni. / Alto Viola. / et / Basso: / Del: Sigre Giuseppe Haydn: / P. Georgius'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 4); source of local origin, c. 1780 (?); a small change in ob. I pt. at end of minuet.

(8) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 21, source 8.

*Additional MS. sources:* (9) Melk, cat. IV, 75; horns missing (but recorded on new, substitute title page); five copyists, partly on Italian, partly on local paper; (10) Stams, cat. L I, 58 (local copy); (11) Admont, now Graz: 'Divertimento', local copy; (12) Donau-Eschingen; (13) score from Erherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 6650, beginning of 19th cent.; (14) Stockholm; (15) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2; (16) Antoniana, Padua: see No. 23, source 13; (17) Genoa.

(18) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1773-74 (Br. cat. 1774; Gerber, 1774); title: 'Trois / Simphonies / A deux Violons Alto Et Basse / Cor, et Hautbois / Composés / par / J. HAYDN / OEuvre [25]<sup>e</sup> / A Paris / Chez le Sr Sieber rue St honoré entre la rue des Vieilles Etuves...'; included are Nos. 43, 52 and 47; the bass part contains indications for 'Fagoto' (No. 52); copies in Venice Cons., Paris Cons., H. 38 a-h, the latter in a green binding stamped 'Musique du Roy 1782'. Plate no. 6.

(19) Printed parts, Napier, London, c. 1785 (?); title: 'An / Overture / By / Haydn / as Performed at the / Pantheon, / and other Public-Concerts / Price 3<sup>s</sup>. / London. / Printed for Wm Napier corner of Lancaster Court Strand. / NB. An Overture by a Capital Master will be Published Monthly till Six are Completed'; at head of pts.: 'Symphonie / VI'; no pl. number. Copy in BM, h. 656. p. (1.).

(20) Printed parts, Forster, London; probably a reprint of 19, possibly using the same plates (there is no plate number). Copy in BM (h. 656. 1.) has address: 348, Strand. (Print might be dated c. 1795-1810.)

(21) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn (pl. no. 810, early 19th cent.).

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 4, pp. 45-68; based on sources 13 & 21; 3 (and 4?) 'hilfsweise herangezogen'.

### *Corrections to G. A.:*

I.

3, 7, 62 (+ vln. II) etc.: vln. I 1st 2 notes slurred, not stacc.

II.

44: vln. I, II 4th last note g'.

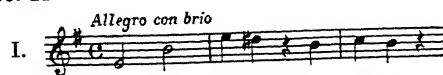
51: vln. I last two notes dotted semiquaver and demisemiquaver.

IV.

85/91: vla., vcl.-cb. remove all slurs.

# Appendix I

† No. 44



- I. *Allegro con brio*
- II. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto: Canone in diapason, e, 3/4; E, 3/4.
- III. Adagio, E, 2/4.
- IV. Presto, e, C

'Trauersymphonie', designation from end of 18th or early 19th cent.

Date of comp.: c. 1771. Earliest ref.: Br. cat. 1772.

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. (fag.).

Cat. ref.: EK/I, p. 1 (tempo: 'Con Brio'); Kees, No. 40 ['Sinfonia, con oboe, Corni']; HV 39 (tempo: 'Con Espressione'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1772, p. 2: 'III. Sinf. di Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] III. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'; Br. cat. 1773, p. 3: 'VI Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] III. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'.

Authentic sources: none (possibly [1]).

## Sources:

(1) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 29; title: 'No. 22 / In E minore / Sinfonia / a / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / Viola / e / Basso / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 62); a very important source of Viennese origin, c. 1771-80 (?).

(2) MS. parts, Schlierbach; title: 'In E minore / Sinfonia / à / 2. Violini / 2. Oboe / 2. Corni / Alto Viola / è / Basso / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Haydn / [theme]'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 59, 62, 65, 66); source of Viennese origin, c. 1771-80 (?).

(3) MS. parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 1, GdM (Kaiserliche Sammlung), cat. XIII, 8118; title: 'Sinfonia / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secondo / Corno Primo / Corno Secondo / Viola è Basso / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Hayden / [theme]'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 12); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?).

(4) MS. parts, GdM, same cat. no.; title: 'Sinfonia in E minore / a / 2: Violini / 2: Oboe obl / 2: Corni obl / Viola / e / Basso / Del: Sig: Giuseppe Hayden.'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 12); dup. vln. I watermarks I, 1, 7, 18; source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?). Unfortunately, the source is ruined as a result of corrections, etc.

(5) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), same cat. no.; original pts. on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); dup. pts. partly on Italian, partly on Viennese paper of later date; wind pts. on Viennese paper; source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85 (?).

(6) MS. parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 1, Harburg, cat. III, 41<sup>1/2</sup>, 4<sup>o</sup> 810; title: 'Sinfonia / à / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secondo / Corno Primo in E# / Corno Secondo in G / Viola è Basso / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Hayden / [theme]'; original pts. oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 20, 67); orig. vln. I & II destroyed and only local substitutes remain; orig. source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?).

(7) MS. parts, Melk, cat. IV, 57; orig. title page destroyed; pts. as in 'scoring'; three copyists on 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Austrian or Hungarian mill (watermarks: VI, 3, 4); source prob. of local origin, c. 1780 (?).

(8) MS. parts, Göttweig; original title page lost; substitute copy reads: 'Symphonia / in E moll / für / Violino I. u. II / Hautbois I u. II. / Corno I in C [sic] / Corno II in G / Viola und Basso / von / Jos. Haydn / Comparavit P. Mariannus 781'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: apparently letters 'IH' in simple frame); source of local origin.

(9) MS. parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 5, 61; title: 'Sinfonia in E. m. / a / 2. Violini. / Viola. / 2. Oboe. / 1. Corno in E. m. / 1. Corno in G. / Basso / Del Sign.

# Appendix I

Giuseppe Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 21); source of local origin, c. 1780 (?).

(10) MS. parts, Schlägl; title: 'In E / Symphonia / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe Prima / Oboe Secunda / Cornu In E / Cornu In G / Viola / con / Violone / Del Signore Giuseppe Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 17, 20); source of local origin, c. 1780 (?).

(11) MS. parts, Venice Cons., from the Gustinian Collection, Volume IV, which contains Nos. 73, 64, 61, 44, 66 and III, 8; title: 'SEI SINFONIE / a due Violini, Oboè, Corni da Caccia, Viola, Violoncello, e Basso / aggiunti il Flauto nelle Sinfonie I e III, e li Fagotti nella I. III. e V, con li Clarini, e i Timpani / Del Sigr Giuseppe Haydn / nella Sinfonia Prima [refers to remark of Clarini & timp.] / Op. 39 [sic]'; oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 21, 39, 42); source of local origin, c. 1780-90.

*Additional MS. sources:* (12) Zwettl; (13) Michaelbeuern: 'Canon symphonie', cat. XIX/31, copied by P.W. Rettensteiner; (14) Modena, cat. D. 151 (watermarks: I, 1, 19, 64), prob. Viennese source, end of 18th cent.; (15) score from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8118, beginning of 19th cent.; (16) Bst (Marburg), cat. 9997; (17) Bst (Marburg) cat.  $\frac{9992}{8}$ ; (18) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2; (19) Antoniana, Padua: see No. 23, source 13; (20) Genoa: title 'a quattro corni' but pts. only for two.

(21) Printed parts, Guera, Lyon, c. 1780-85; title: 'Trois / Simphonies / A Grand Orchestre / Composée / par / Messieurs / Hayden e Vannhall / Les Cors di Chasse ad Libitum / Prix 7 ff 4 / A Lyon Chés Guera Editeur et Ma.de Musique Place des Terreaux [etc.] Gravées par M.le Ferrieres / Ecrit par Meunier'. Contents: Vanhal Symphony in A, Haydn Nos. 57 and 44. Pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., str. Copy in Washington, M 1001, H 42. P.

(22) Printed parts, Imbault-Sieber, Paris (a joint publication), 1784 (announced in the *Mercure de France*, 12 June); title: 'SIMPHONIE / périodique / a Deux Violons Alto et Basse, / Deux Hautbois Deux Cors / Composés par J. Haydn / [No. 14] A Paris...' Copies also with title: 'Simphonies / périodiques / A Plusieurs Instruments...' and with only Sieber's imprint and signature. Copy of latter in Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt. Imbault also issued his own Haydn 'Simphonie périodique No. 14' (cf. No. 65).

(23) Printed parts, Forster, c. 1792 (?); title: 'Letter[I] / A / Grand Overture / in parts, / Performed at the / Professional / and other / Public Concerts / composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by Wm Forster at his / Music Warehouse / N.º 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand; pl. no. 116; copy in BM, h. 656. p. 2. Later copies with address: 22, York Street, Westminster (c. 1803-16).

(24) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1802: see No. 6, source 10.

(25) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14. *Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 4, pp. 69-90, with very grave errors: 2nd and 3rd movts. reversed, dynamic marks in 2nd movt. badly distorted; a note in the theme of the 4th movt. wrong, etc.; based on sources 15 and 24, 4 and 5 'hilfsweise herangezogen'.

*Corrections to G. A.:*

I.

C, not C in all sources consulted except ob. I, source 2.

4: vln. II = vln. I (cf., however, 104).

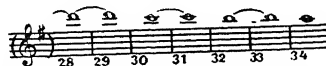
10, 113: vln. II, vla. slur 2nd to 4th notes.

18: vln. I 1st 2 notes tied.

19: vln. I + instead of tr.



20: vln. I, II ff.

21/23: vla., vcl.-cb. all notes stacc.  
28/34: ob. I should read:



28 (vln. II), 29 (vln. I), 30 (vln. II), 31 (vln. I), 32 (vln. II), 33 (vln. I), 34 (vln. II): 1st 2 crotchets stacc., on 3rd + instead of tr. (i. e. etc.).

# Appendix I


- 30: vla. 1st note *e'*.  
 33: cor. I has whole meas. rest.  
 36/38,  
 122/124: ob. I last 2 notes slurred, not stacc.  
 41: ob. II, vln. I, II, vla. *b* not *b*.  
 42, 128: vcl.-cb. 2nd to 3rd notes tied.  
 48, 50,  
 51, 134: vln. I, II *forz* on 2nd note (remove *sf* ob. I, II).  
 49, 52,  
 135: vln. I (occasionally II) in sources 7 and 8 *tr.* on last note: doubtful.  
 57: str.   
 63/64: vln. I  (add to 67/68).  
 68/69: vln. I tied in source 1 (possible).  
 70/71,  
 72/73: cor. I tied.  
 76/77: cor. II tied, remove *f* at 77.  
 81: vln. II, vcl.-cb. remove *f* (superfluous).  
 94: cor. I whole meas. rest.  
 98: str. general *ff* (vln. I 2nd note).  
 99: vln. I *d*, not *d*.  
 109/111: vln. I, II *p* on last quarter of meas.; vla., vcl.-cb. *p* on 3rd (2nd?) note.  
 114/115: vcl.-cb. tied.  
 120: only vln. I, ob. I *f* here, rest at beginning 121; ob. II 120 tied.  
 127/128: vla. remove tie.  
 136/138: remove all *p*, *forz* remain at beginning each meas. (*f* 139 superfluous).  
 139: vla. 2nd half of meas. 4 quavers *e'*.  
 140: general *tenuto*.  
 143: vln. I 1st 2 notes slurred (add vla., vcl.-cb. 142?).  
 146: vla. whole meas. rest.  
 147/148: ob. I last 2 notes slurred.  
 148/149: cor. II tied.  
 149: vln. I 1st note crotchet *g*".  
 149, 150, 152,  
 153: vln. I, II *forz* on 2nd note (remove ob. *sf*, 150, 153).  
 152: vln. I 1st note crotchet *e*".  
 157: vln. I 1st note *e'* (i.e. remove upper 2 notes of triple stop).

## II.

- 7, 9, 11: ob. I, II, vln. I, II slur over last 2 notes (add vcl.-cb. 8, 10).  
 8/9: cor. II, vla. tied.

- 9: ob. I, II, vln. I, II *p* 2nd note, not 8.  
 10: vcl.-cb. *p* 2nd note, not 9.  
 11: ob. I, II, vln. I, II *f* 2nd note, not 10.  
 12: vcl.-cb. *f* 2nd note, not 11.  
 12/14: ob. I remove *tr.*, vln. I, II *+* instead of *tr.*  
 15: vln. I, II slur over 1st 2 notes  
 54: ob. I, vln. I, II remove *appogg.*: these are *spurious*.  
 59: vcl.-cb. slur over 1st 2 notes.  
 69: general *p* (ob., vln., vla. 2nd note) here, not 70.  
 upbeat to 73: *forz*, not *f*.  
 73: *forz* last note.  
 84: *poco forte*, not *f* (vln. I, II 2nd note).  
 85: *p* on 2nd note, not 86.

## III.

- 1, 5, 41: vla., vcl.-cb. remove slur.  
 4, 12, 44: *+* instead of *tr.*  
 15/16: vln. II remove slur across meas.  
 17, 19,  
 58, 60: some sources suggest *f* at beginning of meas.  
 18, 59: ob. I, II slurred.  
 19, 60: cor. I *penultimate note c*"(=*e*").  
 20: cor. I *e*"(=*g*").  
 23: vln. I 1st note of double *appogg.* *d* #", not *e*".  
 27, 70: remove *cresc.*  
 28, 71: remove *f*.  
 29, 72: insert *poco forte* instead of *p*; remove *sf* in 29.  
 30, 73: general *p* on 2nd note.  
 31: remove *poco f* (should be 2 meas. earlier).  
 34: cor. II 8va higher.  
 37: vln. I *appogg.* *b'*, not *d* #", and written as quaver.  
 43: vln. I, II last 4 notes rhythm:  as in meas. 3.  
 51: vln. I remove *appogg.*  
 61: general *p* on 2nd note, not 3rd eighth of meas.  
 61/62: vln. I last note 61, 1st 62 — *d* #, not *d*.  
 79: vln. I *appogg.* *e'*, not *g* # and written as quaver.

## IV.

- 1 *ff.*: general stacc.  
 7: str. last note in all sources *f* #, not *e*!  
 10, 12: vln. I 1st 2 notes slurred (vln. II 10 ditto).

# Appendix I

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 12: vln. II 1st note <i>e'</i> .                             | 137: cor. I 2 minims <i>c''</i> (= <i>e'</i> ). |
| 35: vla. last note <i>b</i> .                                | 147: str. <i>fz</i> on 1st note.                |
| 51: vln. I, II <i>fz</i> on 1st note.                        | 150: cor. I <i>p</i> , not 151.                 |
| 65/66, 157/158: vln. I remove tie.                           | 159/160: vln. I tied.                           |
| 70, 72, 74: vln. I 1st 2 notes slurred.                      | 165/166: suggest vcl.-cb. tied.                 |
| 73/74: cor. I, vcl.-cb. tied.                                | 167, 169: str. slur from 2nd note.              |
| 97 (vla., vcl.-cb.), 99 (vla.), 101 (vcl.-cb.): remove slur. | 174/175: <i>ff</i> only str.                    |

## † No. 45



- II. Adagio, A, 3/8.  
 III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, F#, 3/4.  
 IV. Presto, f#, C — Adagio, A, 3/8; F#, 3/8.

'Abschiedssymphonie' ('Farewell'), designation from 4th quarter of 18th cent.

Date of comp.: 1772 (autograph).

Scoring: 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., str.; in 4th movt. 4 vln. pts.

Cat. ref.: EK/I, p. 1; Kees, No. 38: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni'; HV 37 (tempo: 'Con Spirito'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1776-77, p. 3: 'VI. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] IV. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 4 Viol. Violono. e B.'; Br. cat. 1778: see source 17; Herzogenburg cat. (pts. lost); Traeg cat. 1799, No. 116 'der Abschied'.

Authentic sources: (1), (2).

### Sources:

(1) Autograph, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 36; photograph in Washington; title: 'Sinfonia in Fis minore. In Nomine Domini di me Giuseppe Haydn 772.'; 4°, 64 pages, 23 × 36 cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 3). At the end of MS.: 'Laus Deo'.

(2) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 61; pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., fag. (only solo part in 4th movt.), 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla, 2 bass. The pts. have been heavily revised by various persons at various times, perhaps as late as in the era of Hummel; it is difficult to know what might be traced back to a Haydn performance and what was added in the early 19th cent.

(3) MS. parts, Göttweig, 'Comparavit R. P. / Marianus 1774'; source is of Viennese origin (Italian paper: I, 64, 68), and the 'Comparavit' may be interpreted as 'acquired by'.

(4) MS. parts, Lambach; 4° paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 3); pts. as in 'scoring', but a wrong fag. pt., for another work, included; source of local origin, c. 1775; substitute pt. 'Clarinett Solo' on Italian paper, added considerably later.

(5) MS. parts, Melk, cat. IV, 56; orig. pts. 4° paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 3); dup. str. pts. partly on Italian, partly on VI, 4 paper; source of local origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent. No. fag. pt.

(6) MS. parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 5, 55; 4° paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 2); source of local origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent. No. fag. pt.

(7) MS. parts, Venice Marciana, cat. It. IV, 1279 (10939); a collection of 'VI. / Sinfonie del / Sig<sup>r</sup> Haydn', containing Nos. 57, 54, 56, 55, 46 and 45; 4° Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 38); source of local origin, c. 1775-85 (?); pts. for 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, 'Viola 1ma', 2 vcl.-cb., 2 ob., 2 cor.; 2 copyists.

(8) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 30; oblong German paper (watermarks: VIII, 6); source of local origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent.; on pts. the names of local players: 'Rudolf', 'Mr. Kaffka', 'Mr. Pokorny', 'Schreyer'; pts. as in 'scoring'.

## Appendix I

(9) MS. parts, Venice Cons., from the Gustinian Collection, Volume V, which contains 'SEI SINFONIE / Del Sigr Giuseppe Haydn': the same works in the same order as source 7; it is probable that both are based on the same source; oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 21, 42, 69); pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Additional MS. sources:* (10) Donau-Eschingen; (11) Michaelbeuern, cat. XIX/32, copied by P. W. Rettensteiner; (12) Schwerin; (13) Milan cat.  $\frac{5580}{26}$ : 'Proprieta della Litografia Patrelli' (local copy); (14) Paris Conservatoire, cat. H. 223 a-h (German or Austrian copy: at end of last movt. 'Geht ab'); (15) Florence (from Pitti Collection), cat. D. 5. 142; (16) Stockholm, score (finale only); etc.

(17) Printed parts, Paris, 'Op. 24'; no copy of this print exists in any of the libraries visited by the author; the set includes four works, Nos. III, 8; 46; 45; and IV, 21; Gerber dates the print 1773, which is probably correct. Op. 24 was announced in the *Almanach Musical* of 1776, p. 100: '228. Quatre Symphonies à grand orchestre, par Haydn, op. 24; au Bureau musical, 9 livres'; the print was, moreover, announced in the Breitkopf cat. of 1778, p. 4.

(18) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1785 (?); title: 'Simphonie / Périodique / A Deux Violons / Alto Et Basse / Deux Hautbois Deux Cors / Composée Par / J. Haydn / ... A Paris / Sieber...'; No. 16 of Sieber's cat.; pl. no. 357; listed as 'ou l'on sinva'.

(19) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1785; title: 'Letter [B] / A / Grand Overture / in parts / Performed at the Professional / and other / Public Concerts / composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by W<sup>m</sup> Forster at his / Music Warehouse / No. 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand'; pub. no. 49 (of the series); copies in Manchester, BM, h. 3210. (8). Later copies, No. 22, York St., Westminster (BM, h. 656.1.).

(20) Printed parts, finale only, André, Offenbach a/M. (Verlag No. 3200): 'Abschiedsruf', transposed to E minor.

(21) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1802: title, see No. 6, source 10.

(22) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14.

(23) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn-Cologne.

*Critical editions:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 4, pp. 91-116, based on sources 1 and 2; Eulenburg No. 486 (Praetorius), based on the G. A.

*Corrections to G. A.:*

See the excellent Rev.-Ber. to the G. A. The bassoon should, of course, be col basso throughout symphony, not merely in 4th movt.

IV. (Adagio section).

4, 45: +, not ~.

71: vln. III, IV suggest add + to crotchet.

† (CH) No. 46



II. Poco Adagio, b, 6/8.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, B, 3/4; b, 3/4.

IV. Presto e scherzando, B, C — L'istesso Tempo di Menuet, 3/4 — [Tempo I] C.

*Date of comp.:* 1772 (autograph).

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag.].

*Cat. ref.:* EK/1, p. 1: two entries, one crossed out; Kees, No. 44 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni']; HV 43 (tempo: 'Moderato'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1773, p. 3: 'VI. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] VI. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'; Br. cat. 1778: see source 16; Göttweig cat., p. 863 'Comp R P Marianus 1774' (parts lost); Traeg cat. 1799, No. 115.

## Appendix I

*Authentic sources:* (1), (2).

*Sources:*

(1) **Autograph**, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 35; photograph in Washington; title: 'Sinfonia in H maggiore. In Nomine Domini del Giuseppe Haydn. 772.'; 4°, 52 pages, 23,2 × 35,5 (36) cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 4). Last page very crowded, so that H. had to use extra lines to prolong the staves: the usual 'Laus Deo' missing.

(2) *MS. parts*, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 62; pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., 2 bass. (Information from Dénes Bartha.)

(3) *MS. parts* by a Viennese copyist who signed himself 'Schmutzer', GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8497; 4° paper, prob. Viennese (watermarks illegible); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?). Vla. pt. missing.

(4) *MS. parts*, Harburg, cat. III, 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, fol. 704; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?).

(5) *MS. parts*, Lambach; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 66); source probably of local origin, c. 1775-80 (?); the title page on Kremsmünster paper.

(6) *MS. parts*, Schlägl; 4° paper of unknown origin (watermarks: star in baroque ornament; man in some kind of ornament; letters 'MIIH'); source probably of local origin, c. 1780 (?).

(7) *MS. parts*, Kremsmünster, cat. H 5, 60; 4° paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 17, 18); source of local origin, c. 1780 (?).

(8) *MS. parts*, Venice Marciana: see No. 45, source 7.

(9) *MS. parts*, Venice Cons.: see No. 45, source 9.

*Additional MS. sources:* (10) Zwettl; (11) Melk, cat. IV, 224, dated 1777, and underneath: C[hor]o M[elk] 1826: the whole transposed into B flat major and the horn pts. omitted; Italian paper; (12) score and parts from the Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8497, c. 1800-20; (13) Modena, cat. E. 72, c. 1820; (14) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2; (15) Stockholm ('Sinfonie af Sr Giuseppe Haiden').

(16) Printed parts, Paris, c. 1773: see No. 45, source 17.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 4, pp. 117-136, based on source 1.

† No. 47



II. Un poco Adagio, cantabile, D, 2/4.

III. Menuet al Roverso, G, 3/4; Trio al Roverso, G, 3/4.

IV. Presto assai, G, C.

*Date of comp.:* 1772 (autograph).

*Scoring:* 2 ob., fag., 2 cor., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/I, p. 1; Kees, No. 48: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni'; HV 47 (tempo: 'Moderato'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1774: see source 15; Göttweig cat., p. 863 'Comp. R P/Marianus 1774' (parts lost).

*Authentic sources:* (1), (2).

*Sources:*

(1) **Autograph**, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 37; photograph in Washington; title: 'Sinfonia in G. In Nomine Domini. Di me Giuseppe Haydn. 772.'; 4°, 36 pages; 22,5 (23) × 35 (36) cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 3); at end of *MS.*: 'Fine. Laus Deo.' Fag. not given its own pt.: at beginning of 2nd movt.: 'Fagotto sempre col Basso'.

## Appendix I

(2) *MS.* parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 63; pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla, bass. (Information from Dénes Bartha.)

(3) *MS.* parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 1, GdM (Kaiserliche Sammlung), cat. XIII, 19061; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 18, 19); source of Viennese origin, c. 1772-75 (?).

(4) *MS.* parts by a Viennese copyist who signed himself 'Schmutzer', GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 19061; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 20, 67); dup. pts on other Italian paper (I, 1, 10, 13, 19), still later dup. pts. on Viennese paper; source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?).

(5) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 21, source 8.

(6) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 4, 48; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 1); source of local origin, c. 1780 (?).

(7) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 513; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: lily with various illegible letters); at least three copyists; additional clarinet pts. added later; source of local origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent.

(8) *MS.* parts, Stams, cat. L I, 39; 'Ao 1791'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper, prob. from Tyrolean mill (watermarks: almost illegible coat-of-arms); source of local origin.

*Additional MS. sources:* (9) Seitenstetten; (10) Donau-Eschingen; (11) Schwerin; (12) Stockholm, score; (13) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2; (14) Antoniana, Padua: see No. 23, source 13.

(15) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1773-74: see No. 43, source 18.

(16) Printed parts, W. Napier, London, c. 1775; pub. no. 65; No. VI of a series of symphonies by various composers; copy in Manchester. Reprinted by G. Goulding, London, at beginning of 19th cent. (Copy in Royal College of Music, London, LIX. B. 5. (21).)

(17) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1792-93 (?); title: 'Letter [L] / A / Grand Overture / in parts / Performed at the / Professional / and other / Public Concerts / composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by W<sup>m</sup> Forster at his / Music Warehouse / No 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand'. No plate number. Incomplete copy in BM, h. 656. l. (22 York St., Westminster): a reprint of source 16, using Napier's plates.

(18) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn-Cologne, No. 18.

*Critical edition:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 4, pp. 137-160, based on source 1.

† No. 48



II. Adagio, F, 6/8.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, C, 3/4; c, 3/4.

IV. Allegro, C, C.

'Maria Theresa', designation founded on the apparently authentic tradition that this work was performed, if not composed, for the Empress upon the occasion of her visit to Esterháza in 1773.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1772-73. Earliest ref.: Br. cat. 1773.

*Scoring:* Originally for 2 ob., 2 cor. in C alto and F, str. [fag.]. Pts. for 2 clarini and timp. added later; it is not certain that the crude timp. pt. in the EH archives is really Haydn's (the clarini double the horns in the 1st, 3rd and 4th movts.). The modern trumpet and timp. pts. as pub. in the B. & H. orchestral parts and in the Eulenburg score (etc.) are patent forgeries.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/I, p. 1; Kees, No. 34: 'Sinfonia, intitolata Laudon, con Oboe / Corni, Clarini, Tympani' (the comment should apply to No. 69: because of the similarity



# Appendix I

of their opening themes, these two works have often been confused); HV 33; Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1773, p. 3: 'VI. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] IV. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'; Br. cat. 1782-84, p. 3: 'I. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDN. a 2 C. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. Violcl. e B.'

*Authentic source(s)*: (1), but (2) a far better source, possibly authentic.

(1) *MS.* parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 64; title: 'Sinfonia in C + Del Sig. Hayden... in Duplo. Nro. 14 z'; pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., 2 vln I, 2 vln II, vla., 2 bass. (G. A. I/IV, p. IX). It is possible that this source was acquired by Haydn and was not the original performance material of the Esterházy band.

(2) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 46 (erroneously catalogued as Haydn's Sym. No. 69); original pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., str. 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 62, 70); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?). Dup. str. pts. on German paper (watermarks: VIII, 7); there are pts. for 2 clarini and timp., obviously the work of some local composer, which do not agree with those of the G. A. The original source, however, is the best available and it is not unlikely that the *MS.*, if not actually authentic, is at least based on an authentic source.

(3) *MS.* parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8509; with 2 clarini and timp., the former as in G. A. (i. e. = cor.), the latter quite different and probably not authentic; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 18, 19, 59, 62, 64); horns missing. Source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?).

(4) *MS.* parts, Göttweig; no trpts. or timp.; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 62, 71); source of Viennese (?) origin, c. 1775-80 (?).

(5) *MS.* parts, Melk, cat. IV, 59; no trpts. or timp.; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: eagle with illegible letters; dup. str. pts. number '4' on twin scrolls over letters 'ITW'); source of local origin, c. 1780 (?).

(6) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 797; no trpts. or timp.; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?). Dup. str. pts. on local German paper (watermarks: VIII, 2).

(7) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. 4<sup>o</sup>, 101; no trpts. or timp.; erroneously listed on (original) title as 'Toni C. / LAUDON Synfonia...'; oblong German paper (watermarks: VIII, 2); source of local origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent.

(8) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 5, 63; title page possibly written later, erroneously listed as 'Laudon / [beneath in pencil: "Maria Theresia"] / Sinfonia in C...'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 6); two copyists, one for the cover (title page) and timp. part, obviously added later and probably of local composition; the clarini pts. not identical with G. A. (i. e. not always coi corni); source of local origin, c. 1775-80 (?).

(9) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 21, source 8.

*Additional MS. sources*: (10) Michaelbeuern, XIX/30, erroneously as 'Laudon-symphonie', copied by P. W. Rettensteiner; (11) Modena, cat. D. 139 (local copy: watermarks I, 60); (12) score and parts from the Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM, cat. XIII, 8509 (c. 1800-20); (13) Washington, with 2 clarino pts., not doubling the horns: see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

(14) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, c. 1784; title: 'Simphonie / Periodique / à deux Violons Alto & Basse / deux Hautbois et deux Cors / Composée par / J. HAYDN / Prix [4# 4v] / A PARIS / Chez Imbault, Md de Musique, au Mont d'or rue St. Honoré, entre Hôtel d'Alligre et la rue des Poulies, No 627 / A. P. D. R.'; 'Sinfonia 13' at head of most pts.; copy in Venice Cons. This seems to have been a joint publication with Sieber, for there are copies of this print with Sieber's imprint and signature, and the plate no. 254.


(15) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1792 (?); title: 'Letter [M] / A / Grand Overture in parts, / Performed at the / Professional / and other / Public Concerts / composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by W<sup>m</sup> Forster at his Music Warehouse / No. 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand'; pl. no. 120; copy in Manchester.

## Appendix I

*Additional prints:* (16) Simrock, Bonn-Cologne; (17) Le Duc, score: see No. 6, source 10.

*Critical editions:* G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 4, pp. 161-188, based on sources 1, 12 and 17. Eulenburg, No. 517 (E. Praetorius, 1940), based on G. A. and old B. & H. pts. The spurious trpt. & timp. pts. derive from the Simrock print, and have become widely known through the B. & H. orchestral pts. Eulenburg prints both versions at once, which provides a good opportunity for comparison.

### Corrections to G. A.:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>I.</p> <p>52, 168: remove <i>ffp</i>; suggest <i>pp</i> as dynamic.</p> <p>53: sources indicate <i>ff</i> (cf. also 169).</p> <p>75: cor. (trpt.) I, II semibreve <i>d''</i>, I tied to 76 (cf. also 186).</p> <p>97: <i>f</i> here, not 98.</p> <p>II.</p> <p>52: ob., cor. <i>fz</i> on 2nd note.</p> <p>67/68,</p> | <p>69/70: cor. slur over each 2 meas.</p> <p>88: ob., cor. <i>pp</i>.</p> <p>III.</p> <p>2, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13/16, 26, 29, upbeat to 45, 48, upbeat to 57, 64, 68, 70: + instead of <i>tr.</i> (clearly indicated in 2).</p> <p>79: vln. I, II </p> |
|--|---|

† No. 49 (35 a)



- II. Allegro di molto, *f*, 4/4.
- III. Menuet & Trio, *f*, 3/4; *F*, 3/4.
- IV. Presto, *f*, *C*.

'*La Passione*', designation from late 18th or early 19th cent.

*Date of comp.*: 1768 (autograph).

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. (fag.), [cemb.].

*Cat. ref.*: EK/I, p. 1; Kees, No. 42 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni.']; HV 41; Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1773, p. 3: 'VI. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDN. [No.] I. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'; Herzogenburg cat. (parts lost); Traeg cat. 1799, No. 181.

*Authentic sources*: (1), (2?).

### Sources:

(1) **Autograph**, Kungl. Musikaliska Akademiens, Stockholm; title: 'Sinfonia in F minore': p. 2 (1st page of music) has at the top: 'In Nomine Domini del Giuseppe Haydn. 768.'; 4<sup>o</sup>, 24 pages; 23 × 36 cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 1); at end of *MS.*: 'Fine. Laus Deo'. For instr. see facsimile.

(2) *MS.* parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 65; pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., 2 bass; these parts are most unreliable, containing mistakes of such magnitude that one doubts their connection with the Esterházy band; it is probable that the *MS.* was acquired by Haydn late in his life as an archive copy; Pohl, in his *MS.* score of the work (GdM), says: 'the parts... cannot be considered reliable (cf. the mistakes); perhaps they were never in use, since they are marked as "in Dupplo".'

(3) *MS.* parts, Göttweig, 'Comparavit: / R. P. Odo 773'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); source of local origin; performance dates on rear cover from '26 Marty 774 in Crypta' (only the 'Prim: Allegro').

(4) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 32; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1 & 15, 7, 9); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-75 (?). Pts. (and title page) include 'Fagotto' (col basso); local dup. pts. and local score of 1st movt.

# Appendix I

(5) *MS. parts*, GdM, cat. XIII, 6655: title: 'No. 64. 26 Bögen. nel suo antisiasmo [?] il Quakero di bel'humore. / questa Sinfonia serve di Compagna à quelle / del Philo-sopho Inglese del istesso autore... [owner:] Menguccide Rossi[mpria]'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks almost illegible); source of unknown origin (18th cent.).

(6) *MS. parts*, GdM (Kees Collection?), same cat. no.; original pts. apparently on German paper (watermarks: number '4' over heart with illegible letters therein); dup. str. pts. on Italian and Viennese paper; source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85 (?).

(7) *MS. parts*, GdM, same cat. no.; by a Viennese professional copyist (hand-writing of Haydn No. 58, Lambach and GdM); Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 7); 4th quarter of 18th cent.

(8) *MS. parts*, Venice Marciana: see No. 22, source 8.

(9) *MS. parts*, Venice Marciana: see No. 12, source 8.

(10) *MS. parts*, Venice Cons.: see No. 23, source 8.

*Additional MS. sources*: (11) Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 511 (local); (12) Zwettl; (13) Schwerin: 'La Passione per 8...'; (14) score from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM, XIII, 6655; (15) Modena, cat. D. 153 (c. 1820?); (16) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2; (17) Antoniana, Padua: see No. 23, source 13; (18) Stockholm.

(19) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1773 (?): see No. 41, source 13.

(20) Printed parts, Campell, London, c. 1785; title: 'A grand overture in all its parts...'; copy in Manchester.

(21) Printed parts, Forster, London (fragmentary copy in GdM).

*Critical editions*: G. A. Ser. I, Vol. 4, pp. 189-206, based on sources 1 and 2; Eulenburg No. 535 (Landon), based on the G. A. with additional sources 5-7. Several important a. r. not in text of G. A. (see Rev.-Ber. to G. A. and Eulenburg).

*Corrections to G. A.*:

I.

35: general *f* in many sources (probable: cf. 80).

II.

58/60: echo effect as in 7/9 suggested by most parts.

† No. 50

*Adagio e maestoso*  
I. ; Allegro di molto, C, 3/4.

II. Andante moderato, G, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, C, 3/4.

IV. Presto, C, ♩.

*Date of comp.*: 1773 (autograph).

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 cor. in C alto, 2 clarini (trpt.), timp., str. [fag.]; solo vcl. in 2nd movt.

*Cat. ref.*: EK, missing; Kees, No. 70: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini / Timpani'; HV 69 (tempo: 'Grave'); Br. cat., missing.

*Authentic source*: (1).

*Sources*:

(1) *Autograph*, Bst (Poland?), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 18; title: 'Sinfonia. In Nomine Domini di me Giuseppe Haydn 773'; 4<sup>o</sup>, 50 pages, c. 22,5 × 36 cm.; origin of paper: Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 3 and 5; Larsen stag 9 and 10, not 2 and 4 as in C. E.). 1st movt. omits trpts., but at beginning of 3rd. '2 Clarini e 2 Corni'; previous omission probably accidental. 2 different shades of ink visible, one, much darker, for vln. I, bass and occasionally vln. II & vla., the other for the rest of the orch. For further details, see C. E.

## Appendix I

(2) *MS.* parts by Kees copyist, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 33; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 20, 25, 72); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85 (?).

(3) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 798; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85 (?).

(4) *MS.* parts, Modena, cat. D. 138; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 60); source of local origin, end of 18th cent. (or later?).

(5) *MS.* score, Stockholm.

*Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 5, pp. 1-25, based on sources 1, 2 and 3.

† No. 51



II. Adagio, E flat, 2/4.

III. Menuetto, B flat, 3/4; (Trio I); Trio II.

IV. Allegro, B flat, 2/4.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1771-73. Earliest ref.: Br. cat. 1774.

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 cor. in B flat (prob. *alto*) and E flat, str. (fag.).

*Cat. ref.:* EK/II, p. 25; Kees, No. 35: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni obl.' with errors in theme; HV 34 (tempo: 'molto Allo.' with same errors); Br. cat. 1774, p. 2: 'I. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.' (without appogg. in theme); Göttweig cat., p. 865: 'Comp R P Marianus 1778' (parts lost).

*Authentic source:* (1).

*Sources:*

(1) *MS.* parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 66; title: 'Sinfonia in B / Del Signore Hayden'; pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, 2 vla., 2 bass.; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, [18?], 19); source prob. used by Esterházy band: there are additions in pencil and darker ink; c. 1771-73 (or perhaps a little later?). Without Trio I.

(2) *MS.* parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8405; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 18); dup. str. pts. slightly later (I, 11, 1 & 37); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85 (?). With both trios.

(3) *MS.* parts, GdM, same cat. no.; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 3); origin of source: ? c. 1775-80 (?). With both trios.

(4) *MS.* parts, Melk, cat. IV, 92; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks almost illegible: apparently type VI); 2nd vla. pt. added later (doubles cor. II in 2nd movt.); source of local origin, c. 1775-85 (?). With both trios.

(5) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana, cat. It. IV, 1275 (11166); a collection of 'V. Sinfonie Del Sig.<sup>r</sup> Haydn', including Nos. 62, Overture II, 13 ('L'Isola disabitata'), 74, 51 and 75; pts. for fl.-ob. I (2 staves used when necessary), ob. II, fag., 2 cor., 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., vcl., bass; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 6, 31, 41 (or only 'Z'), 69). Source of local origin, c. 1780-90 (?). With both trios. Cor. pts. in 2nd movt. slightly simplified.

(6) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons.; a collection of 'Sinfonie No. Quattro [*sic*]', including Nos. 62, Overture II, 13 ('L'Isola disabitata'), 74 and 51; (pts. for fl., 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., vcl., bass (fag. in vcl.); obviously from the same copyists' firm as source 5; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 41). With both trios. Cor. pts. as above.

(7) *MS.* parts, Einsiedeln; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown (local?) origin (watermarks: a tree); source prob. local (German speaking country: '12 bögen' on title page), 4th quarter of 18th cent.; with both trios and somewhat simplified cor. pts. in 2nd movt.

## Appendix I

*Additional MS. sources:* (8) Harburg, cat. III, 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, fol. 112 (heavily revised); (9) Zwettl; (10) Michaelbeuern, cat. XIX/33; (11) Modena, cat. D. 141 (local); (12) Dresden (Oels Coll.); (13) Donau-Eschingen; (14) score from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM (with 'Fagotto').

(15) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1782; 'Simphonie Périodique' No. 3; pl. no. 244. Without Trio I.

(16) Printed parts, Bland, London, c. 1788; title: 'No. [9] / ... The Favorite / Sinfonie / as Performed at the Nobilitys Concert. / For a Grand / Orchestre...' Copy in BM, g. 474. b. (9).

(17) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1810, a reprint of source 16, using Bland's plates and retaining Bland's pl. no. ('Haydn's 9th Sym.').

(18) Printed score, Le Duc, c. 1802: see No. 6, source 10.

(19) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14.

(20) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn (19th cent.), heavily revised.

*Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 5, pp. 26-49, based on sources 1, 4, 8, 12, 14 and 18.

† No. 52



II. Andante, C, 3/8.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto, c, 3/4; C, 3/4.

IV. Presto, c, C.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1771-73. Earliest ref.: Br. cat. 1774.

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor. in C alto, E flat & C basso, str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/I, p. 1; Kees, No. 28: 'Partita, con Oboe, Corni'; HV 27 (tempo: 'Vivace'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1774, p. 6: see source 16; Göttweig cat., p. 869: 'Comp RP / Virgilius', n. d.: see source 12.

*Authentic sources:* (1), (2).

*Sources:*

(1) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 67; title page (newer) reads: 'Sinfonia in C-b / Del Signore Hayden'; original title: 'Sinfonia in C minor / à 2 Violino / 2 Oboe / 2 Corno / Viola è Basso / Del Sig: Hayden'; orig. pts. 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, [18?], 19); original pts. in several handwritings, dup. pts. on later 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 26), in a handwriting not found in any of the orig. pts.; many corrections, erasures, etc. It is probable that this set was used in perf. by Esterházy band; date of MS.: c. 1771-73 (or later?).

(2) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 192, fol. 81; no title page; pts. for 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., violone, 'Violonzello e Fagotto', 2 ob., 2 cor.; 4<sup>o</sup> paper, partly Italian (watermarks: I, 1, 19) and partly Viennese (watermarks: crossed keys); on one of the vln. II pts. is the pencilled remark: 'Fine 1808'; this may apply to date of parts, but more likely to a performance. The source is, however, later than source 1; it, too, bears traces of various performances and was probably used by Esterházy band; it is difficult to decide if the many revisions of this MS. are by Haydn, or by another Esterházy conductor, such as Hummel or Fuchs. The bassoon part, probably omitted by accident in source 1, is without question authentic: it appears in almost every other source except (5) and (9).

(3) MS. parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 1, GdM (Kaiserliche Sammlung), cat. XIII, 19065; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 12, 62); source of Viennese origin, c. 1771-80.

(4) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), same cat. no.; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (water-

## Appendix I

marks: I, 18, 19); dup. str. pts. in another handwriting on different paper; source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85 (?).

(5) MS. parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 2, St. Florian; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); source of Viennese origin, c. 1771-80. No fag. pt.

(6) MS. parts, St. Florian 'in usum / Joann Josephi Glöggel' (owner's remark added later to source); 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 20, 59, 62); source of Viennese origin, c. 1771-80.

(7) MS. parts, Melk, cat. IV, 60; 4<sup>o</sup> paper, apparently of local origin (watermarks of group VI?); source of local origin, c. 1775-85.

(8) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 804; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); dup. str. pts. on local German paper; source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85.

(9) MS. parts, Schlägl, cat. 61; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown (local?) origin (watermarks: coat-of-arms, a drawbridge to a castle with 2 knights on horseback, each bearing a lance); source of local origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent. No fag. pt.

(10) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 21, source 8.

*Additional MS. sources:* (11) Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 34 (local); (12) Göttweig, from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.; (13) Donau-Eschingen; (14) Modena, cat. D. 152 (c. 1820?); (15) Stockholm, score.

(16) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1773-74: see No. 43, source 18.

(17) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1792 (?); title: 'Letter [P] / A Grand Overture in parts / Performed at the Professional and other / Public Concerts / Composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by Wm Forster at his / Music Warehouse / No. 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand'; pl. no. 138; copy in Hoboken Collection. Later copies, No. 22, York Street. Westminster (c. 1803-16).

(18) Printed parts, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, January, 1811; pl. no. 1375.

*Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 4, pp. 50-87, based on sources 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 17.

*Correction to C. E.: p. 85, meas. 138/139, remove tie in cor. 1.*

† No. 53.

'*L'Impériale*', designation from early 19th cent.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/II, p. 26; Kees No. 54: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini, / Tympani, Flauto, Fagotti' with theme of Vivace; HV 52, with theme as in Kees; tempo: 'Allo:'; Br. cat. 1779/80, p. 2: 'VII. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] II. a 2 C. 2 O. 2 Vi. 2 Fag. V. Violcl. e B.' with theme of Vivace; Herzogenburg cat. (parts missing).

For a general outline of the various versions and orchestrations of this symphony, see C. E., report on the textual revision, pp. 320 ff.

### Version A.

Largo maestoso      Vivace

I.

Andante

II.

Menuetto

III. ; Trio, D, 3/4.

Capriccio: Moderato

IV.

## Appendix I

*Date of comp.*: c. 1775 (?), possibly a little later.

*Scoring*: 1 fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., timp., str. Cor. in EH tacet in II.

*Authentic source*: (1).

*Sources*:

(1) *MS. parts*, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 68; title: 'Sinfonia in D. / Violino Primo / Violino Secundo / due Oboi / Flauto traverso / Fagotto. / due Corni. / Timpano / Viola / col / Basso / Del Sig: Giuseppe Haydn'; theme, poss. in Haydn's handwriting on title page, and again on bass part; vln. II and timp. by Joseph Elssler, the other pts. by another copyist; various corrections in red crayon and ink; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian papers (watermarks: I, 1, 43); authentic parts used by Esterházy band, c. 1775 (or later?).

(2) *MS. parts*, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 876; 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese paper (watermarks illegible but paper typical brownish type used by Viennese copyists' firms); a Viennese professional copyist; dup. str. pts. by 2 other copyists on local paper; original pts. c. 1780 (?); no timp. pt.

(3) *MS. parts*, Milan, cat. 5581/27; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 12, 43); source possibly of Viennese origin, but possibly local, c. 1780-90 (?); no timp. pt.

(4) *MS. parts*, Milan, same cat. no.; oblong Italian paper (watermark: letter 'P' in starfish); source of local origin, c. 1790 (?); no timp. pt.

(5) *MS. parts*, Modena, cat. D. 135; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 60); source of local origin, end of 18th cent. (or a little later?); timp. pt. only 1st movt.

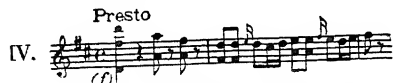
(6) *MS. score and parts*, GdM (Erzherzog Rudolf Collection), cat. XIII, 6659; score (erroneously listed as lost in C. E.: was wrongly catalogued) on Italian paper, c. 1800-10, pts. on Viennese paper from firm of Gebr. Kiesling, c. 1820 (or later? — paper identical with that of aut. of Schubert's Symphony in B minor — 'Unfinished'); no timp. pt.; with appalling mistakes.

(7) *MS. parts*, Schwerin; with timp. pt.

(8) *MS. parts*, Washington (no timp.): see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

### Version B.

I. = I above.  
II. = II above.  
III. = III above.



The finale, originally an overture, written in 1777, is authentic. Whether Haydn added it to No. 53, or whether this arrangement is spurious cannot be established; probably, however, it is authentic.

*Date of arrangement*: c. 1777-79.

*Scoring*: 1 fl. (I-III), 2 ob., 2 fag. (fag. II only in IV), 2 cor., timp. (only in I & III), str.

*Authentic sources*: for finale (1) and (2).

*Sources*:

(1) **Autograph** of the finale, Bst (Tübingen), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 20; title: 'Sinfonia / del giuseppe Haydn 777'; scoring: 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.; oblong Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 18, 19); 24 pages, c. 22,5 × 31,5 cm.; at meas. 167 Haydn has drawn a double bar through the page and added the word 'Fine'; a modulatory passage then leads to the dominant of C major, probably the beginning of the opera, which was omitted when using the movement as the finale of No. 53. See C. E., p. 140.

(2) **Fragmentary autograph** of the finale, VSt, cat. MH 1855; title is not by Haydn; it reads: 'Sinfonie / Del Sig. giusep. Haydn 777'; 4 pages, oblong Italian paper (same watermarks as source 1); this fragment differs widely in orch. texture



## Appendix I

from source 1; possibly an earlier version, since contemporary MSS. and prints follow the text of source 1; this fragment is printed as the appendix to C. E., Ser. I, Vol. 5.

(3) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 6659; 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese paper (watermarks illegible but paper type obvious); dup. str. pts. on Italian paper (I, 1, 25); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85 (?). Timp. pt. only 1st movt.

(4) MS. parts, Melk, cat. IV, 83; several handwritings, partly on 4<sup>o</sup> paper of type VI (2 or 4?), partly on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 73: late-period paper, c. 1800); orig. source prob. local, c. 1780-85 (?). Timp. pt. only 1st movt.

(5) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 31, source 5. No timp. pt.

(6) MS. parts, Modena, cat. D. 657; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermark: I, 60); source of local origin, end of 18th or beginning of 19th cent.; no timp. pt.

(7) MS. parts, Einsiedeln; owner's remark on title page, added later: 'P. Emil Kaiser / in Petershausen / 1802'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 4, 18); source prob. from Milan, where Einsiedeln ordered most of its music, 4th quarter of 18th cent. No timp. pt.

(8) MS. parts, Göttweig, 'Comparavit / R P: Marianus / A. 1782'; pts. incomplete; source of local origin; no timp. pt.

*Additional MS. sources:* (9) Stockholm, score; (10) Fugger Archives, Augsburg (burned in World War II).

(11) Printed parts, Hummel, Amsterdam-Berlin, c. 1784; title: 'Simphonie Perio-dique / A Grand Orchestre / Composés Par / Mr. Giuseppe Haydn. / Libro II. Oeuvre XX. / Chés J:J:Hummel, à Berlin avec Privilège du Roi; / à Amsterdam au Grand Magazin de Musique et aux Adresses ordinaires. / Prix F. 1. 10'; pl. no. 565; includes fl. pt. for finale and timp. pt. for 1st, 3rd and 4th movts. which, however, differs from that of the EH source in the 1st and 3rd movts.; it was probably added by the publisher. Copies in Copenhagen and Stockholm.

(12) Printed score, Giancettini and Sperati, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14; no timp. pt.

### Version C.

As in Version B but without introduction (i. e. as in Kees and HV).

*Scoring:* as in Version B.

*Authentic sources:* none.

*Sources:*

(1) MS. parts, Seitenstetten, c. 1780; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 12); source prob. of local origin: the title page is signed: 'Sub: P: G: H:.'; no timp. pt. Perf. date on rear cover: '19bris [Dec.] 781 ad mensum [sic]'.

(2) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 35; oblong German paper; source of local origin, end of 18th cent.; no fl. pt.; timp. pt. (written in C-G, i. e. transposing) in 1st movt. only.

(3) MS. parts, Donau-Eschingen (local source).

(4) MS. parts, Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

(5) Printed parts, J. Blundell, London, c. 1782; title: 'The favorite / Overture / in all the Parts / as Performed with universal Applause / at / Messrs. Bach and Abel's Concerts / Composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / of Vienna / Price 4s / London / Printed and Sold by J. Blundell...' Copy in BM, g. 75. d. (1). Timp. pt. only 1st movt.

(6) Reprint of Blundell's parts, using same plates, by Preston, London, c. 1785. Copy in BM, g. 474. b. (11.), incomplete copy GdM, XIII, 40811.

(7) Reprint of Blundell, also using same plates, by Hummel (Amsterdam-Berlin), c. 1782 (?). Copy in Marian Scott Coll. (now Cambridge).

(8) Reprint of Blundell-Preston by Goulding, D'Allemaine, Potter, & Co., London, 179-(?). Incomplete copy in BM, h. 656. l.



## Appendix I

### Version D.

- I. = No. 53/I, with intro.  
 II. = No. 53/II.  
 [III. = No. 53/III: omitted in 1 and 2.]



The authenticity of this finale is open to much question; it is certainly not by Haydn, and was probably added by Sieber.

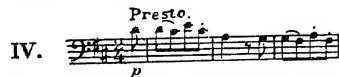
(1) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1784 (in Paris Cons. 'Musique du Roy 1784'); issued as No. 9 of 'Simphonies Periodiques / A plusieurs Instruments...'; pl. no. 50 (or 250): no timp. pt., no minuet.

(2) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1802: see No. 6, source 10; no timp. pt., no minuet.

(3) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn, early 19th cent.; heavily revised, with 2 trumpet pts. and a new timp. pt., certainly not by Haydn; pl. no. 829.

### Version E.

- I-III. = No. 53/I-III.



The finale is the authentic Overture II, 4. Its use in this context is very doubtful. Only one source of this version seems to be extant, viz. a set of MS. parts in Milan, cat. 296 A (not available for comparison).

### Version F.

- I. = No. 53, Version B/IV (Overture II, 7).  
 II. = No. 62/II.  
 III. = No. 53/III.  
 IV. = No. 62/IV.

Scoring: 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

This fantastic pastiche is undoubtedly spurious. The following sources may be cited: (1) incomplete MS. parts, Milan, cat. 806/d (not available for comparison); (2) MS. parts, formerly in Frankfurt/M. collection used by C. F. Pohl; (3) MS. score, Stockholm; (4) printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1785; issued as No. 17 of 'Simphonies Periodiques / A Plusieurs Instruments...'; pl. no. 358; the MS. parts at Florence, cat. D. 5. 41, are a copy of this print.

Critical edition: C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 5, pp. 88-149 and 278-279, based on sources: Version A, 1, 6; Version B, 1-4, 11, 12; Version C, 1, (2), 5(-7); Version D, (1), 2, (3). Three finales (Versions A, B (C), D) printed. Eulenburg (Landon, in preparation).

### † No. 54



- II. Adagio assai, C, 3/4.  
 III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, G, 3/4.  
 IV. Presto, G, 4/4.

Date of comp.: 1774 (autograph).

Scoring: 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini (trpt.), timp., str. The fl. and clarini pts. added in the aut. on 2 bottom staves, possibly after completion of sym.; the only other sources to include these instr. are the score from the Erzherzog Rudolf Coll. (GdM) and the revised Sieber print. The aut. does not include the

## Appendix I

introduction, and there are, therefore, no authentic fl. and clarini pts. for this section.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/II, p. 25 (theme of Presto); EK/III, p. 34 (theme of Presto); Kees No. 33: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini, / Tympani, Fagotti'; HV 32 (tempo: 'poco adagio'); HV 100 (theme of Presto); Quaribuch; Br. cat. 1776/77, p. 3: 'VI. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] V. a 2 C. o Cl. Tymp. 2 O. 2 Fag. 2 Vi. V. e B.'

*Authentic sources:* (1), (2).

*Sources:*

(1) **Autograph**, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 39; photograph in Washington; title: *Sinfonia. In Nomine Domini. di me Giuseppe Haydn. 774*; instr. read: '2 Corni in G / Oboe 1mo / 2do / Violino 1mo / 2do / Viola / Fagotti (originally "Fagotto")? 2 / Bassi / 2 Flauti (originally "Flauto") / 2 Clarini in C / Tympano in g ed D', 4<sup>o</sup>, 68 pages, 36 × 25 cm.; paper from Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 5); without introduction; at end of MS.: 'Fine. Laus Deo'.

(2) *MS. parts*, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 69; title on 1st cover: 'Sinfonia in G / Del Signore Hayden'; on 2nd cover: 'Sinfonia ex G / à / Violini 2bus / Obois 2bus / Corni in G 2bus / Fagotti 2bus / Viola Tympano / et / Basso / Del: Sig: Giuseppe Hyden [sic]'; two types of 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (both *inter alia* I, 1); source prob. used by Esterházy band. Introduction included, but no fl. and trpt. pts.

(3) *MS. parts*, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8112; partly by Viennese professional copyist No. 2 (fag. I, II, vln. I, II, bass) and partly (ob. I, II, cor. I, II) by a second copyist; vla. and timp. pt. missing (this version did not include fl. or trpt. pts.); 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 12, 62); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80; dup. str. pts. by a third copyist, using same paper as orig. With introduction.

(4) *MS. parts*, Göttweig 'Comparavit R. P. Marianus 1776', perf. 'in Refectorio', 'post cenam'; 4<sup>o</sup> local paper (watermarks illegible); source of local origin; with intro., without fl. & trpt.

(5) *MS. parts*, GdM, same cat. no.; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85 (?); with intro., without fl. & trpt. N.B.: C. E. p. 343 is wrong in asserting that these parts belonged to the Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.; C. E. Source D2 erroneously places sources 3 and 5 together.

(6) *MS. parts*, Kremsmünster, cat. H 28, 226; partly by Viennese professional copyist No. 1; most of the orig. set has been replaced on local Kremsmünster paper; orig. 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 12, 13, 18); with intro., without fl. & trpt.; source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?).

(7) *MS. parts*, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 852; vln. I, II by Viennese professional copyist No. 2, rest by another copyist; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); dup. str. pts. on local German paper; source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85 (?); with intro., without fl. & trpt.

(8) *MS. parts*, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 36/II; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 74, 75); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85 (?); with intro., without fl. & trpt.; dup. str. on local German paper (VIII, 8).

(9) *MS. parts*, Venice Marciana: see No. 45, source 7.

(10) *MS. parts*, Venice Cons.: see No. 45, source 9.

(11) *MS. parts*, VNat: see No. 42, source 8.

*Additional MS. sources:* (12) Schlierbach; (13) Zwettl; (14) score from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8112, with intro., fl. & trpt. pts., c. 1800-10; (15) Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 36/I, local copy; (16) Schwerin; (17) Donau-Eschingen; (18) Modena, cat. F. 551 (early 19th cent.); (19) Washington (no fl. & timp. pts.): see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

(20) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1780; reissued end of 18th cent. as: 'Symphonie / Pour Orchestre / Composée / Par J. HAYDN, / No. [J] / EDITION /

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Revue & Corrigée / Prix 6 f / A Paris / Chez Sieber père, Editeur et M<sup>d</sup> de Musique  
rue Coquillière No. 22; pl. no. 167; this later edition was in fact 'revue et  
corrigée': it includes the intro., also the fl. & trpt. pts. Copy in Florence.  
Critical edition: C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 5, pp. 150-184, based on sources 1-3, 5, 7, 8,  
14, 15.

† No. 55



- II. Adagio, ma semplicemente, B flat, 2/4.
- III. Menuetto & Trio, E flat, 3/4.
- IV. Presto, E flat, 2/4.

'Der Schulmeister', designation from 19th cent.  
Date of comp.: 1774 (autograph).

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str., solo vcl. (in trio).

Cat. ref.: EK/II, p. 25; Kees, No. 29: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni'; HV 28 (tempo:  
'Con Spirito'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1776/77, p. 3: 'VI. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDN.  
[No.] VI. a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'

Authentic sources: (1), (2).

Sources:

(1) Autograph, Bst (Marburg), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 36; title: 'Sinfonia. In Nomine Domini di me Giuseppe Haydn 774'; 4<sup>o</sup>, 40 pages, 35,2 × 22 cm.; paper from Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 4); at end of MS.: 'Fine Laus Deo'; fag. not written at head of any movt. but in bass stave of finale, meas. 35 ff.: 'Fagotti'. For further details, see C. E.

(2) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 70; title (from Pohl): 'Symphonia in Dis a 2 Violinis in duplo / viola obl / 2 obois oblig. / 2 Corni obl. / Violozello [sic] con Violone...'; pts. for 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., vcl., bass, 2 ob. and 2 cor. See C. E., p. 351.

(3) MS. parts, GdM, cat. XIII, 8404; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 12); dup. pts. by same copyist on later Italian paper (I, 1, 4, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85; fag. in I, III, IV col basso, when not soli.

(4) MS. parts, GdM, same cat. no.; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 24, 62); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85.

(5) MS. parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 2, GdM (Kees Collection?), same cat. no.; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 12); dup. str. pts. by another copyist on later Italian paper (I, 1, 4, 62), still later dup. str. pts. on Viennese paper; source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85.

(6) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 834; vln. I & II by Viennese professional copyist No. 2; rest by another copyist; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); dup. str. pts. on local German paper; source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85.

(7) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 37; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19, 74); source of Viennese origin (same copyist as No. 54, source 8), c. 1775-85(?); dup. str. on local German paper.

(8) MS. parts, incomplete, Göttweig 'Comp R P Marianus / 1776'; source of local origin (local paper: watermarks almost illegible).

(9) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 45, source 7.

(10) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 45, source 9.

Additional MS. sources: (11) Stams, cat. L I, 48, dated 'Ao / 1780'; (12) Modena, cat. D. 148 (c. 1775-85?); (13) score from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8404; (14) Zwettl; (15) Stockholm, score & pts.; (16) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

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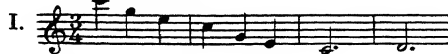
(17) Printed parts, Schott, Mainz, c. 1786 (?); title: 'due / Simphonie / à Plusieurs Instruments / par / Joseph Haydn / No. 2 / [theme] / No. 52 Chez Schott à Mayence 1 fl 12'. Copy in Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt; no minuet.

(18) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1790; title: 'Letter [G] / A / Grand Overture / in parts, / Performed at the Professional and other / Public Concerts / composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by W<sup>m</sup> Forster at his / Music Warehouse / No 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand'; pl. no. 113; incomplete copy, GdM. Later copies, No. 22, York St., Westminster (c. 1803-16).

*Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 5, pp. 185-210, based on sources 1, 2, 6, 7.

† No. 56

*Allegro di molto*



II. Adagio, F, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, C, 3/4; F, 3/4.

IV. Prestissimo, C, 4/4.

*Date of comp.:* 1774 (autograph).

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor. in C alto and F, 2 clarini, timp., str. Fag. only specifically required in 2nd movt.; most MSS. omit the trumpet pts. entirely.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/II, p. 25; Kees, No. 37: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini, / Tympani Fagotto'; HV 36 (tempo: 'Presto'); Quarzbuch; Br. cat. 1778, p. 2: 'IV. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] I. a 2 C. o Clar. 2 Ob. Tymp. 2 Viol. / Fag. obl. e B.'

*Authentic source:* (1).

*Sources:*

(1) **Autograph.** Bst (Tübingen), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 42; title: 'Sinfonia / In Nomine Domini / di me giuseppe Haydn 774.'; 62 pages; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 76), 21,7 × 30,6 cm.; with occasional figured bass (see C. E. p. 361, meas. 186/188); designation for alto horns '2 Corni in C hoch'. For instr., see facsimile.

(2) *MS.* parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 2, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8494; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 12); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?); pts. for 'Clarino o Corno in C alto', i. e. no trpt. pts.; dup. str. and fag. pts. in another handwriting, added later on other paper.

(3) *MS.* parts, GdM, same cat. no.; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 12, 18); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85; bass pt. missing and dup. vln. I & II; fag. col basso when not solo, i. e. in I, III & IV; cor. and trpt. pts. identical (= cor. of G. A.).

(4) *MS.* parts, Melk, cat. IV, 53; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Austrian or Hungarian mill (watermarks: VI, 2: C. E. incorrect); dup. vln. I and II by another copyist, 'Flauto' added much later by local musician; source of local origin, c. 1775-85 (?).

(5) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 793; partly by Viennese professional copyist No. 2 (vln. I and II); rest by another copyist; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 12 or I, 18, 19); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80 (?); dup. str. pts. by local copyist on German paper. No trpt. pts.

(6) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 38; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 74); source of Viennese origin (same copyist as No. 54, source 8), c. 1775-85 (?); dup. str. pts. on local German paper (VIII, 8). Pts. for Corno è Clarino, i. e. no trpt. pts.

(7) *MS.* parts, Göttweig, 'Comp. R P / Marianus 1776'; incomplete; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of local origin; source of local origin; pts. for Clarino I & II, but these = cor. of C. E.

# Appendix I

- (8) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 45, source 7.  
 (9) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 45, source 9.  
*Additional MS. sources:* (10) score & pts. from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8494, with both cor. & trpt. pts.; score c. 1800, pts. poss. later; (11) Stockholm; (12) Washington (no trpt. pts.): see No. 22, Version II, source 2; (13) Modena, with both cor. & trpt. pts., under anonymous symphonies.  
 (14) Printed parts, Mlle. de Silly, Paris, 1777-78 (*Mercure de France*, January, 1778).  
 (15) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1778 (announced in *Almanach Musical* 1778, p. 119); originally issued as 'Trois Symphonies / a Deux Violons, Alto et Basse, / Deux Hautbois, Deux Cors et Basson. / Les Symphonies on été joué au Concert / Spirituel et au Concert des Amateurs / avec timballes et trompettes qui se / vendent séparément, / Composées / par Mrs. / Gossec, Hayden et Bach / à Paris chez le Sr. Sieber, musicien; rue St. Honoré, à l'hôtel d'Aligre Amien Grand Conseil ou l'on trouve plusieurs nouveaux œuvres' (copy in Paris Cons. cat. Rés. H 40); later issued separately as 'Symphonie Périodique': Sieber cat. letter 'G'. Copy in this form in Paris Nat. Vm7 1608. No trpt. & timp. pts. extant (presumably these were supplied in MS.).  
 (16) Printed parts, Guera, Lyon, c. 1778 (announced in *Almanach Musical* 1778, p. 121); title: 'Sinfonia / per / due violini, / due oboi, / due Corni, due Clarini / Tympano, Fagotto obligato, / Viola con Basso doppio / composita del Sig. Giuseppe / Haydn. / No. VI. / Lyon / Chez Guera ...' Copy in Schwerin.  
 (17) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1786; title: 'Letter [E] / A / Grand Overture / in parts, / Performed at the / Professional / and other / Public Concerts / composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by Wm Forster at his Music Warehouse / No. 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand'; pl. no. 61; copy in BM (h. 656. p. 3) with watermark date 1797 (reprint); 2 copies in Manchester. Later copies, No. 22, York St., Westminster (c. 1803-16).  
 (18) Reprint of source 17 by W. Napier, London, c. 1790 (?); copy in BM, h. 3210. (11.).  
*Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 5, pp. 211-249, based on sources 1, 4 and 5.  
*Corrections to C. E.:* 1st movt., bars 145-148, remove 2nd horn pt. (this is missing in autograph and most of the reliable MSS.); 1st movt., bar 98, 2nd oboe, 2nd note should read *b'*, not *c''*; 2nd movt., bar 28, 2nd oboe: add *♯*; bar 54, add *fz* to vln. I. These corrections were made by Georg Reichert (*Musikforschung*, VI. Jahrgang 1953, Heft 2, pp. 182 f.), and I am grateful to him for pointing them out.

No. 57

I. *Adagio*  
 ; (Allegro), D, 4/4.

II. Adagio, G, 6/8.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, D, 3/4; (d), 3/4.

IV. Prestissimo, D, 4/4.

*Date of comp.:* 1774 (autograph).

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 cor., str. (fag.). Timp. poss. added later (only copy: source 6) with 2 Clarini; the former extant, the latter apparently lost.  
*Cat. ref.:* EK/II, p. 25; Kees, No. 45 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni.']; HV 44; Quarthuch; Göttweig cat., p. 864, 'Comp R P / Marianus 1776', no mention of clar., timp.; Br. cat. 1776/77, p. 3: 'VI. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] III. a 2 C. 2 O. 2 Clar. Tym. 2 Vi. V. e B.' (without appogg. in meas. 1).

*Authentic sources:* (1), (2).

## Appendix I

### Sources:

- (1) **Autograph**, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 38; photograph in Washington; title: 'Sinfonia. In Nomine Domini. di me Giuseppe Haydn 774.'; 54 pages (C. E. 56 pp.); oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 76), c. 23 × 31,5 cm.; instr. read '2 Corni in D / Oboe 1mo / 2do / Violino 1mo / 2do / Viola / Basso'.
  - (2) **MS. parts**, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 71; pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., vln. I, II, vla. bass. (Information from Dénes Bartha.)
  - (3) **MS. parts**, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 808; vln. I & II by Viennese professional copyist No. 2, rest by another copyist; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 12, or I, 18, 19); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80(?); dup. str. pts. on local German paper.
  - (4) **MS. parts**, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8489; pts. for 2 fl. (mostly = ob. and of doubtful authenticity), 2 ob., 2 cor. and str.; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 77; fl. with I, 19 as well); dup. vln. & bass by same copyist on slightly later paper (I, 1, 25); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-90.
  - (5) **MS. parts**, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 39; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 74); source of Viennese origin (same copyist as No. 54, source 8), c. 1775-85(?); dup. str. pts. on local German paper (VIII, 8).
  - (6) **MS. parts**, Eibiswald; title: 'Ex D. / Sinfonia / Violini due / due Oboe / due Corni(:) in Adagio. Corni G / Tympano / Viola / Violoncello / e / Basso. / Del Sig. Giuseppe Heyden. / Sub Regente Chori / Fr. Abundio Micksh / 779. / Pro Choro / F/rat/rum / Misericordiae Graecii'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper, possibly from paper mill at Wolfsberg (watermarks: (a) as in No. 39, source 7; (b) naked man with club in r. hand, letters 'IW'); the *timp. part printed at the end of this appendix*.
  - (7) **MS. parts**, Melk, cat. IV, 78; from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.; 4 copyists on 3 different types of paper, mostly Italian 4<sup>o</sup> (watermarks: I, 1, 3, 4, 6, 18, 19); incorrect statement in C. E.: 'All four handwritings are to be found in various [MSS.] of [the Erzherzog Rudolf] Coll.'; the other copyists are prob. local. Source of Viennese origin, c. 1800. Possibly this MS. contains several separate sources, now lumped together. With fag. pt.
  - (8) **MS. parts**, Venice Marciana: see No. 45, source 7.
  - (9) **MS. parts**, Venice Cons.: see No. 45, source 9.
  - (10) **MS. parts**, Modena, cat. D. 136; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 18, 19, 62, 78); source prob. of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85(?).
- Additional MS. sources:* (11) Modena, cat. F. 551, c. 1820(?); (12) Stams, cat. L I, 55; (13) Milan, cat. 5579/28; (14) score from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8489; (15) Washington: 2 copies: see No. 22, Version II, source 2.
- (16) **Printed parts**, Guera, Lyon; c. 1780-85: see No. 44, source 21.
  - (17) **Printed parts**, Sieber, Paris, c. 1782; 'Simphonie Périodique' No. 2; pl. no. 243. Copy in Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt.
  - (18) **Printed parts**, Forster, London, c. 1790; title: 'Letter [H] / A / Grand Overture / in parts, / Performed at the / Professional / and other / Public Concerts / composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by Wm Forster at his Music Warehouse / No. 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand'; copy in BM, h. 3210. (12.). Later copies, No. 22 York St., Westminster (c. 1803-16).
  - (19) **Printed score**, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14.
  - (20) **Printed score**, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1802: see No. 6, source 10.
  - (21) **Printed parts**, Simrock, Bonn, 19th cent.; pl. no. 802.
- Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 5, pp. 250-277, based on sources 1, 5 and 7. Without the (probably authentic) *timp. pt.*, printed at end of this appendix.

# Appendix I

No. 58



II. Andante, B flat, 2/4.

III. Menuet alla zoppa & Trio, F, 3/4; f, 3/4: Un poco Allegretto.

IV. Presto, F, 3/8.

*Date of comp.*: c. 1766-68 (entry in EK). Earliest ref.: Sigmaringen cat. (1766, addition II), Göttweig cat. 1775.

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.*: EK/I, p. 1; EK/III (Kees), No. 86: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni.' (Haydn has added tempo 'Allo Moderato'); Kees No. 86: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Fagotti / Flauto' (erroneous designation applying to Nos. 87 & 88); HV 84 (tempo: 'Allo: modto'); Quartbuch; Sigmaringen cat. (1766, addition II): 'Sinf: in F: à 2. VV. 2 ob: 2 Corn: Haydn / viola e Basso [No.] 73', inserted before cat. no. 67; Göttweig cat., p. 863: 'Synphonia / a 2 Violinis / 2 obois / 2 Corni / Viola / Basso [left] 1775'.

*Authentic sources*: none.

## Sources:

(1) *MS.* by Viennese professional copyists, Lambach; title: '18 / In F / Sinfonia / a / 2: Violini. / 2: Oboe. / 2: Corni / Viola / con / Basso / Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn.'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 54, 55); 2 copyists: (a) title page, wind instr. & bass; (b) other pts.; source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-75(?).

(2) *MS.* by same copyists, GdM (Kaiserliche Sammlung), cat. XIII, 6648; exactly the same title (with copyist's no. '18') and same distribution of pts.; ob. I and cor. II missing; source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-75(?).

(3) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41<sup>1/2</sup>, fol. 848; title: '27. / in F / Sinfonia / a / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe. / 2 Corni. / Viola / & / Basso / Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn.'; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80(?).

(4) *MS.* parts, Melk, cat. IV, 58; temporarily lost; a local source.

(5) *MS.* parts, Stams, cat. L I, 42; title: 'Sinfonia In F. / a. / 2. Violini / Viola / 2. Oboe / 2. Corni / e / Basso / Del Sig: Giuseppe Haydn.'; handwriting of a Viennese professional copyist (many Ordoñez copies by him in Modena); 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese paper (watermarks: crossed keys); source of Viennese origin, last quarter of 18th cent.

(6) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 5, 62; title: 'Sinfonia in F. / a / 2. Violini. / Viola. / 2. Oboe. / 2. Corni. / Violone. / Del Sign. Giuseppe Hayden.'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 2, 6; title page III, 17); source of local origin, c. 1775-85(?).

(7) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 22, source 8.

(8) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 10, source 6.

*Additional MS. sources*: (9) Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 40 (local copy: VIII, 2); (10) GdM (Kees Coll.?) XIII, 6648, a rather late copy; (11) Milan, copy temporarily stored; (12) Padua; (13) Stockholm, score; (14) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2; (15) Antoniana, Padua: see No. 13, source 14.

(16) Printed parts, Chevardière, Paris, c. 1772 (Gerber); title: 'Six Symphonies / pour / Deux Violons, Alto Viola, Basse, deux / Haubois, et deux Cors de Chasse, / composées par / G. Hayden / Maitre de Chapelle à Vienne / Oeuvre XIII / ... A Paris Chés M. De la Chevardiere rue du Poule à la Croix d'Or'; included are IV, 7; IV, 13; IV, 29; IV, 28; IV, 15; and No. 58. Copy in Paris Cons. H. 260, 2nd horn pt. lacking.

(17) Printed parts, Venier, Paris, 1773: see No. 22, Version II, source 3.

*Critical edition*: C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 6, pp. 1-16, based on sources 1, 2, 5, 6 and 10.



# Appendix I



- II. Andante o più tosto Allegretto, a, 3/4.
- III. Menuet & Trio, A, 3/4; a, 3/4.
- IV. Allegro assai, A, G.

'Feuersymphonie', designation from late 18th or early 19th cent.

Date of comp.: c. 1766-68. Earliest ref.: Göttweig, 1769; Kremsmünster, 1769.

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. (fag.), [cemb.].

Cat. ref.: EK/I, p. 1; EK/III, p. 34; Kees, missing; HV 99; Quarthbuch; Br. cat. 1776/77, p. 3: 'VI. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] II, a 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'

Authentic source: (1), but (2) equally authentic, if not in fact closer to aut., from textual standpoint.

## Sources:

(1) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 72; title: '[theme] / Synphonia in A. / a / 2 Violinis in duplo / Viola oblig. / 2 Obois oblig. / 2 Cornii / Violonzello, con Violone. / Del Sig: Giuseppe Heyden. / Partes 11.'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); vln. I, II dup. by same copyist on same paper; on cor. I the note 'Prinster' in red pencil (refers to horn player in Esterházy band). Source used by Haydn's orchestra.

(2) MS. parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 2, Harburg, cat. III, 41<sup>3</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, fol. 683; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 7, 15); source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-80(?). Dup. str. pts. on local German paper.

(3) MS. parts, Göttweig; 'Parthia' 'Comp. P. Leandri 769'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin, prob. local (watermarks illegible); source of local origin.

(4) MS. parts, St. Florian, 'ad usum' / Jo: Michael Planck'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper, partly from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 6), partly from some Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 1); source of local origin, c. 1770-75(?).

(5) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Coll.?), cat. XIII, 19053; 'Sinfonia II'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 24); 1 dup. vln. I, 2 dup. vln. II, dup. vla., 2 dup. bass pts. in other hands; at head of one vln. I pt.: 'Feuer / Sinfonia II'; source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-80(?).

(6) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 12, source 7.

(7) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 12, source 8.

(8) MS. parts from Erzherzog Rudolf Collection, Melk, cat. IV, 85; 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese paper (watermarks illegible but paper type clear); dup. str. pts. by same copyist on same paper; pt. for Fagotto, doubling bass in all 4 movts. Source of Viennese origin, early 19th cent.

(9) MS. parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 5, 54, 'P. Benedict: Grustdorff, P. C. 1769'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: fleur-de-lys in fork of tree; branch of tree with twigs trimmed, shaped to look like a kind of key; ornate tree with letter 'P' on r. side, 3/4 from top); source of local origin; since ob. pts. are omitted and rewritten in the vln. pts., the source is of practically no critical value. MS. by 2 copyists.

Additional MS. sources: (10) Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 41 (local source); (11) Florence Cons.; (12) Schwerin; (13) Stockholm, score.

N. B. The finale of this symphony was used, transposed into B flat, 2/4, in the Hummel and Sieber prints and in various MSS. (not the aut.!), of Michael Haydn's Symphony in B flat, wrongly ascribed to J. H. and listed as III, 36; the use of No. 59/IV as the finale of III, 36 is certainly not authentic, nor is the arrangement itself (with the curious transposed metre).

Critical edition: C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 6, pp. 17-35, based on sources 1, 3, 4, 5, 8 and 9.



# Appendix I

† No. 60

I. *Adagio*  ; Allegro di molto, C, 3/4 (Elssler: 'Presto').

II. Andante (Adagio?), G, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, C, 3/4; c, 3/4 (Elssler: 'non troppo Presto').

IV. Presto, c, 2/4.

V. Adagio, F, 2/4.

VI. Prestissimo, C, 2/4.

*Date of comp.*: c. 1774-75 (perf. Jan., 1776 in Vienna; Marion Scott [Grove's 5th ed.] lists a perf. in Pressburg on 20 November 1774, without source).

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 cor. in C alto &/or clarini, timp., str. [fag.], 2 violas.

*Cat. ref.*: EK/II, p. 27; Kees, No. 47: 'Sinfonia, / Distratto / con Oboe, Corni, Clarini / Tympani'; HV 46 (tempo: 'Adagio. Maestoso'); Quarthuch; Göttweig cat., p. 865: 'Synphonia per la / Comedia titolata / i distrato / a / piu Instrumenti / Comp R P / Marianus 1776' (parts lost); Br. cat. 1778, p. 2: 'IV. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] III. a 2 C. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. 2 Viole e B.'; Herzogenburg cat. (parts lost); Traeg cat. 1799, No. 122.

'*Sinfonia per la Com[m]edia intitolata Il Distrat[t]o*', authentic designation; the work was composed as incidental music for the play, *Der Zerstreute*, performed on 6th January, 1776 in the *Kärnthnertheater*, Vienna.

*Authentic sources*: (1?), (2), (3?).

## Sources:

(1) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 73b; original title: 'H / Nro: 43 [crossed out] / Sinfonia Ex C / a / Violino Prima / Violino Secondo / Oboe Primo / Oboe Secondo / Due Corni / Due Clarini / Timpani / Viola / con / Basso / Del Sigre Hayden / [monogram:] JH [?]' ; a later title reads: 'Sinfonia. in C. / Del Signore Hayden / ... / Zerstreute / 8 Part.'; at the head of most parts: 'Per la Comedia intitolata Il Distrato', at end of most pts. '779' or '1779'; pts. for 'Corno o Clarino' I & II; orig. paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible), bass pt. in another handwriting on Italian paper (I, 19, 25); it is doubtful if this set was used by the Esterházy band, and its origin is uncertain; possibly Haydn acquired it towards the end of his life. An incomplete alto pt. attached: this is reproduced in C. E. Vla. pts. missing.

(2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 73; title: 'Sinfonia. in C. / 2 Violini. [later: "in Duplo"] / 2 Viole. / 2 Oboe. / 2 Corni. / 2 Clarini. / Timpano. / è / Violoncello e Basso. / Del Sigre Gius: Haydn. / per la Comedia intitolata il Distrato'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 22); this is undoubtedly the source which Haydn, in a letter of 1803, asked Elssler to prepare for the Empress; it may therefore be dated with considerable certainty in that year. It is textually far superior to source 1, though two tempo markings have been modernized.

(3) MS. parts, mostly by Johann Radnitzky (i. e. from his 'Werkstatt'), St. Florian; title: 'Sinfonia / Il Distrato / Sinfonia in C / à / 2: Violini / 2: Oboe / 2: Corni / 2: Viole 2: Flauti im Adagio / con / Basso / Del Sigr: Giuseppe Haydn.'; there are corrections by Radnitzky on the pts. of the other copyist, who was possibly R's brother; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); alternating fl. and ob. pts., and without timp.; it is doubtful if this is an authentic source: more likely, it is a copy made from an ordinary Viennese source, and sold by Radnitzky at his firm; c. 1780-90 (?); the source of very little textual value.

(4) MS. parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 1, GdM (Kaiserliche Sammlung), cat. XIII, 1329; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); source of Viennese origin, c. 1776-80.

(5) MS. parts, Melk, cat. IV, 51; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 64); vln. I replaced by a later copy (I, 1, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1776-85 (?); dup. str. pts. on local paper.

## Appendix I

(6) *MS.* parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 1329; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 25, 43); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-90; dup. str. pts. by other copyists, added later.

(7) *MS.* parts, GdM (from Abbé Stadler), same cat. no.; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 18); source of Viennese origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent.

(8) *MS.* parts, St. Florian (from Johann Joseph Glöggel); 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 5); source of local origin, c. 1780 (?).

(9) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 792; vln. I, II by Viennese professional copyist No. 2; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 12, 18, 19); dup. str. pts. on local paper (watermark: Oettingen-Wallerstein coat-of-arms with letters 'ICB'); source of Viennese origin, c. 1776-80 (?).

(10) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 42; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19 or I, 75 or eagle and heart); source of Viennese origin (same copyist as No. 54, source 8), c. 1776-85 (?); dup. str. and trpts. (= cor.) on local German paper (VIII, 1).

*Additional MS. sources:* (11) Venice Cons.: see No. 31, source 5; (12) Seitenstetten; (13) Stams, cat. L I, 50; (14) Schlägl; (15) Modena, cat. D. 658, c. 1800-20 (?); (16) Copenhagen, Royal Library; (17) Schwerin; (18) Milan, temporarily stored; (19) Florence; (20) Stockholm, score; (21) score from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 1329; (22) Washington ('Dela Obertura el distrado'): see No. 22, Version II, source 2; (23) Genoa, with fl. pt. and without trpts.

(24) Printed parts, Boyer, Paris, c. 1780-85 (?); title: 'Quatre / Symphonies / à grand orchestre / les Cors ad lib. / ... par Messieurs / Hayden et Pichl ... Lyon, chez Guera ... Paris, chez Boyer [No. 74]'; of Haydn are included III, 8; No. 66 and 60. Copies in Marion Scott Collection, Cambridge, and Schloss Wiesentheid (cat. SB IX).

(25) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1790 (?): 'Letter F'; pl. no. 111. Copy in BM, h. 656. l. (incomplete).

(26) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1790; 'Symphonie Périodique' No. 34.

*Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 6, pp. 36-64, based on sources 1, 2, (3), 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 13.

† No. 61



II. Adagio, A, 3/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, D, 3/4.

IV. Prestissimo, D, 6/8.

*Date of comp.:* 1776 (autograph).

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., timp., str. Printed sources 10-12 have no timp.

*Cat.ref.:* EK/II, p. 26; Kees, No. 50: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini, / Fagotti, Flauto, Tympani'; HV 49; Br. cat. 1779/80, p. 2: 'VII. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] IV. a 2 C. 2 Ob. Fl. 2 Viol. 2 Fag. V. e B.'.

*Authentic source:* (1).

*Sources:*

(1) *Autograph*, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 40; photograph in Washington; title: 'Sinfonia. In Nomine Domini. di me Giuseppe Haydn 776.'; 40 pages, 12-stave oblong Italian paper, c. 31 × 22 cm. (watermarks, kindly supplied by Prof. Larsen: I, 1, 12). Instr. (page two): 'Tympano in D / Corni in D / oboe 1<sup>m</sup> / [oboe] 2<sup>do</sup> / Flauto / Violini 1<sup>m</sup> / [Violino] 2<sup>do</sup> / Viola / Fagotto 1<sup>m</sup> / [Fagotto] 2<sup>do</sup> / Violoncello / Contra Bassi'. At the end of *MS.*: 'Fine / Laus Deo'.

## Appendix I

(2) *MS.* parts, Melk, cat. IV, 82; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks nearly illegible, but paper appears to be of group VI); dup. str. pts. by J. Nep. Weigl on Italian paper; source of local origin, c. 1776-85 (?).

(3) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, fol. 807; there are 2 sets: (a) comprising only fl. and vln. I on oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 13, 18); (b) comprising all pts. on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 44); the latter set prob. from end of 18th cent., the former somewhat earlier and textually more reliable; both of Viennese origin.

(4) *MS.* parts, Schwerin.

(5) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 44, source 11.

(6) *MS.* score, GdM (Erzherzog Rudolf Collection), cat. XIII, 8502; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 79); source of Viennese origin, c. 1810-20 (?); score includes 2 clarini pts., which almost exactly double the horns in I, III and IV.

(7) *MS.* parts, Washington (no timp.): see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

*Printed parts:* (8) Hummel, Berlin; (9) Sieber, Paris: 'Simphonie Périodique' No. 11, pl. no. 252, c. 1784 (= Imbault, Paris: 'Simphonie Périodique'); (10) Bland, London: 'The Favorite / Sinfonie / as Performed at the Nobilitys Concert. / For a Grand / Orchestre... No. VIII', c. 1785 (BM g. 474. b. [8.]); (11) score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1810: see No. 6, source 10; the score omits the timp. pt; (12) Reprint of 10 by Forster, using Bland's plates, c. 1810: pl. no. the same (i. e. 'Haydn's Sym: No. 8'). Also reprinted by F. Linley, London, using Bland's (?) plates (Royal College of Music, LIX. B. 5. (16.)).

*Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 6, pp. 65-114, based on sources 1, 2, 6, 9, 11.

### No. 62



II. Allegretto, D, 6/8.

III. Menuet & Trio, D, 3/4; G, 3/4: Allegretto.

IV. Allegro, D, 4/4.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1780. Earliest ref.: Hummel print, c. 1782 (source 18).

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/II, p. 27 (with errors); Kees, No. 55: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Flauto / Fagotto'; HV 53 (tempo: 'Allo: assai'); Br. cat. 1782/83/84: see source 18.

*Authentic sources:* (1), (2 ?).

#### Sources:

(1) *MS.* parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 74; title: '[theme] / Sinfonia in D / à 2 Violinis in duplo. / Viola oblig. / 2 obois oblig. / 2 Corni oblig. / Violoncello, ò Violone. / Flauto ò Fagotto obl. / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Haydn. / Partes 12'; the fl. pt. originally read 'primo allo: Tacet'; Haydn crossed this out, wrote above it: 'Freund! Suche das erste Allegro', and added a fl. pt. to the 1st movt. in his own handwriting; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks *inter alia* I, 1, 4); on a vln. I part 'Sigre Luigi' (i. e. Tomasini), on a vln. II part: 'Sigre Rosetti'; vln. I, II and Violone in dup.; source used by Esterházy band.

(2) *MS.* parts, mostly by Johann Radnitzky, GdM, cat. XIII, 8406; no title page extant; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 24); dup. pts. by another copyist; the orig. bass part no longer extant; source possibly of authentic origin, but rather primitive as regards phrasing, dynamics, etc.

(3) *MS.* parts, VNat, cat. s. m. 22155; a collection of 6 Haydn symphonies, bound together, partly written by Viennese professional copyist No. 3; included are

## Appendix I

Nos. 62, 63, 70, 74, 71 and 75; there are many other copyists' handwritings; pts. for fl ('Traverso'), 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., str. (2 copies each); 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 37, 12, 22) and 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese paper (watermark: crossed keys); source of Viennese origin, c. 1790.

(4) *MS.* parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8406; 4<sup>o</sup> German (VIII, 1) and Italian (I, 1, 18) paper; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85 (?).

(5) *MS.* parts, VNat, cat. s. m. 21975; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); source from 'Gesang u. Musikverein St. Pölten' but prob. of Viennese origin, end of 18th cent.

(6) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 5, 58; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 17); source of local origin, c. 1785(?).

(7) *MS.* parts, Seitenstetten, dated 1792; 4<sup>o</sup> paper (very large) of unknown origin (watermarks: 'IMW' and coat-of-arms with bishop's hat and letter 'W'); source of local origin.

(8) *MS.* parts, Modena, cat. D. 157; 2 copies, one with inscription 'de ao 783' (by no means the date of this copy), and one incomplete; both of local origin, c. 1820 (?). A third copy under anonymous symphonies.

(9) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 51, source 5.

(10) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 51, source 6.

*Additional MS. sources:* (11) Milan, temporarily stored; (12) Donau-Eschingen; (13) Florence Cons.; (14) Copenhagen, Royal Library; (15) score, Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM (c. 1800?); (16) Stockholm; (17) 3 sets of pts., Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

(18) Printed parts, Hummel, Amsterdam-Berlin, c. 1782 (Gerber; Br. cat. 1782/83/84, p. 8; Reichardt's *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, 1782, p. 205; Cramer's *Magazin der Musik*, Dec. 1782); part of Oeuvre XVIII, which contains: Libro I — Nos. 75 and 63; Libro II — Nos. 70 and 71; Libro III — Nos. 62 and 74; general pl. no. 511; individual livres read: 'Deux Symphonies / a / Grand Orchestre / Composées par / M<sup>r</sup> Giuseppe Haydn. / Libro [ ] / Oeuvre XVIII / Chés J. J. Hummel...' It was previously believed that these were reprints of Opera 29 and 30, supposedly containing the same works and issued, according to Gerber, in 1779 and 1780 by Le Duc, Paris (see Larsen, HUB, p. 193). No copy of Le Duc's edition is known to me, and since No. 70 was composed in Dec., 1779, this supposed Op. 29 can hardly have been printed in Paris the same year. I have, in fact, succeeded in locating the Parisian Op. 29 (copy in Einsiedeln), which was published by Venier and consists of 3 symphonies, attributed to Haydn but all, in reality, by Gottfried Van Swieten (IV, 10; III, 17; IV, 27). Op. 30, on the other hand, actually contains Boyer's edition of Nos. 63, 70 and 71, and Gerber's statement thereby gains in plausibility. Possibly a second Parisian Op. 29 exists, containing Nos. 62, 74 and 75. Copies of Hummel print *inter alia* in BM, Melk, Bst (Marburg), Copenhagen, Stockholm, etc.

(19) Printed parts of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th movts., Forster, London, c. 1782 (cat. printed in BM set); title: A favorite / Overture / in all its parts / composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / of Vienna / and Published by his Authority. Pr: 3: s'. (Overture III). Originally printed at Dukes Court, St. Martins Lane, BM copy (h. 656. p.) has later address, 348 near Exeter Change, Strand. Possibly this print is in fact based on an authentic *MS.* ('published by his authority'), but there are no documents to support this.

(20) Sieber, Paris: a print with the Overture II, 7 instead of 62/I but containing the other movements of 62 (pl. no. 258 or 358): see No. 53, Version F, source 4.

*N. B.* The first movement of this symphony is an adaptation, by Haydn, of the Overture II, 7: see also No. 53.

*Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 6 (in preparation).

## Appendix I

### No. 63

I. *Allegro*



II. La Roxelane: Allegretto, c, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, C, 3/4.

IV. Original version *Prestissimo*



IVa. Revised version *Presto*



*Date of comp.*: c. 1777-80 (autograph of *Il Mondo della Luna*: 1777; earliest ref.: Melk, 1781; Göttsweig cat., 1781).

*Scoring*: (1) original scoring of Overture *Il Mondo della Luna*: 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str.; (2) scoring of finale, original version: 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str.; (3) scoring of EH version of symphony: 1 fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., str.; at least 3 different timp. pts. in secondary sources, none of which agrees with that of *Il Mondo* Overture, and which are therefore suspect; the clarini (trpt.) pts. of some secondary sources also rather doubtful.

*Cat. ref.*: EK/II, p. 26; Kees, No. 59 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Flauto / Fagotto']; HV 57 (tempo: 'Tempo giusto'); Göttsweig cat., p. 867: 'Symphonia / 2 Violinis / 2 Obois / 2 Corni / Flauto Fagotto / Viola Violoncello / Basso. / [left:] Comp R P / Marianus 1781' (parts lost); Br. cat. 1782/83/84: see source 23 (No. 62, source 18); Traeg cat. 1799, No. 138 ('Roxelane').

'*La Roxelane*', authentic designation. The symphony was probably used as incidental music to *Les trois sultanes*, play by Favart, given in Esterháza in 1777. For further information regarding the inception of this work, see Chapter X.


*Authentic sources*: A, B, C (see also arrangements).

#### *Overture to Il Mondo della Luna (1777):*

**A. Autograph-Fragment**, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 42; title: 'Sinfonia. In Nomine Domini. di me giuseppe Haydn 777'; 6 pages. A complete copy of the opera, including the overture (also with 'In Nomine Domini'), in VNat, probably a copy by the Viennese firm of Traeg, made directly from the autograph, which was in their possession at the end of the 18th century. Instr. of aut.: 'Tympano / 2 Corni e 2 Clarini / Oboe 1<sup>mo</sup> / [Oboe] 2<sup>do</sup> / Violino 1<sup>mo</sup> / [Violino] 2<sup>do</sup> / Viola / Fagotti / Violoncello / Bassi'.

#### *Fragment of a Symphony in C major (c. 1769-73?):*

**B. MS. score**, begun by a copyist and completed by Haydn, Bst (Tübingen), cat. Mus.

ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 12; the fragment begins with a minuet 

and continues with the original finale of No. 63; 24 pages; 4<sup>o</sup> paper, 22,2 × 35,3 cm., from Esterházy paper mill, Lockenhaus (watermarks: II, 3); on the basis of the watermarks, the copy may be dated c. 1769-73; scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor. (C alto?), 2 clarini, timp., str.

#### *Symphony No. 63: First version (c. 1777?) & final version:*

**C. MS. parts**, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 75; title: '[theme] / Sinfonie in C. / à / 2 Violinis in duplo / Viola oblig. / Flauto oblig. / Fagotto oblig. / 2 Obois oblig. / 2 Corni obl. / Violoncello & Violone. / Del Sig. Giuseppe Haydn. / Partes 13.'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks *inter alia* I, 1); on vln. II cover: 'Illustrissimo

## Appendix I

Signore Rosetti'; the original trumpet pts. to the original finale are laid in the cor. pts.; the first version of the finale has been crossed out in each part, and the new finale (IVb) attached: this insertion has, in each case, been written by Joseph Elsler; source used by Esterházy band. 2nd movt. entitled 'La Roxolane' in most pts.

### *Final version (c. 1777-80?):*

(1) *MS.* parts, St. Florian; prob. the earliest extant version apart from source C, above; 4° Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 18 or I, 89 — the latter poss. a later substitute for a now lost vla. pt.); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780(?); cor. carefully marked 'C basso' for I, II, (IV) and 'C alto' for III; fag. marked 'Violonzello e Fagotto', poss. a middle version between sources A and C; fl. *tacet* after III; dup. vln. I & II by local copyist on Upper or Lower Austrian paper (IV, 5).

(2) *MS.* parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 19063; partly in handwriting of Kees copyist; 4° Viennese paper; dup. str. pts. partly by Kees copyist, partly by later copyists; parts include 'Clarino' I, II and timp., which are crude in the extreme and certainly not authentic; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85(?).

(3) *MS.* parts, GdM, same cat. no.; 'La Roxolane'; 4° paper of unknown origin (watermarks: letters 'HSIA' and posthorn in map-like coat-of-arms); source of unknown (Austrian?) origin, c. 1780-90(?).

(4) *MS.* parts, GdM, same cat. no.; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 60, otherwise only found in Modena); source probably originated in Modena (Austrian Archduke's band), c. 1820(?).

(5) *MS.* parts, Melk, cat. IV, 77; acquired by 'C. Mellic.' in 1781, but source may be slightly older; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 12); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-81.

(6) *MS.* parts by Viennese professional copyist No. 3, Melk, cat. IV, 77; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 3, 80); source of Viennese origin, c. 1790-1800; source includes timp. pt. different from those of aut. and source 3; it is superior to the latter but still rather doubtful.

(7) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 801; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4 & 15, 11); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-90.

(8) *MS.* parts, VNat: see No. 62, source 3.

(9) *MS.* parts, VNat, cat. s. m. 21976; 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); source of Viennese origin, end of 18th cent. (from 'Gesang u. Musikverein, St. Pölten').

*Additional MS. sources:* (10) Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 43: *MS.* score of 2nd movt.; (11) Salzburg, Mozarteum: from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.; (12) Bst (Marburg), cat. <sup>9982</sup>/<sub>7</sub>; (13) Venice Marciana, cat. It. IV, 1280 (11044), a coll. of 6 Haydn symph., Nos. 70, 69, 71, 63, 68 and 67 on 4° and oblong Venetian paper (I, 1, 4, 31, 40, 41), c. 1790; (14) Milan, cat. 5578/24; (15) Florence; (16) Stams, cat. L I, 51, dated 1787; with 2 clarini & timp. different from all the others; (17) Stams, cat. L I, 38 'a Josepho Schmid fuit scriptum', also local copy; (18) Fugger Archives, Augsburg: destroyed in World War II; (19) Seitenstetten, dated 1795; (20) Schwerin; (21) Stockholm. Many other secondary sources (e. g. Genoa, Modena, Naples, etc., etc.) are not sufficiently important to warrant inclusion here.

(22) Printed parts, Boyer, Paris, c. 1781 (if, as Gerber assumes, Hummel's edition is a reprint: see No. 62, source 18) or 1783 (if Boyer reprinted from Hummel); title: 'Trois / Symphonies / A Grand Orchestre / [etc.] Oeuvre XXX<sup>e</sup> / ces symphonies ont été exécutées au Concert Spirituel...'; included are Nos. 63, 70 and 71. No trpt. & timp. pts. Copy in Einsiedeln.

(23) Printed parts, Hummel, Amsterdam—Berlin, c. 1782: see No. 62, source 18.

(24) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1782; 'Symphonie Périodique' No. 6, pl. no. 247. Copy in Paris Cons. H. 50.

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(25) Printed parts, Bland, London, c. 1784(?); title: 'To be Continued / No. [4] / The Favorite Sinfonie / as Performed at the Nobilitys Concert... Bland No. 45 Holborn'; pl. no. 4; a reprint of 23 (bass is figured); BM h. 656. g & g. 474. (4.). Reprint by Forster, using Bland's plates, c. 1810: pl. no. 163.

(26) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1810: see No. 6, source 10.

(27) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn; early 19th cent. (pl. no. 801).

Numerous arrangements for clavier published in London (and Dublin); one, originally issued by Torricella and reprinted in 1788 by Artaria ('La Roxolane. Symphonie pour le Piano-Forte', pl. no. 164) may be authentic.

Critical edition: C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 6 (in preparation).

† No. 64



II. Largo, D, 3/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, A, 3/4.

IV. Presto, A, C.

Date of comp.: c. 1773-75(?). Earliest ref.: Br. cat. 1778.

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag.].

Cat. ref.: EK/II, p. 25; Kees, No. 49 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni.']; HV 48 (tempo: 'poco Adagio'); Br. cat. 1778, p. 2: 'IV. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] II. a 2 C. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'

Authentic sources: none.

Sources:

(1) MS. parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 4, 51: title: 'In A: / Sinfonia / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe Primo / Oboe 2<sup>do</sup> / Due Corni / Alto Viola / e / Basso / Del Sig Giuseppe Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 17); source of local origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent.

(2) MS. parts, Breitkopf & Härtel Archives, Leipzig; 4<sup>o</sup> parts, probably prepared by the firm in the 18th century.

(3) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 44; title: 'Sinfonia / a / due Violini / due oboe / due Corni / Viola / e / Basso Del Sig Giuseppe Haydn / [theme]'; oblong paper, prob. of German origin (watermarks illegible); 2 copyists using same type of paper; source of local origin, 4th quarter of 18th cent.

(4) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 44, source 11.

(5) MS. parts, Modena, cat. D. 134; title: 'No. XVII / Sinfonia / A 8 / Due Violini / Due Oboi / Due Corni / Viola e Basso / Di Hayden / [theme]'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermark: L, 60); source of local origin, end of 18th or beginning of 19th cent.

(6) MS. parts, Milan, temporarily stored.

(7) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1782; 'Simphonie Périodique' No. 4, pl. no. 245.

(8) Printed parts, Bland, London, c. 1785(?); title: 'No. [7]... The Favorite / Sinfonie / as Performed at the Nobilitys Concert. / For a Grand / Orchestre... Bland, No. 45 Holborn'; BM, g. 474. b. (7). Reprinted by Forster, using Bland's plates, c. 1810: same pl. no. (i. e. 'Haydn's Sym: No. 7').

(9) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1805: see No. 6, source 10.

(10) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14.

Critical edition: C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 6 (in preparation). The Peters score, edited by Ludwig Landshoff, is based on sources 8 and 9, but two measures are omitted from the 1st movt., two spurious bassoon parts added and there are numerous mistakes in phrasing and dynamic marks.



# Appendix I

No. 65

*Vivace e con spirito*



II. Andante, D, 3/8.

III. Mezuet & Trio, A, 3/4; a, 3/4.

IV. Presto, A, 12/18.

*Date of comp.*: c. 1771-73 (entry in EK). Earliest ref.: Br. cat. 1778.

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag.].

*Cat. ref.*: EK/I, p. 1; Kees, No. 39 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni']; HV 38 (tempo: 'Allo:'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1778, p. 2: 'IV. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] IV. a 2 C. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. V. e B.'

*Authentic source*: (1?), but of almost no textual value compared to other MSS., which reflect H's intentions much more clearly.

*Sources*:

(1) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 76; title: 'Sinfonia in A / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Oboe Imo Oboe IIdo / Cornuo Imo Cornuo IIdo / Alto Viola / con / Basso / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Hayden.'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); the original vla. pt. has been replaced in another handwriting on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1); this pt. possibly once belonged to another set; the source contains appalling mistakes (i. e. measures omitted), and it is very unlikely if it was ever used in perf., and indeed unlikely that it is authentic; H. may have acquired it late in life.

(2) MS. parts, Melk, cat. IV, 74; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 18, 19); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80(?); dup. str. pts. by local copyist.

(3) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Coll.?), cat. XIII, 6649; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4 & 15; 11); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85(?); dup. str. pts. by various other copyists on newer Viennese paper.

(4) MS. parts, St. Florian 'In usum / Joseph Glöggel'; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (as in source 2); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-80(?); 2 other pts. prob. belonging to 2 other (now lost) sets are laid in the folder, both pts. on local paper (one of group IV).

(5) MS. parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 28, 231; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 1); source of Upper or Lower Austrian origin, c. 1775-85(?).

(6) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 684; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (as in source 2); source of Viennese origin, c. 1775-85(?); cor. I missing.

(7) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 45; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 62); source of Viennese origin (by same copyist as No. 44, source 1), c. 1775-80(?).

(8) MS. parts, Schlägl, cat. 72; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 17 and 10 or 18); source of local origin, c. 1780-85(?).

*Additional MS. sources*: (9) Modena, cat. D. 132; (10) Antoniana, Padua: see No. 23, source 13.

(11) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, c. 1784; title: 'Simphonie / Periodique / à deux Violons Alto & Basse / deux Hautbois et deux Cors / Composée par / J. HAYDN, / Prix [4# 4v] / A PARIS / Chez Imbault, rue et vis-à-vis le Cloître / St. Honoré près le Palais Royal, maison du Chandellieur N<sup>o</sup> 573...' 'Sinfonia 14' at head of most pts. Copy in Venice Cons. (Gustinian Coll.).

(12) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1792(?); title: 'Letter[N] / A / Grand Overture / in parts, / Performed at the / Professional / and other / Public Con- certs / composed by Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by W<sup>m</sup> Forster at his / Music Warehouse / N<sup>o</sup> 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand'; pl. no. 130; copy in Manchester. Later copies, No. 22, York St., Westminster (c. 1803-16).

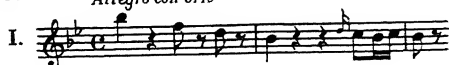
*Critical edition*: C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 6 (in preparation).



# Appendix I

No. 66

*Allegro con brio*



II. Adagio, F, 3/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, B flat, 3/4.

IV. Scherzando e Presto, B flat, 2/4.

Date of comp.: c. 1778. Earliest ref.: Göttweig, 1779 (cat.); Hummel print, 1779.

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

Cat. ref.: EK/II, p. 26; Kees, No. 52: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Fagotti'; HV 59; Göttweig cat., p. 865, 'Comp R P Marianus / 1779' (parts lost); Br. cat. 1779/80, p. 2: 'VII. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] VI. a 2 C. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. 2 Fag. V. e B.'.

Authentic sources: (1), (2?), possibly (14).

Sources:

(1) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 77; no original title; later cover reads: 'in Duplo [pencil] / Sinfonia in B1 / Del Sig: Hayden'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); dup. vln. I, II and bass by same copyist, cor. I partly by another copyist; indications of performance; source apparently used by Haydn's orch.; on one pt. the curious remark: 'Betet für die Gefangenen' (pray for the prisoners) — this is open to various interpretations.

(2) MS. parts from Radnitzky 'workshop', Milan, cat. <sup>5587</sup>/<sub>33</sub>; title: 'A. F. / N: 829 / Sinfonia in B<sup>e</sup> / à 2 = Violini / 2 = Oboe, 2 Corni / 2 = Viole / con / Basso / Del Sig: Giuseppe Haydn.'; various copyists, possibly including Radnitzky's brother; at end of vln. I and II 'p: Rky'; (a) Viennese paper, 4<sup>o</sup> (watermarks: 'HELLER' and Austrian eagle); (b) Italian paper, 4<sup>o</sup> (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22 and I, 1, 24); source possibly of authentic origin, c. 1780-85(?). A 2nd set of parts, of local origin, is included in the folder (incomplete: 2 ob., 2 cor., vln. II, bass).

(3) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8508; 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese paper; numerous dup. str. pts. by 3 other copyists on 3 different types of paper; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85(?).

(4) MS. parts, VNat: see No. 42, source 8.

(5) MS. parts by a Viennese copyist, Stams, cat. L I, 44; 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese paper (watermarks: crossed keys?); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85(?).

(6) MS. parts, Melk, cat. IV, 86; 4<sup>o</sup> Austrian or Hungarian paper (watermarks: VI, 3); vln. II dup. by another (local) copyist; source of local origin, c. 1780-90(?).

(7) MS. parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 4, 52; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 17); source of local origin, c. 1780-90(?).

(8) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 679; 4<sup>o</sup> German paper (watermarks: VIII, 2); source of local origin, c. 1790(?).

(9) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 44, source 11.

Additional MS. sources: (10) Lilienfeld; (11) Zwettl; (12) Seitenstetten, 1792; (13) Washington (2 copies): see No. 22, Version II, source 2; (13a) Genoa.

(14) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, 1779; Nos. 67, 66 and 68, entitled: 'Trois / Symphonies / A / Grand Orchestre / composées par / Giuseppe Haydn / Oeuvre XV / Chés J. J. Hummel / à Berlin...'; pub. no. 400. It is just possible that this is an authentic print, i. e., that the MSS. were furnished by Haydn. Copy in Washington, M. 3. 3. H 18. H 8. op. 15.

(15) Reprint of 14 by Longman & Broderip, London, c. 1782; title: 'Three / Simphonies / in Eight Parts, / for Violins, Hoboys, Horns, / Tenor and Bass /... Op. XV... London... Longman & Broderip No. 26, Cheapside...'; copies in BM, g. 474. b. (1.) and Manchester.

(16) Reprint of 15 by Forster, London, c. 1792; general title: 'No. [1, 2, 3] from Op. [15] / A Favorite Sinfonia / For A / Grand Orchestre / Performed at the /

# Appendix I

Professional and other Concerts / Composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / Price 3s / London / . . . . Willm Forster No. 348 next door to the Lyceum near Exeter Change / Strand.; pl. no. 125; incomplete copies in Manchester, BM, h. 656.1. Later copies, No. 22, York St., Westminster (c. 1803-16).

(17) Printed parts, Boyer, Paris, c. 1780-85 (?): see No. 60, source 24.

(18) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1783 and 1790; separate issues of Nos. 66 ('Symphonie Périodique' No. 7, pl. no. 248), 67 (No. 8, pl. no. 249) — both c. 1783 — and No. 68 (No. 33, no pl. no.); probably reprinted from 14. Fragmentary copies in Paris Cons. H. 51, H. 52 and X. 697.

(19) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1802: see No. 6, source 10.

(20) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09: see No. 41, Source 14.

(21) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn, early 19th cent. (pub. no. 28).

Critical edition: C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 7 (in preparation).

† No. 67



II. Adagio, B flat, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, F, 3/4.

IV. Allegro di molto, F, C — Adagio cantabile, F, 3/8 — Primo Tempo.

Date of comp.: c. 1778. Earliest ref.: Hummel print, 1779.

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str. (2 solo vlns., solo vcl.).

Cat. ref.: EK/II, p. 26; Kees, No. 53 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Fagotti']; HV 51 (tempo: 'Vivace e Scherzoso'); Br. cat. 1779/80, p. 2: 'VII. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] III. a 2 C. 2 O. 2 Viol. 2 Fag. V. Violcl. e B.'; Göttweig cat., p. 867, 'Comp R P / Marianus 1780' (parts lost).

Authentic sources: (1), (2), possibly (14).

Sources:

(1) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 78; title: '[theme] / Synphonia in F. / a / 2 Violinis oblig. e 2 Ripnis / Viola / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / 2 Fagotti / Violonzello, e Violone. / Del Sig: Giuseppe Heyden / Partes 10.'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible except for striped lines); source used by Haydn's band.

(2) MS. parts by Joseph Elssler, Kremsmünster, cat. H 4, 49; title (new): 'Sinfonia in F: a / 2 Violini. Viola oblig. 2. Oboe. 2. Corni. 2. Fagotti. Violoncello. e / Basso. Del Sign: Giuseppe Haydn.'; horns by another copyist; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 11, 15, 18); authentic source from Eisenstadt or Esterháza, c. 1778-80 (?).

(3) MS. parts, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8503; of orig. pts. only vln. I and II by Kees copyist are extant, Italian paper, 4<sup>o</sup> (watermarks: I, 1, 18); numerous dup. str. pts., some of which possibly belong to another set; wind pts. lost; original source of Viennese origin, c. 1780(?).

(4) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 844; 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese paper (watermarks illegible but type clear); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85(?).

(5) MS. parts, Herzogenburg; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); several copyists; source prob. of local origin, c. 1780-85(?).

(6) MS. parts, VNat: see No. 42, source 8.

(7) MS. parts, Melk, cat. IV, 79; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 12, 4 & 15); dup. str. pts. by local copyist; source prob. of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85(?).

(8) MS. parts, Seitenstetten; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: coat-of-arms with letters 'HK' in simple frame); source of local origin, c. 1785-95(?).

(9) MS. parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 63, source 13.

## Appendix I

*Additional MS. sources:* (10) Zwettl; (11) Donau-Eschingen; (12) score & parts from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8503; (13) Washington (2 copies): see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

- (14) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, 1779: see No. 66, source 14.  
 (15) Printed parts, Longman & Broderip, London, c. 1782: see No. 66, source 15.  
 (16) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1792: see No. 66, source 16.  
 (17) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1783: see No. 66, source 18.  
 (18) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1802: see No. 6, source 10.  
 (19) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn, early 19th cent. (pl. no. 834).

*Critical edition: C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 7 (in preparation).*

## No. 68



- II. Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto, B flat, 3/4.  
III. Adagio, E flat, 2/4.  
IV. Presto, B flat, 2/4.

*Date of comp.*: c. 1778. Earliest ref.: Hummel print, 1779.

Scoring: 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.  
*Cat. ref.:* EK/II, p. 25; Kees, No. 32: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, / Violoncello Obl';  
 HV 31 (tempo: 'Allo?'); Br. cat. 1779/80, p. 2: 'VII. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN.  
 [No.] VII. a 2 C. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. 2 Fag. V. e B.'; Göttweig cat., p. 868, 'Comp R P /  
 Marianus 1782' (parts lost).

*Authentic sources:* none (possibly 9).

**Sources:**

- (1) *MS.* parts, VNat: see No. 42, source 8.  
 (2) *MS.* parts, VNat, cat. s. m. 1977; 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese paper; source of Viennese origin, end of 18th cent. (from 'Gesang u. Musikverein, St. Pölten').  
 (3) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 63, source 13.  
 (4) *MS.* parts, Zwettl, from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., c. 1800.  
 (5) *MS.* parts, Melk, cat. IV, 64; only the 1st movt.: 4<sup>o</sup> Hungarian or Austrian paper (watermarks, VI, 4); source of local origin, c. 1780-85(?).  
 (6) *MS.* parts, GdM, cat. XIII, 31661; fragmentary parts: now extant are the dup. str. pts. on Italian paper (watermarks: I, 3, 80), c. 1800.

*Additional MS. sources:* (7) Donau-Eschingen; (8) Stockholm.

- Additional MS. sources:* (7) Donau-Eschingen; (8) Stockholm.  
 (9) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, 1779: see No. 66, source 14.  
 (10) Printed parts, Longman & Broderip, London, c. 1782: see No. 66, source 15.  
 (11) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1792: see No. 66, source 16.  
 (12) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1790: see No. 66, source 18.  
 (13) Printed parts, Menu-Boyer, Paris, 178-; title: 'Trois Simphonies / A grand  
 Orchestre / composées / par Mrs. Rosetti / Hayden et Holtzbaur / Chez M<sup>ms</sup> Le  
 Menu et Boyer, M<sup>des</sup> de Musique / Rue du Roule, a la Clef d'Or / ... A. P. D. R. /  
 Ecrit par Ribiere'; copy in Fürstl. Leiningen Library, Amorbach.  
 (14) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn, early 19th cent. (pub. no. 31).

(14) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn, early 19th cent.  
Critical edition: C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 7 (in preparation).

## No. 69



- II. Un poco Adagio, più tosto Andante, F, 3/4.  
III. Menuet & Trio, C, 3/4.  
IV. Presto, C, 2/4.

## Appendix I

*Date of comp.*: c. 1778. *Earliest ref.*: Göttweig, 1779.

*Scoring*: 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str.

*Cat. ref.*: EK/II, p. 26; Kees, No. 51: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini / Tympani, Fagotti'; HV 50 (tempo: 'Molto Allo: Laudon'); Br. cat. 1779/80, p. 2: 'VII. Sinf. da Gius. HAYDEN. [No.] V. a 2 Clar. Tymp. 2 Cor. 2 Ob. 2 Viol. 2 Fag. V. e B.' (without appogg. in meas. 2); Göttweig cat., p. 877, 'Comp R P Marianus 1779'; Traeg. cat. 1799, No. 124.

'Laudon', authentic designation: letter from H. to Artaria April 8, 1783.

*Authentic sources*: (1), (2), (3), (4).

*Sources*:

(1) *MS. parts*, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 79; title: '[theme] / Synphonia in C. / a / 2 Violinis in duplo / Viola oblig: / 2 Obois oblig: / 2 Cornii / 2 Clarini e Tympano / 2 Fagotti / Violonzello, con Violone / Del Sig: Giuseppe Heydn / Partes 16.'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); copyist and paper identical with No. 59, source 1. A few indications of perf. (e. g. timp. pt.); vln. I & II in dup. by same copyist on same paper.

(2) *MS. parts*, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 72; orig. title: 'Nro 10 [crossed out] / Sinfonia ex C / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Alto Viola / 2-Oboe / 2-Corni / 2-Fagotti / 2-Clarino / Timpano / e / Basso. / Del Sigre Hayden / [erased monogram "JH" (?)]; pts. also for 2 cor.; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1); various copyists; source appears never to have been used.

(3) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1783 (*cf.* corresp. in Artaria-Botstiber: March 20, April 8, June 18, 1783); title: 'Sinfonia à Laudon...' (pl. no. 48); H. objected to numerous engraver's errors: how many still remain is open to question.

(4) Print of the first three movements in an arrangement for clavier by Haydn; Artaria, Vienna, 1783 (issued together with pts., and with same pl. no.); title of piano version: [design] / 'Sinfonia Loudon / Per il Clavicembalo o Forte Piano / Dal Sig. Giuseppe Haydn / Opera XXXVI / In Vienna presso Artaria Comp / Prezzo [fl] [blank]'; pl. no. 48; copy in Washington, M. 25. H; after 1801, issued by Cappi; originally H. provided a vln. pt., but wrote (June 18, 1783) that it 'was not at all necessary, and so could be entirely omitted', which seems to be the case; he also omitted the finale as 'not practicable for the clavier'.

(5) *MS. parts* by Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 6163; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 18, 24); dup. str. pts. by 2 other copyists on later paper; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85.

(6) *MS. parts*, GdM, same cat. no.; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); no trpt. & timp. pts.; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-90.

(7) *MS. parts*, Melk, cat. IV, 54; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Austrian or Hungarian mill (watermarks: VI, 3); source of local origin, c. 1780-85(?).

(8) *MS. parts*, Kremsmünster, cat. H 3, 38; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 17); source of local origin, c. 1780-90(?); orig. vln. II pt. destroyed, substitute by another copyist on other paper.

(9) *MS. parts*, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/3, fol. 795; 4<sup>o</sup> German paper (watermarks: VIII, 1); source of local origin, end of 18th cent.

(10) *MS. parts*, Stams, cat. L I, 37; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of local origin (watermarks: crowned coat-of-arms); source of local origin, c. 1780-90(?).

*Additional MS. sources*: (11) VNat: see No. 42, source 8, no trpts. & timp.; (12) Schwerin; (13) Venice Marciana: see No. 63, source 13; (14) Milan Cons., cat. 5577/23; (15) Schlägl: only str. pts. extant, in wrong cover; (16) Donaueschingen; (17) score and parts, Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 6163; (18) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

(19) Printed parts, Hummel, Amsterdam-Berlin, c. 1784; title: 'Simphonie Periodique / A / Grand Orchestre / Composée Par / Mr. Giuseppe Haydn. / Libro I. Oeuvre XX. / Chés J: J: Hummel, à Berlin avec Privilège du Roi, / à Amsterdam au Grand Magazin de Musique et aux Adresses ordinaires. / Prix F. 1. 10'; pl. no 565

## Appendix I

(Libro II = No. 53, see Version B, source 11); copy in BM, h. 656. p. 4. Pts. for 'Corno e Tromba' I, II.

(20) Printed parts, Bland, London, c. 1783 (probably a reprint of 19); title: 'No. [2] / ... The Favorite / Sinfonie / as Performed at the Nobilitys Concert. / For a Grand / Orchestre ... / This Sinfonie may be played as a Quartett. Price 3. Sh. / London, Printed for J. Bland, No 45 High Holborn ...' ('Sinfonia II'); copies in BM, g. 474. b. (2.) and Manchester. Reprinted by Forster, c. 1810 (?): pl. no. 155, using Bland's plates. Pts. for 'Corno e Tromba' I, II.

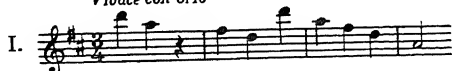
(21) Printed parts (two movts. only), F. Linley, London, c. 1796; title as in 20 (probably a reprint thereof); copy in Manchester.

(22) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1802: see No. 6, source 10.

(23) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14.  
Critical edition: C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 7 (in preparation).

† No. 70

*Vivace con brio*



II. Andante: Specie d'un canone in contrapunto doppio, d, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto (+ Coda), D, 3/4.

IV. Allegro con brio, d-D, ♯ (with fugue 'a 3 Soggetti in contrapunto doppio').

Date of comp.: Dec. 18, 1779 (EH parts).

Scoring: 1 fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str. (trpt. & timp. parts added later: see source 1).

Cat. ref.: EK/II, p. 27; Kees, No. 58: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Flauto / Fagotto'; HV 56 ('Spiritoso'); Göttweig cat., p. 867: '2 Fagott' (sic) 'Comp R P / Marianus 1781' (parts lost); Br. cat. 1782/83/84: see source 17.

Authentic sources: (1), (2).

Sources:

(1) MS. parts, partly by Joseph Elssler and partly by various other copyists, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 80; title (Elssler): '[theme] / Sinfonia in D / 2 Violinis in duplo / Viola oblig. / Flauto obl. / Fagotto obl. / 2 Corni obl. / Violoncello o Violone / Del Sig. Gius. Haydn. / Partes 13.'; pts. also for 2 clarini, added later; o Violone / Del Sig. Gius. Haydn. / Partes 13.'; pts. also for 2 clarini, added later; in timp. pt. added by Haydn himself; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1); vln. I, II and bass in dup.; a 2nd title page, by one of the other copyists, is dated '779', and Elssler has carefully dated vln. I: '779 die 18<sup>te</sup> Xbris / Sinfonia' (Dec. 18, in the old calendar dating); numerous corrections and additions by Haydn on most parts, which were obviously used by the Esterházy band.

(2) Printed parts, Forster, London, 1782 (Forster's account book: June 20, 1782), from a MS. sent by Haydn; title: 'A favorite / Overture / in all its parts / Composed by Giuseppe Hayden / of Vienna / and Published by his / Authority. / Pr. 2/6 / London / ... W. Forster ... at / his Music Shop the corner of Dukes Court St. Martins Lane ...'; later reprinted with address 348 Strand (c. 1785-1802), still later 22, York St., Westminster (c. 1803-16); (Overture II), pub. no. 22; copies in BM, g. 474. b.(5.) and Manchester; no trpts. & timp.

(3) MS. parts by Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Coll.?), cat. XIII, 8506; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 24); dup. str. pts. by other copyists on other paper, partly corrected by Kees copyist; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85; no trpts. & timp.

(4) MS. parts, VNat: see No. 62, source 3; no trpts. & timp.

(5) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 820; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 11); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85 (?); trpt. & timp. pts. only for 1st movt., and different from those of source 1.

## Appendix I

(6) *MS.* parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 47; oblong German paper (watermarks illegible but clearly belonging to group VIII); source of local origin, c. 1785 (?); trpts. & timp. as in source 5: possibly 6 was copied from 5.

(7) *MS.* parts, Seitenstetten, dated 1792; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown (local?) origin (watermarks: letters 'IMW' and coat-of-arms with letter 'W'); source of local origin; no trpts. & timp.

(8) *MS.* parts, Stams, cat. L I, 53; oblong Tyrolean paper (watermarks: VII, 2); source of local origin, c. 1780-90 (?); between 1st and 2nd movts. the local copyist (under Paluselli's direction?) has inserted another minuet:



(9) *MS.* parts, Munich, cat. Mus. Ms. 5156; 'Chori Obrensis / S. O. C.' (Cistercian Monastery of Obra, Kreis Wongrowitz, Posen — now Poland); 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: 'BRESIAM' and letter 'W' in design); source of local origin, c. 1780-90 (?); no trpts. & timp.

(10) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 63, source 13; no trpts. & timp.

*Additional MS. sources:* (11) Modena, cat. D. 147, c. 1800 (I, 1, 4, 43); (12) Florence; (13) score & pts. from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8506, c. 1800 (?); (14) Stockholm; (15) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

(16) Printed parts, Boyer, Paris, c. 1781-83: see No. 63, source 22; no trpts. & timp.

(17) Printed parts, Hummel, Amsterdam-Berlin, c. 1782: see No. 62, source 18; no trpts. & timp.

(18) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1785; 'Symphonie Périodique' No. 18 (pl. no. 359); no trpts. & timp.

(19) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1810: see No. 6, source 10; no trpts. & timp.

(20) Printed score, Giancettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14; no trpts. & timp.

*Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 7 (in preparation).

### No. 71



II. Adagio, F, 2/4.

III. Menuetto & Trio, B flat, 3/4.

IV. Vivace, B flat, 4/4.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1779-80. Earliest ref.: GdM, 1780 (source 3).

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., str. with 2 solo vln.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/II, p. 26; Kees, No. 56 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Flauto / Fagotto']; HV 54 (tempo: 'Grave'); Br. cat. 1782/83/84: see source 17.

*Authentic sources:* none.

*Sources:*


(1) *MS.* parts by Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8401; no title page; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 24); the dup. vln. pts. also by Kees copyist but on other Italian paper (I, 1, 25) and prob. belonging to another set of pts.; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85.

(2) *MS.* parts by Kees copyist, GdM, same cat. no.; title: 'Sinfonia In b fa / à 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / Flauto / Fagotto / Viola / et / Basso / Del Sig. Giuseppe Haydn / [later: "Ex Rebus P. Alexandri / Professi Altenburgensis"]'; pts. once in possession of the important music archives of the monastery at Altenburg, Lower Austria (destroyed 1945); 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 25 or I, 1, 43); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-90 (?).

## Appendix I

- (3) *MS. parts*, GdM, same cat. no.; title: 'In b Fa / 17 Bögen / Sinfonia / a / 2 Violini / 2 Oboe / 2 Corni / Flauto et Fagotto / Viola e / Basso / Del Sig: Gius: Haydn 780 [later: "Ad usum / Fidelis Candon (Landon?)"]'; 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese paper (watermarks: Austrian eagle and letters 'IPP' in oval frame); source of Viennese origin.
- (4) *MS. parts*, Harburg, cat. III, 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, fol. 675; title page missing; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 11, 4 & 15); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85; local copyist has composed a clarinet part (VIII, 1).
- (5) *MS. parts*, Göttweig; title: 'Sinfonia, in B. / a / Violino Primo / Violino 2<sup>do</sup> / 2 Oboe, et 2 Corni / Flauto Traverso. / Viola, Fagotto, / e / Violone / Del Sig<sup>re</sup> Giuseppe Haydn / 59 / Comparavit R: P: Marianus / A: 1781'; orig. vln. I and II missing, substitute pts. c. 1870; perf. dates on rear cover: 1781, 1782 and 1870; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: as in No. 44, source 8); source of local origin.
- (6) *MS. parts*, VNat: see No. 62, source 3.
- (7) *MS. parts*, Melk, cat. IV, 52; title page destroyed; 4<sup>o</sup> Austrian or Hungarian paper (watermarks: VI, 4); dup. str. pts. on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 4, 11, 24) by 2 other copyists; source of local origin, c. 1780-90(?).
- (8) *MS. parts*, Kremsmünster, cat. H 5, 59; title: 'Sinfonia in B. / a / Basso. / Fagotto. / 2. Violini / Viola. / Flauto. / 2. Oboe. / 2. Corni. / Del Sign. Giuseppe Haydn.'; cover page(s) in one handwriting, rest in another; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 17); source of local origin, c. 1780-90(?).
- (9) *MS. parts*, Stams, cat. L I, 56; title (in frame!): 'Sinfonia in B / a / Due Violini / Due Oboe / Due Corni / Un Flauto / Un Fagotto / Viola / con / Violoncello / e / Basso / [theme] / Da Haydn'; oblong Tyrolean paper (watermarks: VII, 2); source of local origin, c. 1780-90(?).
- (10) *MS. parts*, Venice Marciana: see No. 63, source 13.
- (11) *MS. parts*, Modena, cat. D. 156, 'di ao: 783 / In Duplo'; the date undoubtedly refers to the symphony rather than the particular copy; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 43); source prob. of Viennese origin, early 19th cent.
- Additional MS. sources:* (12) Donau-Eschingen; (13) Schwerin; (14) score and incomplete pts., Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8401 (c. 1820); (15) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2; (15a) Genoa.
- (16) Printed parts, Boyer, Paris, c. 1781-83: see No. 63, source 22.
- (17) Printed parts, Hummel, Amsterdam-Berlin, c. 1782: see No. 62, source 18.
- (18) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1782; 'Simphonie Périodique' No. 5 (pl. no. 246).
- (19) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1785; title: 'Letter [A] / A / Grand Overture / in parts, / Performed at the / Professional / and other / Public Concerts / composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by W<sup>m</sup> Forster at his / Music Warehouse / No. 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand'; copy in BM, g. 75. (3.). Later copies (c. 1803-16) 22, York St., Westminster. Pl. no. 48.
- (20) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1810: see No. 6, source 10.
- (21) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14.
- Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 7 (in preparation).

No. 72

- Allegro*
- I. 
- II. Andante, G, 6/8.
- III. Menuet & Trio, D, 3/4.
- IV. Andante, D, 2/4; Presto, D, 6/8.

## Appendix I

*Date of comp.*: c. 1761-63 (?). *Earliest ref.*: Quartbuch (not later than c. 1775); Br. cat. 1781.

*Cat. ref.*: EK/II, p. 27; Kees, No. 14: 'Sinfonia, con 4 Corni, e Varii / Stromenti'; HV 13 (tempo: 'Moderato'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1781, p. 3: 'II. Sinf. da Giuseppe HAYDEN. [No.] II. a 4 Cor. 2 Ob. Viol. obl. Fl. obl. 2 Viol. Viola, Violcl. e Fag. e B.'.

### Original Version.

*Scoring*: 1 fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 4 cor., str. [cemb.], solo vln., solo vcl., solo violone (ob.). GdM (source 5) has a timp. pt.: in view of the early period, this seems doubtful, but it is possible that H. added it at a later date; in many sources, 2 clarini are substituted for 2 of the cor. pts. (cf. No. 13).

*Authentic sources*: none.

### *Sources*:

(1) *MS. parts*, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 812; title: 'Sinfonia in D / a / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Flauto [later: "Solo in adagio"] / Fagotto / Due Oboe / 4<sup>to</sup> Corni / Viola / e Violoncello / Del Sig: Giuseppe Haidn'; above: 'N: 99'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); pts. incl. 'Violino Obl.' and 2 vln., 'Violone, e Violoncello', 'Fagotto e Contra Basso', 'Clarino o Corno' I and II; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85 (?).

(2) *MS. parts*, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 48; title: 'Nro 1 [crossed out] / Nro. 7 / Sinfonia Concertata / a / Violino Principale / 2 Violini / Viola / Fagotto / Traverso Solo / 2 Oboe obl: / 4 Corni obl: / Violone e Violoncello obl: / Del Sigre Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 9, 34); dup. str. pts. on local German paper; source of Viennese origin, c. 1770-85.

(3) *MS. parts*, VNat: see No. 13, source 10.

(4) *MS. parts*, Kremsmünster, cat. H 3, 35; title: 'Sinfonia Ex D / più Stromenti / Del: Sigre Giuseppe Haydn.'; pts. as in 'scoring'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Upper or Lower Austrian mill (watermarks: IV, 1); source of local origin, c. 1770-85 (?).

(5) *MS. parts*, GdM, cat. XIII, 41540; title: 'Sinfonia Ex D# / Con / Violino Principale. / Violino Primo. / Violino Secondo. / Flauto Traverso Solo obligato. / Oboe Primo. / Oboe Secondo. / Clarino Primo. / Clarino Secondo. / Cornu Primo / Cornu Secondo / Tympano / Viola / Violoncello oblig: / Violone oblig. / Del Sig: Giuseppe Hayden / [theme] / [later: "Ein / seltsames Werk / H. Hkl." (?)]'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: letters 'WW' in monogram, letters 'LD'); source of unknown origin, 2nd half of 18th cent.

(6) *MS. score*, Stockholm.

(7) *MS. parts* from 'Frankfurt/M.' collection, noted on Pohl's copy of the score (GdM XIII, 41540).

(8) *Printed parts*, J. Bland, London, c. 1790; title: 'No. [10] The Favorite / Sinfonie / as Performed at the Nobilitys Concert. / For a Grand / Orchestre / [etc.]... Bland, No. 45 Holborn'. Copy in BM, g. 474. b. (10.). At head of parts: 'X Sinfonia Concertante'. Horns reduced to two but entitled: 'Corno 1<sup>o</sup> and 3<sup>o</sup>, 2<sup>o</sup> and 4<sup>o</sup>'. Fl. included in ob. part, fag. in bass. Reprinted by Forster, using Bland's plates, c. 1810; with same pl. no. (i. e.: 'Haydn's 10<sup>th</sup> Sym.').

### Revised Version:

*Scoring*: 1 fl., 2 ob. (revised), 2 cor. (revised), 2 clarini (different than previous cor. pts.), str. [fag., cemb.].

*Authentic source*: (1 ?).

### *Source*:

(1) *MS. parts*, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 81; title: 'in Duplo [pencil] / Sinfonia. in D! / Del Signore Hayden'; original title lost; substitute on cardboard cover; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); vln. I, II & bass pts. in dup.; the origin of this source is doubtful, and the remark 'in duplo' suggests that at least one other source was once in EH; it is doubtful if the present *MS.* was ever played by Haydn's hand.



# Appendix I

† No. 73



II. Andante, G, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, D, 3/4.

IV. La Chasse, D, 6/8.

*Date of comp.*: 1781 (autograph). Finale composed in 1780 as Prelude to Act III of the opera, *La Fedeltà Premiata* (autograph). 2nd movt. based on Haydn's song, *Gegenliebe* (1781), though the reverse is possible.

*Scoring*: La Chasse (finale) originally scored for 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str.; remaining movts. scored for 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str., to which orch. H. later added a fl.; the Kees MS. and Sieber-Imbault print retain trpt. & timp. parts in the finale. In its final form, therefore, the sym. is scored as follows: movts. I-III, 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.; IV, ditto plus 2 clarini & timp.

*Cat. ref.*: EK/II, p. 28; EK/III, p. 33; Kees, No. 61 (theme of 4th movt.): 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini / Fagotto, Flauto, Tympani': see source 5, from which the cat. ref. was probably made; HV 60 (4th movt., tempo: 'Vivace'); HV 92 (tempo: 'Larghetto'); Herzogenburg cat. (parts lost); Br. cat. 1782/83/84: see source 4.

'La Chasse', authentic designation (aut. of movt. in *La Fedeltà Premiata*).

*Authentic sources*: (1), (2), (3) and probably (4).

*Sources*:

(1) **Autograph-Fragment**, Bst, cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 14; present whereabouts unknown, probably somewhere in Poland; the aut. is incomplete and contains only meas. 1-69 of 2nd movt. (8 pp.) and the whole 'Menuet' (8 pp., 2 blank); oblong (prob. Italian) paper.

(2) **Autograph** of 4th movt. as Prelude to *La Fedeltà Premiata* (Act III), Bst (Berlin), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 24; title: 'La Chasse'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 24), 21,5 × 22 cm.; beginning of Act III; EH owns a large part of the remaining aut., including the beginning, dated 1780.

(3) **Autograph** of the clavier arrangement (present whereabouts unknown); this arrangement published by Artaria as: 'La caccia / o sia Sinfonia / per il Clavicembalo o Piano Forte / del / Sig: Giuseppe Haydn / Opera 44. / In Vienna presso Artaria Compagni / [left:] Cum. Priv. S. C. M. [middle:] 116 [right:] 1. fl.'; no minuet; pl. no. 116. Copy in Washington, M. 3. H. 18. A 7. op. 44. Announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* of August 15, 1787. It is possible that this is a reprint of a Torricella edition which is no longer extant.

(4) Printed parts, Torricella, Vienna, 1782 (announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* of July 24, 1782; Br. cat. 1782/83/84, p. 8; reviews in Cramer, *Magazin der Musik* 1783 and Reichardt's *Musikalisches Kunstmagazin*, 1783); title: 'La Chasse / GRAND SIMPHONIE / en 10 Partie Obl / compose par / Mr IOSEPH HEYDEN / oeuvre [sic] XXXIV / Dediée / A son Altesse Monseigneur / LE PRINCE DE GALAZIN / [Esterházy, etc.]... / se vendà Vienne chez / Christoph Torricella / Marchand et Editeur / de Musique, &c. Prix 2 fl. 30.' (Pub. no. 20); after Torricella declared bankruptcy, Artaria bought the plates to this and most of the other works issued by Torricella: No. 73 was assigned pl. no. 127. Copies of the original edition *inter alia* in GdM (XIII, 8534) and BM, K. 7. f. 11. Strong evidence of the authenticity of this print is found on the BM copy, which Haydn has signed in his own hand, 'Spectat Illustrissimo DD<sup>mo</sup> Conti Esterhazi de Gallantha'. The print omits the fl., clarini and timp. pts.

(5) MS. parts by the Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 19064 (8534); parts for 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str. with numerous dup. pts.

## Appendix I

partly by Kees copyist and partly added later; a 2nd copyist has completed some of the orig. pts.; some of the dup. pts. bound with Sym. No. 70; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 24); source of Viennese origin, c. 1782-83 (?); the order of movements of this copy is: IV, II, III, I, which may possibly represent an earlier version of the symphony.

(6) MS. parts, Seitenstetten, dated 1792; scoring as in source 4; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: coat-of-arms with letter 'W'; letters 'IMW'); source of local origin.

(7) MS. parts, Modena, cat. D. 158, with remark 'de anno 782', which refers to the date of comp., not this particular copy, which is c. 1820; pts. as in source 5; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); source of local origin.

(8) MS. parts, Milan, cat.  $\frac{5584}{30}$ ; 'Sinfonia à più Stromenti, Intitolata: La caccia...'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); source of unknown origin, end of 18th cent. (?); pts. for fl., 2 ob., (2) fag., 2 cor., str.

(9) MS. parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 44, source 11; scoring as in source 5.

Additional MS. sources: (10) Bst (Marburg), cat.  $\frac{9982}{22}$ , 19th cent. copy; (11) Donau-Eschingen; (12) score from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8534, c. 1810-20 (?); scoring fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.; (13) Stockholm, score; (14) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

(15) Printed parts, Imbault-Sieber, Paris (joint publication), 1784 (announced in the *Mercur de France* of 12 July: 'La Chasse, quinzieme Symphonie périodique...'); title: 'Simphonie / PERIODIQUE / à deux Violons Alto et Basse / deux Hautbois et deux Cors / Composées par / J. HAYDN / A Paris' / [double reference, Imbault and Sieber, but with signature of former]; Sieber's pl. no. 340; the individual pts. are entitled 'Haydn. 15 / Sinfonia'. Pts. include 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str. Copy in Paris Nat. cat. Vm<sup>7</sup> 1609. Copies also with only Sieber's imprint.

(16) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1783 (?), prob. a reprint of Torricella; title: 'The Celebrated / La Chasse / in all its parts...'; copy in BM, h. 3210. (7.). Originally 'Dukes Court St Martins Lane' (up to c. 1785), then (c. 1785-1802) 348, Strand, still later (c. 1803-26) 22, York St., Westminster.

(17) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn, 19th cent.

Critical editions: C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 7 (in preparation); Eulenburg No. 511 (Praetorius), based on 4, 15 and the previous Eulenburg, in turn based on the score of Rieter-Biedermann.

No. 74



II. Adagio cantabile: B flat, 2/4.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegro (or Allegretto): E flat, 3/4.

IV. Allegro assai, E flat, 6/8.

Date of comp.: c. 1780. Earliest ref.: Forster, Aug., 1781.

Scoring: 1 fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., str.

Cat. ref.: EK/II, p. 27; Kees, No. 60 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Flauto / Fagotto']; HV 58 (tempo: 'Allo:'); Br. cat. 1782/83/84: see source 18.

Authentic sources: (1), (2?).

Sources:

(1) Printed parts, Forster, London (Forster's account book: August 22, 1781), from a MS. sent by Haydn; title: see No. 70, source 2; (Overture I); also issued as '... A Grand / Overture / in Parts. / Perform'd at the / Professional / and other / Public Concerts...'; pub. no. 9; copies in BM, h. 3210. (9.), h. 3. b. (2.), and Manchester.

## Appendix I

(2) *MS.* parts by Johann Radnitzky, GdM, cat. XIII, 6646; no title page extant; pts. for 'Flauto Traverso', 2 ob., fag., 2 cor., str.; bass part signed 'R' in red pencil; each pt. bears the no. '33' on it; 4<sup>o</sup> greenish paper of unknown origin (watermark: a coat-of-arms); dup. bass pt. by another copyist on other paper; origin of source: possibly an authentic *MS.* (R's activity as a copyist for Haydn begins in the early 1780's), c. 1780-85 (?).

(3) *MS.* parts by Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Collection?), same cat. no.; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 24); Kees cop. has written all the pts. and dup. vln. I, II and bass; another cop. has prepared dup. vln. I & II, and a 3rd the dup. vla.; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85 (?).

(4) *MS.* parts, VNat: see No. 62, source 3.

(5) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 836; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown (local?) origin (watermarks illegible); several copyists; source prob. of local origin, c. 1785-95 (?).

(6) *MS.* parts, Seitenstetten, dated 1795; 4<sup>o</sup> Upper or Lower Austrian paper (watermarks: IV, 6); 2 clarinet pts. added as substitute for ob. on Italian paper (I, 1, 22); source of local origin.

(7) *MS.* parts, Stams, cat. L I, 59; 4<sup>o</sup> Tyrolean paper (watermarks: VII, 2); source of local origin, c. 1785-90 (?).

(8) *MS.* parts, Stams, cat. L I, 57; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: crowned coat-of-arms); source of unknown origin, end of 18th cent.

(9) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 51, source 5.

(10) *MS.* parts, Venice Cons.: see No. 51, source 6.

*Additional MS. sources:* (11) Zwettl; (12) Modena, cat. D. 137 (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 62), c. 1780-1800; (13) Milan, cat. 5585/31: 'Sinfonia concertanta'; local copy, end of 18th cent.; (14) Donau-Eschingen; (15) Schwerin; (16) score from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 6646; (17) score from Alois Fuchs Coll., Göttsweig (19th cent.).

(18) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1782; see No. 62, source 18.

(19) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1784; 'Simphonie Périodique' No. 12 (pl. no. 253).

(20) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1810: see No. 6, source 10.

*Critical edition:* none.

### No. 75

I.  ; Presto, D, 4/4.

II. Poco Adagio, G, 3/4.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto, D, 3/4.

IV. Vivace, D, C.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1780. Earliest ref.: Göttsweig, 1781 (cat.).

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., (2 clarini, timp.) str., solo. vln.; the trpts. & timp., though their authenticity is not absolutely certain, appear to have been added later by Haydn; they are included in the early Hummel print, Kees cat., and important Harburg and VNat (4) *MSS.*

*Cat. ref.:* EK/II, p. 26; Kees, No. 57: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini / Tympani, Flauto'; HV 55 (tempo: 'Moderato'); Herzogenburg cat., with clarini & timp. (pts. lost); Br. cat. 1782/83/84: see source 12; Göttsweig cat., p. 867: 'Synphonia / 2 Violinis / 2 Obois Flauti / 2 Corni Fagotto / Viole Violonzello / Basso / Comp R P / Marianus 1781' (source lost).

*Authentic source:* (1).

## Appendix I

### Sources:

- (1) *MS.* parts, partly by Joseph Elssler and partly by various other copyists, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 82; title (Elssler): '[theme] / Sinfonia in D. / à 2 Violinis in duplo / Viola oblig. / Flauto obl. / Fagotto obl. / 2 obbis [sic] obl. / 2 Cornii obl. / Violoncello o Violone. / Del Sigre giuseppe Haydn. / Partes 13.'; vln. I, II and violone in dup.; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); cor. I & II on other (Italian?) paper; on a vln. I pt. 'Sigre Luigi' (i. e. Tomasini, H's concert-master), and on a vln. II pt. the pencilled remark 'Ross[etti]'; source used by Haydn's hand; it was, in any case, written before or during 1782, in which year Joseph Elssler died.
  - (2) *MS.* parts, partly by Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8505; pts. for fl., 2 ob., (fag. pt. missing, cf. Kees cat!), 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str.; orig. pts. on 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: coat-of-arms with heart and letters 'HI' ['IH?']); dup. str. pts. on Italian paper (I, 1, 4, 24), written by a 2nd copyist, vln. I dup. (3rd copy) by a 3rd copyist; source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-85(?).
  - (3) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 961; with pts. for 2 clarini & timp.; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 43); source of Viennese origin, c. 1780-90(?); pts. for 2 clarinets by a local copyist on local paper.
  - (4) *MS.* parts, VNat, cat. s. m. 23117 'No 5. / 3<sup>te</sup> Sinfonia in D...' with pts. for 2 clarini & timp.; Viennese source, end of 18th cent.(?).
  - (5) *MS.* parts, VNat: see No. 62, source 3 (no trpt. & timp.).
  - (6) *MS.* parts, VNat, cat. s. m. 21978; apparently incomplete, i. e. lacking fag. pt. (no trpts. & timp.); from 'Gesang u. Musikverein, St. Pölten', but source of Viennese origin, end of 18th cent.(?).
  - (7) *MS.* parts, Kremsmünster, cat. H 4, 47; no trpts. & timp.; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster mill (watermarks: III, 22, 23); source of local origin, c. 1780-90(?).
  - (8) *MS.* parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 51, source 5 (no trpts. & timp.).
  - (9) *MS.* parts, Modena, cat. D. 131; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 25, 43); with pts. for 2 clarini & timp.; source prob. of Viennese origin, c. 1790-1800(?).
- Additional MS. sources:* (10) Schwerin; (11) score & pts. from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll. (c. 1820 or later: watermark 'GEBR. KIESLING' identical with that of aut. of Schubert's Symphony in B minor - 'Unfinished'), GdM, XIII, 8505.
- (12) Printed parts, Hummel, Amsterdam-Berlin, c. 1782: see No. 62, source 18; with trpt. & timp: 'Corno o Tromba' I, II.
  - (13) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1784(?); 'Simphonie Périodique' No. 10 (pl. no. 251).
  - (14) Printed parts, Bland, London, c. 1784; title: 'No. [3] / ... The Favorite / Sinfonie / as Performed at the Nobilitys Concert. / For a Grand / Orchestre / ... London, Printed for J. Bland, No 45 Holborn...'. Proof of the fact that this is a reprint of Hummel is the footnote: 'Haydns Sym. 1st from Op. 18'. Some copies contain the note: 'N. B. This Sinfonia was play'd for the Benefit of the Musical Fund 1783'. Title (and pl. no.): 'Sinfonia III' ('No. 3'). Pts., as in Hummel, for 'Corno o Tromba' I, II. Copy in BM, g. 474. b. (3). Reprint by Forster, using Bland's plates, c. 1810: pl. no. 156. Also reprinted by J. Schmitt, Amsterdam, c. 1785(?), using Bland's plates but with a new title page ('Sinfonie / Periodique / à / Plusieurs Parties... N<sup>ro</sup> XII / à Amsterdam / Chez J: Schmitt / Marchand de Musique, dans le Warmoes-Straat': copy in Marburg, 233,049). Schmitt simply imported copies of the Bland edition and added his own cover. Another copy, in the Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt, includes Bland's (!) catalogue.
  - (15) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14; without trpts. & timp.
  - (16) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1810: see No. 6, source 10; without trpts. & timp.

## Appendix I

(17) Printed parts, André, Offenbach (19th cent.); 'Symphonie Périodique' No. 6 (pl. no. 5130); copy in GdM, XIII, 8505; with trpts. and timp.

(18) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn (19th cent.).  
Critical edition: none.

No. 76



II. Adagio cantabile, ma non troppo, B flat, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, E flat, 3/4.

IV. Allegro, ma non troppo, E flat, C.

Date of comp.: c. 1782. Earliest ref.: H's letter of Jan. 27, 1783 (unpub.) to Artaria: see Chapter X, n. 48.

Scoring: 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

Cat. ref.: EK/II, p. 28; Kees, No. 68 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Fagotti, / Flauto']; HV 67 (tempo: 'Moderato'); Br. cat. 1782/83/84: see source 15.

### Authentic MSS.\*

(1) MS. parts by Johann Radnitzky and Joseph, Jr and/or Johann Elssler, together with several other copyists, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 83; no title page extant; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); the finale added on other Italian paper, apparently later, in all pts.; there are *in toto* 2 vln. I, 3 vln. II, 2 vla., 3 vcl.-bass, 2 'Flauto' (1 dup.), 2 'Fagotti' (both pts. on 1 pt., i. e. 1 dup.), and single pts. for ob. I, II and cor. I, II. Possibly there were once two complete sets. Numerous additions by Haydn: the tempo for 2nd (and occasionally other) movt(s), one whole page of a bass part ('Menuet' & Trio, fol. 52 verso), and various dynamic marks and phrasings. Source used by Haydn's band.

(2) MS. parts written and signed by Johann Radnitzky ('Rky' or 'Radnitzky' at end of most pts.), BM, cat. Egerton 2379; the engraving source for Forster's print (source 5), entered in Forster's account book as having arrived on Feb. 14, 1784; title page in Haydn's hand: upper edge of paper, 3/4 towards r. 'in Es'; in middle, 'Sinfonia' to which is added (by Forster) 'Ovt. No. 4'; 5/8 from top, on r. hand side, 'di me giuseppe Haydn' (m. p.); top r. corner, Forster's note, 22 Pl[ates]; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); various additions by Haydn throughout MS.

(3) MS. parts, partly written and signed ('Rky') by Johann Radnitzky; other parts corrected and signed by him (i. e. source from Radnitzky 'Werkstatt'); GdM (Kees Collection?), cat. XIII, 8515; no title page; R. wrote fl., ob. I, II, 'Fagotti', cor. I, II; from R. 'Werkstatt', corrected by R.: vln. I, II, vla. and a dup. 'Fagotti'; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 12, 18, 20, 25); dup.: 2 vln. I (one added not much later, one at end of cent.), 2 vln. II (ditto) and 2 vcl.-cb. (ditto); source of Viennese origin, c. 1783(?).

(4) MS. parts, partly written and signed ('Rky') by Johann Radnitzky; other pts. corrected and signed by him (i. e. source from Radnitzky 'Werkstatt'), GdM, cat. XIII, 8515; no title page; R. wrote vla., fag. I, fag. II, cor. I, cor. II and corrected all the other parts (signature usually in pencil); dup. vln. I and II written at same time; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper of two types (watermarks: a, I, 1, 30, 81; b, I, 1, 15, 18, the b type Venetian); apparently an authentic source, c. 1783(?).

### Authentic prints:

(5) Printed parts, Forster, London, 1784; title: see No. 70, source 2; (Overture IV); also issued as 'A Grand / Overture / in parts. / No. IV. / Perform'd at the / Professional / and other / Public Concerts...' pub. no. 40; copies in BM, g. 212. (5.) and Manchester.

\* Concerning this new method of separating the sources, see foreword to Appendix I.

## Appendix I

(6) Printed parts of Nos. 76-78, Boyer, Paris, 1783 [probably together with Nadermann]; title: 'Nouvelle Suite / de Symphonies / A Grand et petit Orchestre. / Composées / Par différent Auteurs / dédiées / à Monsieur Le Baron de Bagge / [etc.] / No 1 Contenant trois Symphonies / Par J. Haydn / Oeuvre 37<sup>e</sup>...' (copy in Paris Nat. H 251 a-j); authenticity on basis of Haydn's letters to Boyer and Nadermann (see p. 51). Einsiedeln owns a copy of the Boyer with a simplified title page (no dedication).

Bossler announced an edition of Nos. 76-78 in 1783 (see p. 51); no copy could be located, and we do not know if Bossler really printed the works.

### Secondary MSS. (parts):

(7) Kremsmünster; (8) Seitenstetten, 1786; (9) Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 49 (Viennese paper: 'I. HELLER' with Austrian eagle); (10) Bst (Marburg), <sup>9992</sup>/<sub>7</sub>; (11) Modena, F. 551 (comp. early copy; I, 1, 4, 12); (12) Florence, D. XI. 47; (13) score from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8515, c. 1810-20 (?); (14) Stockholm, score.

### Secondary prints (selection):

(15) Printed parts of Nos. 76-78, Torricella, Vienna, (Op. 38); c. 1783/84 (Br. cat. 1782/83/84, p. 7; *Wiener Zeitung*, December 15, 1784, but announcement in W. Z., July 24, 1782 of 'La Chasse' and 5 other sym. may refer in part to these 3 works); title: 'Trois=Simphonies / pour 2 Viol, 2 Oboe, 2 Cors, 1 [!] Fagott, 1 Flaut, Viola et / Basso / Composés par / M<sup>r</sup> = JOS = HEYDN / Dediee / A Son Altesse Monseigneur le / Prince Nicola D'Esterhazy / [etc., etc.] / Publiés, et se vendent a Vienna ches Christoph Torricella.' Copies in Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 700, VSt M. 12142/c, etc.; after Torricella's bankruptcy, Artaria acquired the plates and re-issued the set under pl. no. 122; in 1789, the 3 works were issued separately under the title(s): 'Grand / Simphonie / A / Plusieurs Instruments' Nos. 5, 6 & 7 with pl. nos. 257, 258 and 259. Torricella's engraver was Joseph Zahradniczek.

(16) Printed parts of Nos. 77, 78 and 76 (in that order), Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1784-85 (Gerber, however, dates the set 1787); title: 'Trois Simphonies / A Grand Orchestre / Dediées / A Madame / la Marquise du Chasteler / Née Hasselaar / Par l'Editeur J. J. Hummel. / Composées par / M<sup>r</sup> Giuseppe Haydn / Oeuvre XXII'; in an ornate frame: 2 cherubs above, holding coat-of-arms, 2 beneath, that on left with flute, that on right with gamba; 'No 581. / Prix f4-10...'; pl. no. 581. Copies in BM, h. 656, p. (6.) and Copenhagen. From internal evidence, it is possible that these prints are based on authentic MSS. furnished by Haydn.

(17) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1790-93 (?); probably a reprint of source 16, since Sieber also brought them out in the order, 77, 78, 76, but poss. a reprint of Boyer-Nadermann; issued as Nos. 35, 36 and 37 of Sieber's Haydn series ('Simphonie Périodique'), pl. nos. 1244, 1281 and 1246 (poss. added much later!).

Critical edition: none.

† No. 77



II. Andante sostenuto, F, 3/8.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegro, B flat, 3/4.

IV. Allegro, B flat, 2/4, changed by H. in source 2 to 'Allegro spiritoso'.

Date of comp.: c. 1782: see comment to No. 76.

Scoring: 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

Cat. ref.: EK/II, p. 28; Kees, No. 67: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Fagotti, / Flauto'; HV 66 (tempo: 'Con Spirito'); Br. cat. 1782/83/84: see source 17.

*Authentic MSS.:*

(2) *MS.* parts, written and signed by Johann Radnitzky ('Rky' or 'Radnitzky' at end of most pts.), BM, cat. Egerton 2335; the engraving source for Forster's print (source 3), entered in Forster's account book as having arrived on Feb. 24, 1784; title page in Haydn's hand: upper r. corner — 'in b fa', in middle — 'Sinfonia', underneath and to r. — 'di me giuseppe Haydn' (m.p.); oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); various additions by Haydn (see tempo of IV, above).

*Authentic prints:*

(4) Printed parts, Boyer-Nadernann, Paris, 1783: see No. 76, source 6.

*Secondary MSS. (parts):*

(5) Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Coll.?), XIII, 8514 — important source on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 4, 24); dup. str. pts. by another copyist on other paper; (6) Harburg, III, 41½, fol. 672 (local copy); (7) Göttweig, 1st perf. (on back cover) 1785; (8) Melk, IV, 72; (9) Seitenstetten, dated 'Sub P. M: Hoffmann / 1786'; (10) Stams, L I, 46, dated 1786; (11) Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 50 (Viennese paper: 'I. HEL-LEB' with Austrian eagle); (12) score and incomp. pts., Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8514 (c. 1810-20 ?); (13) Schwerin; (14) Modena, F. 551: watermarks, &c. as in No. 76, source 11; (15) Florence, D. XI. 46; (16) Stockholm, score.

*Secondary prints (selection):*

(19) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1850-55 (?). See Naxos, 1997, 1998.  
*Critical edition:* Music Press (Einstein: out of print), N. Y., based on source 2, with many minor and some major errors.

† No. 78



II. Adagio, E flat, 2/4.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto, C, 3/4.

IV. Presto, c-C, 2/4.

*Date of comp.*: c. 1782: see comment to No. 76.

Scoring: 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.  
*Cat. ref.:* EK/II, p. 28; Kees, No. 69 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Fagotti, / Flauto'];  
 HV 68; Br. cat. 1782/83/84: see source 18.

*Authentic MSS.:*

(1) MS. parts, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 85; title: 'Symphonie in C minore / a /  
2 Violini. / 2 Obois. / 2 Corni. / Flauto traverso. / 2 Fagotti. / Viola. / Violon-

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zello e Basso / Del Sig Giuseppe Haydn'; 4° paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible: possibly Viennese paper from firm of Heller?); source appears to be an archive copy: it bears no signs of use or correction, though the copyist is one known to us through other EH sources.

(2) *MS.* parts, written and signed by Johann Radnitzky ('Rky' or 'Radnitzky' at end of most pts.), BM, cat. Egerton 2335; the engraving source for Forster's print (source 4), entered in Forster's account book as having arrived on May 6, 1784; title page in Haydn's hand: upper r. corner — 'in C minore'; in middle — 'Sinfonia', underneath and to r. — 'di me giuseppe Haydn[mp]ria'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); various additions and corrections by Haydn.

(3) *MS.* parts, partly written by Johann Radnitzky; other pts. written by two other copyists (one poss. Radnitzky's brother), but corrected by R. (i. e. from R's 'Werkstatt'), Harburg, cat. III, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ , fol. 803; parts in wrong cover (Rosetti, altered to H.); 4° Italian paper (I, 1, 4, 18 — Venetian — or I, 1, 4, 6, 24 — prob. Venetian); dup. str. pts. by local copyist on German paper; authentic source, one of the many H. sent to Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein; c. 1784(?).

### Authentic prints:

(4) Printed parts, Forster, London, 1784; title: see No. 70, source 2; (Overture VI); also issued as 'A Grand / Overture / in parts. / No. VI. / Perform'd at the / Professional / and other / Public Concerts . . .'; pub. no. 42; copies in BM, g. 474. b. (6.) and Manchester.

(5) Printed parts, Boyer-Nadernann, Paris, 1783: see No. 76, source 6.

### Secondary MSS. (parts):

(6) GdM (Kees Coll.?), XIII, 8516; (7) Göttweig, 1st perf. (on back cover) 1785; (8) Seitenstetten, dated 'Sub P: M: Hoffmann. / 1786.'; (9) *MS.* parts to Nos. 78, 81 and 91, Venice Marciana, cat. It. IV, 1273 (10912), entitled 'a 12 Parti N:º 3 Concertoni o / Sinfonie Del Sig:º Giuseppe Haydn.'; 4° Venetian paper (I, 39); source of local origin, c. 1790(?); (10) Harburg, III, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 4° 100 (local copy?); (11) Melk, IV, 87 — 2 cop. (a) Viennese copy (b) from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.; (12) Kremsmünster, H 3, 39 — Viennese copy; (13) Modena, F. 551: watermarks, &c. as in No. 76, source 11; (14) Florence; (15) score & pts., Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8516 (c. 1810-20?); (16) Bst (Marburg),  $\frac{9992}{8}$ ; (17) Stockholm, score.

### Secondary prints (selection):

(18) Printed parts, Torricella, c. 1783/84: see No. 76, source 15.

(19) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam: see No. 76, source 16.

(20) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1790-93(?): see No. 76, source 17.

*Critical edition:* none. Score by Broude Bros., N. Y., a photographic off-set print of Rieter-Biedermann, with many grave errors.

## No. 79



II. Adagio cantabile, B flat, 3/4; Un poco Allegro, C.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto, F, 3/4.

IV. Vivace, F, 2/4.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1783/84. Earliest ref.: H's letter to Artaria, Nov. 20, 1784.

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK, missing; Kees, No. 73 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Flauto / Fagotti?']; HV 72 (tempo: 'poco Allo:'); Br. cat. 1785/86/87: see source 5.



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### Authentic MSS.:

(1) *MS.* parts, partly by Johann Elssler (vla. poss. by Joseph, Jr), EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 86; no title (1st p. of bass part serves; on the top r. corner the pencilled remark, 'in Duplo', suggesting that EH once owned another copy); 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); vln. I, II and bass in dup., copied at same time; wind pts. by a 3rd copyist; a few minor corrections, poss. by Haydn; source may have been used by Haydn's band, but no indications of perf. visible from photographs.

(2) *MS.* parts by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler and a 2nd copyist, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 51; no title; Elssler wrote vln. I, II & bass on 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 20, 26), other copyist wrote remaining pts. on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian (Venetian?) paper (I, 1, 4, 24); an authentic *MS.*, c. 1783/84 (?); dup. str. pts. and score by local copyist.

(3) *MS.* parts by Johann or Joseph Elssler, Jr and Johann Radnitzky, Harburg, cat. III, 41<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, fol. 847; no title; there are *in toto* 4 copyists on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 12 or I, 1, 4, 22): Elssler — vln. I, II; Radnitzky — fl. and fag.; 3rd copyist — viola; 4th copyist — ob. I, II, cor. I, II and bass; authentic *MS.*, c. 1783/84 (?); set laid in subst. title; dup. bass pt. by local copyist.

(4) *MS.* parts, incomplete, by Johann or Joseph Elssler, Jr and Johann Radnitzky, Milan, cat. 5585/12; Elssler wrote vln. I, II and bass, Radnitzky the vla. pts.; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 11); incompl. authentic *MS.*, c. 1783/84 (?).

### Authentic prints:

(5) Printed parts of Nos. 80, 79 and 81 (in that order), Artaria, Vienna: *MSS.* sent by Haydn in late 1784 or early 1785; the print appeared in March, 1785 (*Wiener Zeitung*, March 12, 1785; *Wiener Real-Zeitung* No. 13, 1785; Br. cat. 1785/86/87, p. 6); the three issued separately, at first as Op. 38 (No. 80), Op. 39 (No. 79) and Op. 40 (No. 81) — thus the announcement in the *Real-Zeitung*, and in this form the works were exported to Le Duc in Paris, where they were issued with a French title page ('Grande / Symphonie / A plusieurs Instruments / Composée / par Joseph Haydn / Oeuvre [38, 39 or 40] / A Paris...'); the whole edition was bought from Artaria and only the title page printed in Paris (the watermarks of the Le Duc edition — a copy is in the Paris Cons. — are identical with those of the extant copies of Artaria: I, 1, 19, and 'SOT IMPERIAL' over 'AR', Venetian paper, cf. I, 17 [variant], 21 and Heawood Nos. 876, 884); Artaria then issued them as Op. 40, Nos. 1, 2 and 3 (Nos. 79, 80, 81) with the title page as before: 'Grand / Symphonie / A / Plusieurs Instruments'. Copies in GdM and Vienna Stadtbibliothek, M 12134/c (Cappi reprint). Issued 1801-1804 by Cappi, and also by Mollo in 1804.

Haydn offered these symphonies to Nadermann (see No. 76, source 6), Boyer's successor; but as no copies by either firm seem to be extant, it may be assumed that Artaria's print had already reached Paris by the time Haydn attempted to sell them there. An announcement in the *Wiener Zeitung* of February 1785 (Artaria-Botstiber, pp. 32 f.) indicates that Torricella intended to publish these three 'quite new symphonies by Haydn, which will leave the press in a few days'; since no copies of this print are extant, it is plausible to assume that Artaria managed to get his authentic edition out before Torricella could issue his pirated one.

### Secondary MSS. (parts):

(6) Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Coll.?), XIII, 8403 (Italian paper: I, 1, 4, 22, 24); (7) Seitenstetten, 'No 5. / Sub P: M: H[offmann] / 1787.'; (8) VNat, s. m. 21979 (St. Pölten 'Gesang u. Musikverein'); (9) Milan, 5585/12, a Viennese source (on title page, the remark '26 Bögen'); (10) score, Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8403 (c. 1800-10?); (11) Stockholm, score.

### Secondary prints (selection):

(12) Printed parts of Nos. 79, 81 and 80 (in that order), Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1784/85 (Gerber, however, dates 1788); title: 'Trois Symphonies, / à Grand Orchestre. / composées / par / M<sup>r</sup>. Joseph Haydn. / Oeuvre XXIV...'; pl. no. for

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all three: 593; copies in BM, h. 656. p. (7.), and Paris Cons., H 116 a-g. From internal evidence, it is possible that Hummel received authentic MSS. from which to engrave, though no proof for this exists.

(13) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1790-93 (?); issued as 'Simphonie Périodique' No. 38 (No. 80, no pl. no.), 39 (No. 79, pl. no. 1284) and 40 (No. 81, pl. no. 1260), the pl. nos. poss. added much later; probably a reprint of Artaria via Le Duc, as the order of the 3 works is identical.

(14) Printed parts, Bland, London, c. 1784; title: 'No. 6 / To be Continued / The Favorite / Sinfonie / as Performed at the Nobilitys Concert. / For a Grand / Orchestre / . . . Bland, No. 45 Holborn'. Copy in BM, g. 474. b. (6.). *The appearance of No. 79 in Bland's edition may be the reason why it was not printed in Forster's original series.* Forster reprinted it, however, in c. 1810, using Bland's plates; same pl. no. (i. e.: 'Haydn's Sym: No. 6').

*Critical edition:* none.

† No. 80

*Allegro spiritoso*



II. Adagio, B flat, C.

III. Menuetto & Trio, d, 3/4; D, 3/4.

IV. Presto, D, 2/4.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1783/84. Earliest ref.: H's letter to Artaria, Nov. 20, 1784.

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK, missing; Kees, No. 71: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Flauto / Fagotti'; HV 70 (tempo: 'molto Vivace'); Br. cat. 1782/83/84: see source 3; Göttweig cat., p. 869: 'Comp. R P / Virgilius', n. d.

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) MS. parts by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, BM, cat. Egerton 2379; the engraving source for Forster's print (source 4); entered in Forster's account book as having arrived on Dec. 6, 1784; title page in Haydn's hand: 'Sinfonia in D la Sol re minore' (referring to several works sent to Forster) / 'di me giuseppe Haydn [mp]ria'; on upper r. corner Forster has written 'Nov 8th 1784', referring to a contract, made with Haydn on that day, which included No. 80 (contract now in BM, Egerton 2380, fol. 12); oblong 'small post-paper' (kleines Post-Papier); almost no corrections by Haydn.

(2) MS. parts by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler and 2nd copyist, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 52; no title; Elssler wrote vln. I & II on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 12), the other copyist wrote remaining pts. (format and watermarks as in No. 79, source 2); an authentic MS., c. 1783/84(?); dup. str. pts. 2nd movt. by local copyist.

### Authentic prints:

(3) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1785: see No. 79, source 5.

(4) Printed parts, Forster, London, 1785; originally issued together with No. 81 and the Overture II, 14 ('Armida', 1784) as 'Three Favorite Simphonies in eight parts, for violins, hoboyes, horns, tenor and bass . . . Op. [39]'; general pub. no. 45; separately issued as 'A Grand Overture in parts. No. 9. Perform'd at the Professional and other Public Concerts . . .' or as 'A Favorite Overture in all its parts Composed by Giuseppe Hayden . . . published with his authority . . .' (Overture IX); No. 81 also with one or the other title: Overture VII, copy of the set in Manchester; No. 80, Manchester and BM, g. 75. c. (4.); No. 81, BM, g. 75. c. (2.). Original address: 348, Strand; later (c. 1803-16) reprints: No. 22, York St., Westminster.

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### Secondary MSS. (parts):

- (5) Partly by Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Coll.?), XIII, 8518 on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 4, 24) — important source, c. 1783/85; numerous dup. str. pts. on various types of paper;  
 (6) GdM XIII, 8515, Viennese source with 7 vln. I, 7 vln. II, 4 vla., 7 vcl.-cb., single woodwind and double cor., with pts. for 2 clarini and timp., obviously spurious; on a vln. I pt. 'Sigr Hofmann', on a bass pt. 'Sigr Weigl', both in red pencil; source appears to date from end of 18th or beginning of 19th cent.;  
 (7) VNat, s. m. 21980 ('Gesang u. Musikverein', St. Pölten); (8) Seitenstetten, 'Sub P: M: Hoffmann / 1787'; (9) Bst (Marburg), <sup>9982</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, a score on oblong Italian paper formerly in the Artaria archives; (10) Venice Marciana, It. IV, 1729 (11658); (11) Göttsweig, from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., 19th cent.; (12) Donau-Eschingen; (13) score, Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM, c. 1820 (?); (14) Stockholm, score; (15) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

### Secondary prints (selection):

- (16) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1784/85: see No. 79, source 12.  
 (17) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1790-93 (?): see No. 79, source 13.  
 (18) Printed parts, 'A Grand Overture, in Parts', etc., W. Napier, London; copy in Royal College of Music, London, LIX. B. 5. (3.).  
*Critical edition:* none. Score (Einstein), Universal Edition, Vienna, based on source 1, but with grave errors (appogg. all wrongly written).

† No. 81



II. Andante, D, 6/8.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto, G, 3/4.

IV. Allegro, ma non troppo: G, 4.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1783/84. Earliest ref.: H's letter to Artaria, Nov. 20, 1784.

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/II, p. 28; Kees, No. 72 ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Flauto / Fagotti']; HV 71 (tempo: 'Allo: Spiritoso'); Göttsweig cat., p. 866, 'Comp RP Marianus 1784' (parts lost); Br. cat. 1785/86/87: see source 5.

### Authentic MSS.:

- (1) *MS.* parts, mostly by Johann Radnitzky, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 87; no title page; bass part missing; vln. II by a 2nd, vla. by a 3rd copyist; vla. pt. on different paper, all other parts on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 22); no marks of perf. discernable from photograph, but *MS.* may have been played by Haydn's band (or it was an archive copy).  
 (2) *MS.* parts by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, BM, cat. Egerton 2379; the engraving source for Forster's print (source 6), entered in Forster's account book as having arrived on Nov. 22, 1784; title page in Haydn's hand: 'Sinfonia in g Sol re ut.' (referring to several works sent to Forster) / 'di me giuseppe Haydn [m]pria'; on upper r. corner Forster has written 'Nov 8th 1784' (see No. 80, source 1); oblong 'small post-paper' (kleines Post-Papier); almost no corrections by Haydn.  
 (3) *MS.* parts by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 52; no title; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 24); an authentic *MS.*, c. 1783/84(?); dup. str. pts. and score by local copyist.  
 (4) *MS.* parts, partly by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 692; complete *MS.* by local copyist; vln. I, II and bass by Elssler on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian

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paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); there appear to be two explanations for this peculiar state of affairs: (a) the Elssler pts. represent the remaining sections of a now lost MS. or (b) Prince Kraft Ernst ordered just these parts from Haydn, to be able to have the principal parts in 'Urtext', as it were.

### Authentic prints:

- (5) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1785: see No. 79, source 5.
- (6) Printed parts, Forster, London, 1785: see No. 80, source 4.

### Secondary MSS. (parts):

(7) Kees copyist, GdM (Kees Coll.?), XIII, 6161 on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 4, 6, 13 or I, 1, 4, 22, 24) — important source, c. 1783/85; dup. vln. I, II and bass by Kees copyist, vln. I (3rd copy) by another copyist on other paper; (8) GdM XIII, 6161 by two copyists on two types of 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 4, 22 or no watermarks visible), source of Viennese origin, c. 1785; (9) GdM XIII, 6161 by one copyist on 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: large crowned fleur-de-lys and letters 'H BLUM'); on ob. I 'Symphonie ex G / par Mr. Hayd[n] / Henker[?]' source of unknown (French?) origin, 18th cent.; (10) Seitenstetten, c. 1787; (11) Venice Marciana: see No. 78, source 9; (12) Donau-Eschingen; (13) Stockholm, score; (14) Göttweig, score (19th cent.); (15) score, Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 6161 (c. 1810-20?); (16) Washington: see No. 22, Version II, source 2.

### Secondary prints (selection):

- (17) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1784/85: see No. 79, source 12.
  - (18) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1790-93(?) : see No. 79, source 13.
- Critical edition: none.

† No. 82



- II. Allegretto, F, 2/4.
- III. Menuetto & Trio, C, 3/4.
- IV. Vivace, C, 2/4.

Date of comp.: 1786 (autograph); composed for the Loge Olympique, Paris.

Scoring: 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor. (C alto?) or clarini, timp., str.

Cat. ref.: EK, missing; Kees, No. 80: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini / Fagotti, Flauto, Tympani'; HV 78 (tempo: 'Spiritoso').

'L'Ours', designation added in Paris, end of 18th or beginning of 19th cent.

Sketch: One page from the 3rd movt., meas. 63 ff., Breitkopf & Härtel (C. E. I/9, p. 308).

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) Autograph. Paris Cons., cat. Ms. 137; title: 'Sinfonia in C / di me giuseppe Haydn 786'; at head of 1st p. of music: 'In Nomine Domini'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 24), 31 × 23 cm., 69 pages; at end of MS.: 'Finis. Laus Deo'; this autograph, like those of all the 'Paris' symphonies and Nos. 90-92, originally belonged to the Comte d'Ogny, and was sold, according to a note on the MS., 'provenant [de] la vente du feu Cte. d'ogny le 10 février 1791'; H. writes for 2 Corni in C o Clarini but uses pedal notes in the bass clef, which can only be played by horns. For instr., see C. E.

(2) MS. parts by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, BM, cat. Egerton 2379; the engraving source for Forster's print (source 6); it arrived in London on Dec. 3, 1787 (H. offered 82-87 to Forster in a letter of April 8, 1787); title page in Haydn's hand: 'Sinfonia Ima del giuseppe Haydn [mp]ria'; oblong paper; corrections by Haydn in various parts; no 'clarino' pts. specified, only 'Corno Primo in C' and 'Corno 2<sup>do</sup> in C'.

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(3) MS. parts by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 88; pts. for 1 fl., 2 ob., 'Fagotti', 2 cor., str. (timp. missing); 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); source apparently used by Haydn's band.

### Authentic prints:

(4) Printed parts of Nos. 82-87, Artaria, Vienna, 1787 (announced in *Wiener Zeitung* of Dec. 19, 1787; negotiations with Artaria in H's letters of June 21st, July 12th, etc.; cf. 'Chronology', Chapter XI); Nos. 82, 83 & 84 issued as Op. 51 (pl. no. 148), Nos. 85, 86 & 87 as Op. 52 (pl. no. 149); copies of these were immediately shipped to Longman & Broderip, London, who issued them with his own title page: 'Three Symphonies for a Grand Orchestre... Dedicated to... the Prince of Wales... Op. 51' (announced in *The Times*, Jan. 1, 1788); 'Three Symphonies [etc.] Dedicated to... the Duke of York... Op. 52' (1788); copies of Artaria prints in Vienna Stadtbibliothek, M. 12143/c and M 12144/c; copies of Longman & Broderip reprints in BM, g. 212. (1.) and (2.); Artaria re-issued all six works separately in 1789 ('Grand / Symphonie / A / Plusieurs Instruments' Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 & 13, pl. nos. 260-265). Re-issued after 1798 by Mollo, some by Cappi (after 1801).

(5) Printed parts of Nos. 82-87, Imbault, Paris, January, 1788: announcement in *Mercure de France*, 26 January, p. 192, which reads: 'Ces Symphonies, du plus beau caractère & d'une facture étonnante, ne peuvent manquer d'être recherchées avec le plus vif empressement par ceux qui ont eu le bonheur de les entendre, & même par ceux qui ne les connoissent pas. Le nom d' Hay[d]n répond de leur mérite extraordinaire'; title: 'Du Répertoire / de la Loge Olympique / Six / Sinfonies / a Divers Instruments / composées par / J. HAYDN / Oeuvre 51 / Gravé d'après les Partitions originales / appartenant à la Loge Olympique / [etc.]'; pl. nos. 152-157, issued in the order: Nos. 83, 87, 85 (entitled on print 'La Reine de France'), 82, 86, 84; copies in Paris Nat., Venice Cons., Sándor Wolf Museum (Eisenstadt), etc. Imbault later (c. 1793-95) added Nos. 90, 92 and 91 as Op. 51, Nos. 7-9.

(6) Printed parts of Nos. 82-87, issued separately by Forster, London, 1788; general title: 'No. [X, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XI] / A Grand / Overture / in parts / Perform'd at the Professional / and other Public Concerts / Compos'd by Giuseppe Haydn / and Publish'd / by this Authority... ' (pl. nos. 77, 79, 80, 81, 82, 78); copies of all except No. 87 in Manchester; No. 87 in BM, h. 3210. (10.).

### Secondary MSS. (selection)\*:

(7) Parts, GdM (Kees Coll.?) XIII, 6660 — incomplete, lacking woodwind and cor. pts.; (8) score, Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM, same cat. no.; with 'clarini' (= cor. in I, III, IV); these and timp. pt. crossed out and completely re-written in 19th cent.; (9) parts, Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 878 (local source).

### Secondary prints (selection):

(10) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1788; Nos. 85, 83, 87, 86, 82 & 84 (in that order) issued as 'Simphonie Périodique' Nos. 21-26, pl. nos. 462-467; titles 'L'Ours', 'La Poule' and 'La Reine' appear in Sieber's thematic catalogue of H's syms.; the whole set probably reprint of source 5.

(11) Printed parts of Nos. 82-87, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1789; order of works as in Sieber; title, in ornate frame, instruments above, man standing in lower right corner: 'Simphonie / a / grand orchestre / Composée / Par / Mr Giuseppe Haydn / Oeuvre XXVIII. Libro [I-VI] / N.º 633 prix f. 1.10 / Chés J. J. Hummel / à Berlin avec privilège du Roi, à Amsterdam au grand Magazin de

\* Most MS. sources of Nos. 82-104 found in the Austrian monasteries, etc. are copies of prints; some even bear the opus number and publisher (thus, the Kremsmünster MSS. of Nos. 82-87 are copies of Artaria's Op. 51 and 52). There is no point in listing these sources, since their textual value is *nil*, and for Nos. 87-104, only MSS. which appear *not* to be copies of prints have been included in this catalogue. Similarly the numerous 19th cent. prints, such as Simrock, have been omitted; whereas such prints might have a textual significance for early works for which there are often inadequate authentic sources, they are of no importance for these works, for which we have many authentic MSS. and prints.

## Appendix I

Musique et aux Adresses ordinaires'. Pl. no. 633. Copy of No. 85 (Libro I) in Bst (Marburg), 217461.

*Critical editions:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 9, pp. 1-55, based on sources 1 & 2; Eulenburg No. 488 (Praetorius) is not based on satisfactory sources.

† No. 83 (81a)



II. Andante, E flat, 3/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, G, 3/4.

IV. Vivace, G, 12/8.

*Date of comp.:* 1785 (autograph); composed for the Loge Olympique, Paris.

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/III (Kees), No. 81: 'Sinfonia, ut No 78.' (Haydn has added the tempo 'con garbo'); Kees, No. 81 (as above, without tempo); HV 79 (tempo: 'Con Garbo'). 'La Poule', designation added in Paris, end of 18th or beginning of 19th cent.

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) **Autograph**, Paris Nat., cat. Réserve Vm<sup>7</sup>, 541; title: 'Sinfonia in g minore / di me giuseppe Haydn 785'; at head of 1st p. of music: 'In Nomine Domini di me giuseppe Haydn'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 24), 31 (32) × 22,5 (23) cm., 62 pages; at end of MS.: 'Finis [Fine?] Laus Deo'; this aut. originally belonged to the Comte d'Ogny. For instr., see C. E.

(2) *MS.* parts by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, BM, cat. Egerton 2379; the engraving source for Forster's print (source 6); it arrived in London on Dec. 3, 1787 (H. offered 82-87 to Forster in a letter of April 8, 1787); bass part signed by Haydn; oblong paper; corrections by Haydn in various parts; 2nd vln. part missing.

(3) *MS.* score by Johann Elssler, formerly in Berlin Hochschule für Musik: see Chapter II, n. 23.

### Authentic prints:

(4) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1787: see No. 82, source 4.

(5) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1788: see No. 82, source 5.

(6) Printed parts, Forster, London, 1788: see No. 82, source 6.

### Secondary MSS. (selection):

(7) Parts, GdM (Kees Coll.?) XIII, 8523 — only vln. I & II in 3 copies each; (8) score, Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM, same cat. no.; (9) parts, Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 698 (local source).

### Secondary prints (selection):

(10) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1788: see No. 82, source 10.

(11) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1789: see No. 82, source 11.

(12) Printed score (with important textual divergencies from auth. sources), Le Duc, Paris, c. 1802: see No. 6, source 10.

(13) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14.

*Critical editions:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 9, pp. 56-98, based on sources 1 & 2; see notes to this vol. for important divergencies between these two sources. Eulenburg (Redlich), based on 12 and C. E.; Hug & Co., Zürich (Fekete), with numerous errors.

## Appendix I

† No. 84



II. Andante, B flat, 6/8.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, E flat, 3/4.

IV. Vivace, E flat, 2/4.

*Date of comp.*: 1786 (autograph); composed for the Loge Olympique, Paris.

*Scoring*: 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Cat. ref.*: EK, missing; Kees, No. 79 [*'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Fagotti / Flauto'*]; HV 77 (tempo: *'Vivace'*).

*Sketch*: Bst (Poland?), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 30; 4 pp., oblong paper.

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) **Autograph.** Floersheim-Koch Collection, Wildegg (Aargau), Switzerland, cat. MS 86; title: *'Sinfonia in Es / del giuseppe Haydn 786'*; at head of 1st p. of music: *'In Nomine Domini'*; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4), 31×22.5 cm., 75 pages; at end of MS.: *'Finis [Fine?] Laus Deo'*; this aut. originally belonged to the Comte d'Ogny, and was for a time in Wernigerode. For instr., see C. E.

(2) MS. parts by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, BM, cat. Egerton 2379; the engraving source for Forster's print (source 6); it arrived in London on Dec. 3, 1787 (H. offered 82-87 to Forster in a letter of April 8, 1787); bass part signed *'4ta Haydn'*; oblong paper; corrections by Haydn in various parts.

(3) MS. parts by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, BM, Add. 32174, ff. 80-101; title: *'Sinfonia In Es / a / Due Violini / Due Oboe / Flauto Traverso / Due Fagotti / Due Corni / Viola / Violoncello / e / Basso / Del Sig:re Giuseppe Haydn'*; one of a series of authentic parts similar to those sent by Haydn to Forster; on a kind of *'small post-paper'*, of unknown origin (watermarks: coat-of-arms; letters *'EC'* over a kind of fleur-de-lys; letters *'OA'* under cartouche). The MSS., which include the *'Sei Sinfonie'* (those published by Artaria as Op. XXXV), No. 84, and the Quartets of Op. 50, are with a few exceptions all by one of the two younger Elsslers, i. e., the handwriting is identical with that of most of Eg. 2379. Obviously Haydn sent these sources to an English publisher, but the evidence points to the fact that it could not have been Forster.

### Authentic prints:

- (4) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1787: see No. 82, source 4.
- (5) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1788: see No. 82, source 5.
- (6) Printed parts, Forster, London, 1788: see No. 82, source 6.

### Secondary MSS. (selection):

- (7) Parts, GdM (Kees Coll.?) XIII, 8522 — only vln. I & II in 3 copies each;
- (8) score, Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM, same cat. no.; (9) parts, Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 832 (local source).

### Secondary prints (selection):

- (10) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1788: see No. 82, source 10.
- (11) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1789: see No. 82, source 11.

*Critical editions*: C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 9, pp. 99-149, based on sources 1 & 2; Eulenburg No. 534 (Landon), based on C. E. and 4.



## Appendix I

† No. 85

*Adagio*

I,  ; Vivace, B flat, 3/4.

II. Romanze: Allegretto, E flat, C.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto, B flat, 3/4.

IV. Presto, B flat, 2/4.

*Date of comp.*: 1785 or 1786 (one of the 'Paris' symphonies).

*Scoring*: 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor. — B flat (*alto?*), str.

*Cat. ref.*: EK, missing; Kees, No. 78: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Fagotti / Flauto'; HV 76 (tempo: 'Maestoso'); Göttweig cat., p. 868: 'Symphonie französisch... Comp RP / Marianus', n. d. (parts lost).

'*La Reine de France*', designation referring to Marie Antoinette (the sym. was supposed to be her favourite), appearing on Imbault print, c. 1788.

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) **Autograph-Fragment**, probably an unfinished aut. copy, Bst (Berlin), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 26; 2 pages, containing intro. to 1st movt., extant; no title and no 'In Nomine Domini'; oblong Italian paper (watermark: I, 1), 30,4 × 22,4 cm.; notes to this fragment in C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 9, supplement.

(2) *MS.* parts by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 90; pts. for 2 vln I, 2 vln. II, vla., 2 bass, fl., 2 ob., 'Fagotti', and 2 cor.

(3) *MS.* parts, possibly by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 90 b; pts. for 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., 'Violoncello e Basso', fl., 2 ob., 'Fagotti', 2 cor.

(4) *MS.* parts by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, BM, cat. Egerton 2379; the engraving source for Forster's print (source 7); it arrived in London on Dec. 3, 1787 (H. offered 82-87 to Forster in a letter of April 8, 1787); bass part signed by Haydn; oblong paper; corrections by Haydn in various parts.

### Authentic prints:

(5) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1787: see No. 82, source 4.

(6) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1788: see No. 82, source 5.

(7) Printed parts, Forster, London, 1788: see No. 82, source 6.

### Secondary MSS. (selection):

(8) Parts for Nos. 85, 86 and 87, GdM (Kees Coll.?) XIII, 8521 and (for 86) 8520; 3 vln. I, 3 vln. II, 2 vla., 2 vcl.-cb., fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini & timp. (for 86): a Viennese source, c. 1786 (?); (9) parts, GdM, same cat. no.; 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., 2 vcl.-cb., fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor.; each pt. signed at end 'Finis / J H Bilex [?]' ; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: tree, letters 'IW'); 2 clarinet pts. added later on Italian paper; source of unknown (Viennese?) origin; (10) score & str. pts., Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM, same cat. no.; (11) parts, Harburg, III, 41½, fol. 676 (local source); (12) score, BM, cat. Add. 31710, a volume of 4 sym., incl. 85, a spurious sym., 86 and 87; the front of the vol. bears the note: 'All of the above revised by the Composer, and performed at Salomon's Concerts, under Haydn's direction'; oblong English paper; watermark dates 1803, 1804, 1805 (!); internal evidence suggests that the scores are copies of parts no longer extant; it is, however, doubtful whether the remark is to be taken seriously, and in any case the textual value of the source is negligible.

### Secondary prints (selection):

(13) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1788: see No. 82, source 10.

(14) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1789: see No. 82, source 11.

(15) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1802: see No. 6, source 10.

(16) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14.



## Appendix I

*Critical editions:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 9, pp. 150-192, based on sources 2-6 (1 in supplement); B. & H. G. A. score (issued under pl. I, 85 before volume itself was issued — Schultz), based on 2 & 3; Eulenburg No. 432 is not based on satisfactory sources.

† No. 86



II. Capriccio: Largo, G, 3/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, D, 3/4.

IV. Allegro con spirito, D, 4/4.

*Date of comp.:* 1786 (autograph); composed for the Loge Olympique, Paris.

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK, missing; Kees, No. 77, 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini / Fagotti, Flauto, Tympani'; HV 75 (tempo: 'Larghetto'); Göttweig cat., p. 870, 'Comp R P / Marianus', n. d. (source lost).

*Sketches:* (1) to 1st (and other?) movts., formerly in the Heyer Collection, Cologne: present whereabouts unknown; (2) to 3rd movt., formerly Stefan Zweig Coll. (photograph in Hoboken Photogrammarchiv, VNat); 4 pp. oblong Italian paper 31×22 cm., reproduced in C. E. I/9, p. 336; (3) incomplete aut. copy (or sketch?) of beginning of 1st movt., Bst (Tübingen), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 53; oblong Italian paper (I, 1), 31,6 × 22,5 cm., 4 pp. (only 2 used); at top of 1st page in H's hand: 'Sinfonia in D / di me giuseppe Haydn [mp]ria 786'; notes to this fragment in C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 9, supplement.

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) **Autograph.** Paris Nat., cat. Réservé Vm<sup>7</sup>, 541; title: 'Sinfonia in D / di me giuseppe Haydn 786'; at head of 1st p. of music: 'In Nomine Domini'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 11 & 37 or I, 22), 31 (32)×23 cm.; 69 pages; last 5 pages are clarini & timp. pts., for which there was no room on 10-stave paper; at end of MS.: 'Fine [Finis?] Laus Deo'; this aut. originally belonged to the Comte d'Ogny. For instr., see C. E.

(2) *MS. parts* by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 91; pts. for 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., 2 vol.-cb., fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini; timp. pt. missing.

(3) *MS. parts* by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, BM, cat. Egerton 2379; the engraving source for Forster's print (source 6); it arrived in London on Dec. 3, 1787 (H. offered 82-87 to Forster in a letter of April 8, 1787); bass part signed by Haydn; oblong paper; corrections by Haydn in various parts.

### Authentic prints:

(4) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1787: see No. 82, source 4.

(5) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1788: see No. 82, source 5.

(6) Printed parts, Forster, London, 1788: see No. 82, source 6.

### Secondary MSS. (selection):

(7) parts, GdM (Kees Coll.?): see No. 85, source 8; (8) score, Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8520; (9) parts, Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 814, without trpt. & timp. pts. (local source).

### Secondary prints (selection):

(10) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1788: see No. 82, source 10.

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(11) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1789: see No. 82, source 11.  
*Critical editions:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 9, pp. 193-244, based on sources 1 & 3; Eulenburg No. 434 (Praetorius), though based on unsatisfactory sources, is adequate musically, there being but few divergencies with C. E.; B. & H. G. A score (issued under pl. I, 86 before volume itself was issued — Schultz), apparently based on 2, and one of the authentic prints: with very serious errors, e. g. bar 69 of minuet printed twice (!).

† No. 87 (81b)



- II. Adagio, D, 3/4.
- III. Menuet & Trio, A, 3/4.
- IV. Vivace, A, C.

*Date of comp.:* 1785 (autograph); composed for the Loge Olympique, Paris.

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/III (Kees), No. 82: 'Sinfonia, ut No 78.' (Haydn has added the tempo 'Allegro'); Kees, No. 82 (as above, without tempo); HV 80 (tempo: 'Allo:'); Göttweig cat., p. 870, 'Comp R P Virgilius' (see source 10).

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) *Autograph*, Paris Nat., cat. Réserve Vm<sup>7</sup>, 541; title: 'Sinfonia. In Nomine Domini di me giuseppe Haydn 785'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 15, (16?), 24), 31 × 22,5 cm.; 67 pages; at beginning H. writes the word 'Flauti', but it is obvious that only 1 pt. is intended; this aut. originally belonged to the Comte d'Ogny. For instr., see C. E.

(2) *MS. parts* by Johann (or Joseph, Jr) Elssler, BM, cat. Egerton 2379; the engraving source for Forster's print (source 5); it arrived in London on Dec. 3, 1787 (H. offered 82-87 to Forster in a letter of April 8, 1787); bass part signed '2do giu: Haydn'; oblong paper; corrections by Haydn in various parts; fl. pt. here reads 'Flauto'.

### Authentic prints:

- (3) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1787: see No. 82, source 4.
- (4) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1788: see No. 82, source 5.
- (5) Printed parts, Forster, London, 1788: see No. 82, source 6.

### Secondary MSS. (selection):

(6) Parts, GdM (Kees Coll.?): see No. 85, source 8; (7) score and str. pts., Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8524; (8) parts, Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 685 (local source); (9) score, BM: see No. 85, source 12; (10) parts, Göttweig, from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.

### Secondary prints (selection):

- (11) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1788: see No. 82, source 10.
  - (12) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1789: see No. 82, source 11.
- Critical editions:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 9, pp. 245-293, based on sources 1 & 2; Eulenburg No. 533 (Landon), based on C. E., 3 and 7; Smith College Press, Northampton, Mass., U. S. A. (Einstein), based on sources 1 & 2, with minor errors; the edition by Hug. & Co., Zürich (Fekete) appears to be based on the Simrock parts: cor. pts. in 1st movt. spurious, and numerous other errors.

## Appendix I

† No. 88

I. *Adagio*  
 ; Allegro, G, 2/4.

II. Largo, D, 3/4.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto, G, 3/4.

IV. Allegro con spirito, G, 2/4.

*Date of comp.*: 1787 (?). Nos. 88 and 89 (aut. 1787) composed for Johann Tost.

*Scoring*: 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str. Vel. obbl. in 2nd movt.

*Cat. ref.*: EK/III (Kees), No. 89: 'Sinfonia, con Fagotti, Flauto, Oboe, Corni, Clarini, / Tympano' (Haydn has added the tempo 'Adagio'); Kees, No. 89 (as above, without tempo and diff. order of instr.); HV 87 (tempo: 'Adagio').

### Authentic MS.:

(1) MS. parts by Johann Elssler (or Joseph, Jr?), EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 92; no title page; pts. for 2 vln. I, vln. II, vla., 'Basso e Violoncello obligato', bass, fl., 2 ob., 'Due Fagotti', 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp.; 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 6); source apparently used by Haydn's band: there are corrections on the pts., some of which are possibly in H's hand.

### (Authentic print?):

(2) Printed parts of Nos. 89 and 88, Sieber, Paris, c. 1788 (?); the violinist Johann Tost took these two symphonies to Paris and sold them to Sieber (cf. H's correspondence with Artaria, Artaria-Botstiber, pp. 54 f., 58 [April 6, 1789] and esp. 59); they were issued as 'Simphonie Périodique' Nos. 28 and 29 (pl. nos., added later, 1035 and 1036); copies in Copenhagen and Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt; Sieber seems to have omitted the clarini & timp. pts.: at least the Eisenstadt copy does not contain them. It is not clear what kind of sources Tost took with him to Paris, but probably they were orchestral parts; there is some justification for regarding this Sieber print as 'authentic', since it was made from 'authentic' MSS. which no longer exist.

### Secondary MSS. (selection):

(3) Score by a Viennese copyist of 1st movt., GdM XIII, 8525; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22) with title 'Sinfonia / Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn'; c. 1787-90 (?); (4) parts, GdM (Kees Coll.?) XIII, 8525 — incomplete, only 2 vln. I and vln. II dup., C. E. source E needs corr.; (5) parts to Nos. 88-92 and Sinfonia Concertante (1792), mostly by Viennese professional copyist No. 3, VNat, s. m. 22156; 6 works numbered consecutively in G. A. order 'Sinfonia Ima' 'IIIda' 'IIIza' 'IVta' 'Vta' 'VI'; 4<sup>o</sup> Viennese paper (watermarks: large man and crossed keys); Viennese source, c. 1795-1800, with pts. for fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.; Sinfonia Concertante by another copyist entirely. (6) parts, Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 695 (local: VIII, 13); (7) score and 2 sets of parts, one oblong and one 4<sup>o</sup>, Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8525; (8) score, BM: see No. 85, source 12; (9) Donau-Eschingen.

### Secondary prints (selection):

(10) Printed parts of Nos. 88 & 89, Artaria, Vienna, 1789 (announced in *Wiener Zeitung* on July 7, 1789: an earlier announcement exists, for H. mentions in his letter of July 5: '... Nun möchte ich gerne... wissen... von wem Sie die 2 neue Sinfonien, so Sie letzthin angekündigt, erhalten haben...'); they were issued as 'Simphonie / A / Plusieurs Instruments / Composée / par / Joseph Haydn' No. 14 (88) and 15 (89), with pl. nos. 251 & 253; it is uncertain from which source Artaria acquired these works; in the letter quoted above H. asks if it was from the Sieber print or from Tost directly; textual comparison of Sieber and Artaria suggests rather the latter, in which case this print, like Sieber's, has a certain authenticity; pts. for fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str.; copies in GdM, Seitenstetten, etc. Re-issued after 1801 by Mollo.

## Appendix I

(11) Printed parts of Nos. 88 & 89, Longman & Broderip, London, 1790(?); title: No. [1 = 88, 2 = 89] / A Grand Symphony in all its parts performed at the Professional Concert, Hanover Square 1789...; prob. a reprint of source 10 (or source 2?); copies in BM, g. 212. (3.) & (4.) and Manchester.

(12) Printed parts of Nos. 88 & 89, Forster, London, c. 1793; title: 'Letter [V=88, W=89] / A / Grand Overture / in parts, / Perform'd at the / Professional / and other / Public Concerts / composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by Wm. Forster at his / Music Warehouse / No. 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand'; pl. nos. 177 and 178; No. 88 in Manchester and GdM. Later copies, No. 22, York St., Westminster (c. 1803-16).

(13) Printed parts of Nos. 89 & 88, André, Offenbach/Main, 1790 (André cat.); title: 'Oeuvre 56<sup>me</sup> / Sinfonie / à / grand orchestre / composée par / Monsieur / J. Haydn / Livre [I = 89; II = 88] / Offenbach sur le Mein, chez J. André'; pl. nos. 298 and 297; No. 89 in Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt.

(14) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, 1790 (Hummel Publisher's Cat. of 1791: 'gr. Simph. op. 33 lib. 1. 2. 1790'); ornamental design over a straight frame, within which is enclosed the title: 'Simphonie / a / Grand Orchestre / Composée / Par / Mr Giuseppe Haydn / Oeuvre XXXIII / Libro [I = 89, II = 88] / [line] / Chés J. J. Hummel. / à Berlin avec Privilège du Roi; / à Amsterdam au Grand Magazin de Musique / et aux Adresses Ordinaires'. Outside the frame: 'prix f 1'. Plate no.: 674. Copy of No. 89 in Bst (Marburg), 233,047. Copies of Nos. 88 and 89 in Stockholm. According to Gerber this print contained Nos. 90 and 92, which is in any case incorrect. Larsen (HUB, p. 197) notes that Leo Liepmannsohn (cat. 169) offered for sale a copy of Op. 33 which contained one work, No. 90. This fact is not so mysterious as would first appear, for in the Hummel catalogue of 1792 a third work was added to the two already published as Op. 33; the entry reads: '[gr. Simph. op. 33 lib.] 3. 1792'. I suggest that this third work is No. 90. Apparently Hummel did not print Nos. 91 and 92.

*Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 10, pp. 1-53, based on sources 1, 4, 7, 8 and 10; Eulenburg No. 487 (Praetorius) is not based on satisfactory sources.

† No. 89



II. Andante con moto, C, 6/8.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, F, 3/4.

IV. Vivace assai, F, 2/4 (several indications of 'strascinando').

Partly arranged from Concerto in F for 2 lyrae and orch., 1786.

*Date of comp.:* 1787 (autograph). Composed for Johann Tost.

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/III (Kees), No. 88: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Flauto, Fagotti' (Haydn has added the tempo 'Allegro di molto'); Kees, No. 88 (as above, without tempo and diff. order of instr.); HV 86 (tempo: 'Allo: di molto').

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) **Autograph.** Cambridge (Eng.); title: 'Sinfonia in F / di me giuseppe Haydn 787'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 15, 20, 29), 32×23 cm.; 57 pages; at end of MS.: 'Fine Laus Deo'; an old note on MS. reads: 'Autograph of Haydn's — given to Emily Gregg by J. B. Cramer' (who played at Haydn-Salomon concerts). For instr., see C. E.

(2) *MS. score* by Johann Elssler (or Joseph, Jr?), EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 93; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); in Haydn's handwriting on the title page '18 bögen'; probably a copy of the aut.

## Appendix I

(3) *MS.* parts by Johann Elssler (or Joseph, Jr?), EH, same cat. no.; pts. for 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, 2 vla., 2 bass., 'Flauto Solo', 2 ob. I, 2 ob. II, 2 'Fagotti' pts., 2 cor. I, 2 cor. II; possibly two separate sets, written for different occasions; various corrections indicate that one or both sets were played by Haydn's band.

(Authentic print?):

(4) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1788 (?): see No. 88, source 2.

*Secondary MSS. (selection):*

(5) Parts, GdM (Kees Coll.?) XIII, 8528; 3 vln. I, 3 vln. II, 2 vla., 2 vcl.-cb., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor.; fl. pt. missing; Viennese source; (6) parts, VNat: see No. 88, source 5; (7) parts, Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 853 (local: VIII, 4); (8) Venice Marciana, It. IV, 1287 (11045), coll. of 5 syms., 4 by Pleyel and 1 (=89) by Haydn (local source, c. 1790 or later).

*Secondary prints (selection):*

- (9) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1789: see No. 88, source 10.
  - (10) Printed parts, Longman & Broderip, London, 1790 (?): see No. 88, source 11.
  - (11) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1793: see No. 88, source 12.
  - (12) Printed parts, André, Offenbach/Main, 1790: see No. 88, source 13.
  - (13) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, 1790: see No. 88, source 14.
- Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 10, pp. 54-101, based on sources 1, 5 and 7.

† No. 90

*Adagio*

I. ; Allegro assai, C, 3/4.

II. Andante, F, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, C, 3/4.

IV. Allegro assai, C, 2/4.

*Date of comp.:* 1788 (autograph).

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor. (C *alto*: disregard remarks in C. E., pp. 102 n. and 2931), 2 clarini, timp., str.; trpts. & timp. possibly added later, or they may have been attached to the autograph on spare pages (as in No. 86), and have since gone astray; their authenticity is proved by their inclusion in source 2 (*cf.* also Kees, *etc.*).

*Cat. ref.:* EK/III (Kees), No. 91: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini, Fagotti, / Flauto, Tympano'; Kees, No. 91 (as above, with diff. order of instr.); HV 89 (tempo: 'poco Adagio').

*Commission:* H. wrote Nos. 90 & 91 (and prob. 92 as well) for the Comte d'Ogny in Paris, but also sent them to Kraft Ernst, Prince Oettingen-Wallerstein: see Chapter XI.

*Authentic MSS.:*

(1) **Autograph**, Washington; title: 'Sinfonia in C / di me giuseppe Haydn 788'; at head of 1st p. of music: 'In Nomine Domini'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 90); 30 × 24.5 cm.; 67 pages; at end of *MS.*: 'Fine Laus Deo'; this aut. originally belonged to the Comte d'Ogny; on p. 2 (1st p. of music) Haydn wrote at the left of the uppermost stave '2 Clarini', then crossed this out and wrote 'Corni in C alto': this is probably because he saw that there would not be enough room on the 10-stave paper for the trpts. & timp. (*cf.* aut. to 86); but if he, as I suppose, wrote them on spare sheets at the end of the aut., these are no longer extant. For instr., see C. E.

(2) *MS.* parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 800; Haydn sent Nos. 90, 91 and 92 to Oettingen-Wallerstein in 1789; disregard description in C. E. (made from photographs); there are two copyists for No. 90: (a) vla., bass, fl., 2 ob., 'Fagutti' (*sic*),

## Appendix I

2 cor., 2 clarini, & timp. on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 82, 83); (b) vln. I & II (*not* Elssler!) on 4<sup>o</sup> Venetian paper (I, 20, 26); Haydn has written over the copyist's 'Violoncello' the words: 'Contra Basso / e'; dup. vln. I, II and bass by local copyist on German paper.

### (Authentic prints?):

(3) Printed parts, Longman & Broderip, London, 1792 (?); Nos. 90, [92?] and 91 under the general title: 'No. [7 = 90, 8 = 92, 9 = 91] A Grand Symphony in all its parts. As performed at Mr. Salomons concert, Hanover Square...'; it seems likely that Haydn (or Salomon) furnished the engraver's copy. (Also arrangements, by J. L. Dussek, who also participated in the Haydn-Salomon concerts, 'for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a violin.') Copies of Nos. 90 and 91 in Manchester. A curious fact, however, is that Longman & Broderip seem to have *imported* the Le Duc prints, at least of No. 92: a copy of that work (Venice Cons.) in the Le Duc edition has the following printed page attached: 'Imported and sold by Longman & Broderip No. 26 Cheapside & N. 13 Hay Market London. Who have a regular Correspondence with all the most eminent Professors and Publishers of Music in every part of Europe.'; the numbers, 7, 8, 9 (= 90, 92, 91) also agree with the Le Duc numbering. BM owns the piano arrangement of No. 92: g. 161. e. (5). No. 90 contains trpts. & timp.

(4) Printed parts, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1790 (?); Nos. 90, 92 and 91 under the general title 'Du Répertoire / de / LA LOGE OLYMPIQUE / Symphonie / Periodique / de J. Haydn. / No. [7 = 90, 8 = 92, 9 = 91] / Prix 4 f... / A Paris / chez Le Duc, Successeur de Mr. de la Chevardière, Rue du Roule, à la Croix d'Or, au Magasin de Musique et d'Instruments'; it is possible that the engraving sources for this edition were, as in the case of Nos. 82-87, Haydn's autographs: Comte d'Ogny seems to have had all three in his possession: copies of 92 in Manchester, Venice Cons.; 91 in VNat, s. m. 22563; all three in Bologna. The set contains no trpts. & timp.

### Secondary MSS. (selection):

(5) Parts, GdM (Kees Coll.?) XIII, 8531: 3 vln. I, 3 vln. II, vla., vcl.-cb., bass, fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp. on 4 Viennese paper; Viennese source, c. 1788-90 (?); (6) parts, Regensburg, J. Haydn 62 (local copy, containing trpt. & timp. pts.); (7) parts, VNat (no trpts. & timp.): see No. 88, source 5; (8) score & pts., Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8531, without trpts. & timp.

### Secondary prints (selection):

Artaria announced these three symphonies in 1792 (*Wiener Zeitung*) as Nos. 16, 17 and 18; Nos. 88 and 89 were, as will be recalled, Nos. 14 and 15, and it will be seen that Nos. 95 and 96 were Nos. 19 and 20; despite this announcement, however, Nos. 90-92 were not printed by Artaria but imported (as was the case of No. 92, imported by Longman & Broderip); Artaria probably bought the Le Duc or Longman & Broderip prints; cf. Artaria-Botstiber, p. 65.

(9) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, 1792: see No. 88, source 14.

(10) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1793, prob. reprint of Longman & Broderip and/or Le Duc: general title: 'Letter [R = 90, T = 91, Q = 92] / A / Grand Overture / in parts, / Perform'd at the / Professional / and other / Public Concerts / composed by / Giuseppe Haydn / London / Printed by W<sup>m</sup> Forster at his / Music Warehouse / No. 348 next door to the Lyceum, / Strand'; pl. nos. 145 (90), 160 (91) and 143 (92); copies: 90, BM h. 3210. (13.); 91, BM h. 656. p. 8, GdM XIII, 8530; 92, Manchester. Some copies still retain the then nominal remark: 'Publish'd by his Authority'. Later reprints: No. 22, York St., Westminster (c. 1803-16).

(11) Printed parts of Nos. 90, 92 and 91, André, Offenbach, 1791 (No. 90) & 1792 (Nos. 92 and 91) (André cat.); general title: 'No. 423 Prix f2-12g: / Sinfonie / a / grand orchestre / composées par / Monsieur / J. Haydn / Oeuvre 66 / A Offenbach sur le Mein chez J. André'; pl. nos. 423 (90), 468 (91) and ? (92); copies of 90 and 91 in Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt; No. 90 without trpts. & timp.

## Appendix I

(12) Printed parts of Nos. 90, 92 and 91, Sieber, Paris, c. 179- (?); 'Symphonie Périodique' Nos. 30, 31 and 32, probably reprinted (or purchased) from Le Duc and simply issued with a new title page; no copies could be located.

(13) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1793-96 (missing in Imbault cat. 1792 but present in cat. 1796), Nos. 90, 92 and 91 (in that order). Imbault added these as Nos. 7-9 to Op. 51 (Nos. 82-87): see No. 82, source 5. Presumably they are reprints of Le Duc's editions: see *supra*, source 4. No copies could be located.

(14) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14; without trpts. & timp.

(15) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1810: see No. 6, source 10.

*Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 10, pp. 102-156, based on source 1 & 2. *Correction:* read *Corni in C alto* whether with or without trumpets.

† No. 91



II. Andante, B flat, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Un poco Allegretto, E flat, 3/4.

IV. Vivace, E flat, C.

*Date of comp.:* 1788 (autograph).

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/III (Kees), No. 90: 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Fagotti, Flauto' (Haydn has added tempo: 'larghetto'); Kees, No. 90 (as above, without tempo); HV 88 (tempo: 'Larghetto').

*Commission:* Written and dedicated to the Comte d'Ogny, but H. also sent it to Oettingen-Wallerstein (see comment to No. 90).

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) **Autograph.** New York City (private possession); partial photograph in Washington; title: 'Sinfonia in Es / Pour Mons. le Comte d'Ogny / di me giuseppe Haydn 788'; at head of 1st p. of music: 'In Nomine Domini'; oblong paper, prob. Italian; c. 30,5 × 24,5 cm.; at end of MS.: 'Fine Laus Deo'. For instr. see C. E.

(2) **MS. parts,** Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 827; Haydn sent Nos. 90, 91 and 92 to Oettingen-Wallerstein in 1789; disregard description in C. E. (made from photographs); title: 'Sinfonia in E = b / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo / Due Oboe / Due Corni / Flauto / Fagotti / Viola / Violoncello e Basso / Del Sig: Giuseppe Haydn'; there are three copyists for No. 91: (a) title page, vln. I, ob. I, II and cor. I, II on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 24); (b) vln. I, II on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 6); (c) vla., vcl., fl., fag. on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 20, 26); additions by Haydn (*fz.* and so on); vln. I, II dup. by local copyist on German paper.

### (Authentic prints?):

(3) Printed parts, Longman & Broderip, London, 1792 (?): see No. 90, source 3.

(4) Printed parts, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1790 (?): see No. 90, source 4.

### Secondary MSS. (selection):

(5) **Parts,** Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 63; fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., vla., vcl.-cb. by Kees copyist on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 4, 22); vln. I, II by 2nd copyist on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 4, 43); dup. vln. I, II by local copyist; title page has orig. no. '91'; (6) **parts,** VNat: see No. 88, source 5; (7) **parts,** VNat, s. m. 21981, a Viennese source on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 22, 86); vln. I, II dup. on other paper

## Appendix I

by a 2nd copyist; (8) parts, Venice Marciana: see No. 78, source 9; (9) score, Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8530; (10) parts, Zwettl; (11) parts, Melk, IV, 227 (c. 1800 ?); (12) score, Stockholm.

### Secondary prints (selection):

- (13) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1793: see No. 90, source 10.
- (14) Printed parts, André, Offenbach, 1792: see No. 90, source 11.
- (15) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 179-(?): see No. 90, source 12.
- (16) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1793-96: see No. 90, source 13.
- (17) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1807-09: see No. 41, source 14.
- (18) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1810: see No. 6, source 10.

*Critical edition:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 10, pp. 157-210, based on sources (1), 2, 4, 7.

### † No. 92

I.  ; Allegro spiritoso, G, 3/4.

II. Adagio cantabile, D, 2/4.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto, G, 3/4.

IV. Presto, G, 2/4.

*Date of comp.:* 1788 (?); composed together with Nos. 90 & 91.

*Scoring:* 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/III (Kees), No. 92 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini, Fagotti, / Flauto, Tympano'; Kees, No. 92 (as above, with diff. order of instr.); HV 90 (tempo: 'Adagio con Delicatezza'); Göttweig cat., p. 870, 'Comp R P / Virgilius', n. d. (see source 8).

*Commission:* see No. 90. The work played under H's direction at Oxford. 'Oxford', designation added in England, beginning of 19th cent.

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) MS. score by Johann Elssler (or Joseph, Jr?), EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 94; title: 'Sinfonia Ex G: — Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4); pts. for 2 clarini & timp. added at end of score, because there was no room for them on the 10-stave paper: it is possible that these pts. are by another copyist, but the handwriting is very similar and the difference may be due to the use of a diff. pen. Fol. 51 contains a single page, consisting of a sketched clavier reduction of the 2nd pt. of the trio. There seems little doubt that this score is a copy of the aut., which is no longer extant.

(2) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 693; Haydn sent Nos. 90, 91 and 92 to Oettingen-Wallerstein in 1789; disregard description in C. E. (made from photographs); of the original pts. only the following are extant: clarini & timp. on 4° Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); bass, by a 2nd copyist, on 4° Italian paper (I, 1, 24); and vln. I, II by Viennese professional copyist No. 3. Although the latter contain a few additions in Haydn's hand (*fz*, *stacc*, etc.), it may be that these pts. belonged to another set, and that the corrections were made when H. was visiting the Prince *en route* to England in 1790: H. never used this copyist otherwise, at least to our knowledge. All the other parts of this set were made by a local German copyist on 4° German paper (watermarks: VIII, 9): both paper and copyist can be found in works by Pleyel, Rosetti, etc. in Harburg. Possibly these pts. were made to replace the original ones sent by Haydn.

### (Authentic prints?):

- [(3) Printed parts, Longman & Broderip, London, 1792(?): see No. 90, source 3.]
- (4) Printed parts, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1790(?): see No. 90, source 4.



## Appendix I

### Secondary MSS. (selection):

(5) Parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 64; fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., vla., vel.-cb. by Kees copyist, vln. I, II by a 2nd copyist, both using 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); title page has orig. no. '92'; (6) parts, VNat (without trpts. & timp.): see No. 88, source 5; (7) score, Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., GdM XIII, 8532 (apparently not so late as others of this set: watermarks I, 1, 22); (8) parts, Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., Göttweig; (9) score, Stockholm.

### Secondary prints (selection):

- (10) Printed parts, Forster, London, c. 1793: see No. 90, source 10.
- (11) Printed parts, André, Offenbach, 1792: see No. 90, source 11.
- (12) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 179- (?): see No. 90, source 12.
- (13) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1793-96: see No. 90, source 13.
- (14) Printed score, Cianchettini & Sperati, London, 1087-09: see No. 41, source 14.
- (15) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1810: see No. 6, source 10.

*Critical editions:* C. E. Ser. I, Vol. 10, pp. 211-272, based on sources 1, 2, 5; Eulenburg No. 436 (Landon), based on C. E. but after personal examination of source 2; as a result of using photographs, C. E. lacks some details of this source, partially indicated in Eulenburg. 1st movt., meas. 8 in C. E.: read + for tr. A very important authentic reading of C. E. and Eulenburg as against modern scores & parts: finale, meas. 1/16, 221/229, vln. II rests.

† No. 93

I. *Adagio*  
 ; Allegro assai, D, 3/4.

II. Largo cantabile, G, C.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegro, D, 3/4.

IV. Presto ma non troppo, D, 2/4.

*Date of comp.:* London, 1791 [autograph].

*First performance:* Hanover Square, 17th February 1792.

*Scoring:* 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/III, p. 33 ('118'); Kees, missing; HV 115 (tempo: 'Maestoso').

*Authentic sources:* [1], (2), (3), (4), (5), (6 ?).

*Sources:*

### Authentic MSS.:

[(1) **Autograph**, dated London, 1791. Formerly in possession of the Hofbuchhandlung Leibrock, Braunschweig (Brunswick), and inspected there by C. F. Pohl. Present whereabouts unknown.]

(2) MS. score by Joseph Elssler Jr (or Johann?), EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 95; title: 'Sinfonia in D / Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1); an authentic copy, probably made from source 1 c. 1792-1800. At end of MS.: 'Laus Deo'.

(3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Harburg, cat. II, 4 1/2, fol. 819; title: 'Sinfonia in D maggiore / a / 2 Violini / Viola / 2 Flauti / [insertion: "Flauto II oblig."] / 2 Oboe / 2 Fagotti / 2 Corni / 2 Clarini / Tympano / Violoncello / e / Basso / Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn.'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 13, 22); dup. vln. I, II and bass pts. by local copyist on German paper (VIII, 10); an authentic copy, probably prepared c. 1792-95(?); small corrections and additions in Haydn's hand; title page not in Elssler's handwriting: on cover of timp. pt., in Elssler's hand: 'Sinfonia in D #'.

## Appendix I

### Authentic prints:

(4) As this book goes to press I have made the discovery that parts of all twelve London symphonies were printed by J. P. Salomon with the firm Monzani & Cimador, and that these parts were later reprinted from the original plates by Birchall, London. Hitherto only the prints of Nos. 99 (Hoboken Collection, cf. *Katalog der Haydn-Gedächtnisausstellung*, Vienna, 1932, p. 38, item 701) and 102 (*ibid.*, item 700; another copy in Manchester) were known. BM has an incomplete set of the original edition (R. M. 26. a. 12 (7.)), and the following Birchall reprints: Nos. 94 and 100 in h. 656 l. (incomplete); the first and second violin and bass parts of Nos. 93-104 in R. M. 26. a. 5. (1.). The author owns a complete Birchall reprint of No. 96 in which the erasures on the plate of the title page are clearly visible (Birchall's address was placed over the space formerly occupied by Monzani & Cimador's address). Textually these parts are of the utmost importance, since comparison with the autographs shows that this edition was made from Salomon's MS. orchestral material and not from the scores. The title page reads: 'No: [1-12: 97, 93, 94, 98, 95, 96, 104 103, 102, 99, 101 and 100] of / Haydn's / twelve / Grand Symphonies / Composed for Mr. Salomon's Concerts / for a / full band / [line] Ent'd at Stat<sup>s</sup> Hall Price  $\frac{s}{7} \frac{d}{6}$  / London / [Birchall reprint: Printed for Rt Birchall, at his Musical Circulating Library. / No 133, New Bond Street.] / Where these symphonies may also be had arranged as Quintettos for 2 Violins, a / Flute Viola & a Bass; with an Accompaniment of a Piano Forte, ad libitum. / Price 15<sup>s</sup> each Set of Three. NB a Separate Violoncello part to the Quintettos, price  $\frac{s}{2} \frac{d}{6}$ . The original plates had the words 'Salomon's Concert' in the bottom left-hand corner, and a pl. no. (131-142) at the bottom right. The Birchall have 'Haydn's Sym: No [1-12]', and the plate number is erased. The original Salomon-Monzani-Cimador edition seems not to have been printed earlier than c. 1800 or later than 1805, although in 1800 Imbault, André and Artaria had issued the first six works and Gombart most of the last six. Possibly, therefore, Salomon had printed the whole set privately as early as 1795 (the date in the Royal Catalogue), and turned the plates over to Monzani & Cimador some five years later. The Birchall reprint seems to have been made in 1810 or 1811 (watermark dates in R. M. 26. a. 5. (1.) and in my copy of No. 96) and reissued in 1817 (watermark date of BM, h. 656. l.). Birchall's edition of No. 94 is subtitled 'Haydn's Over. Surprise', No. 100 'Haydn's Military Sym:'.

(5a) First edition of Nos. 93-98, in an arrangement by J. P. Salomon for pianoforte, vln. & vcl.; general title, used for each of the six works: 'Haydn's / Celebrated / Overture / Composed for & performed at Mr. Salomons Concert / Hanover-Square / Adapted for the / Piano-Forte, / with an Accompaniment / for a / Violin & Violoncello / (ad Libitum) / No. [ ] / Price 4 Sh. / Entered at Stationers Hall / To be had at the Hanoversquare Rooms & at Mess<sup>rs</sup> Corri, Dussek & Co / No 67 & 68 Deanstreet Soho [etc.]. Signed by Salomon on the title page. Watermark date: 1795. Copy in BM, g. 134. (1-6). Nos. 1-6 = G. A. 97, 93, 94, 98, 95, 96. (Copy of Nos. 93-95 in EH, from Haydn's own coll.!) Reprinted by Simrock, Bonn, c. 1797.

(5b) An arrangement of Nos. 93-104 by J. P. Salomon for pianoforte, fl., 2 vln., vla., vcl.; general title, used for all 12 works: 'No 1 [-12] of Haydn's Grand Symphonies Composed for Mr. Salomon's Concerts and Arranged for five Instruments, vizt. two violins, a German flute, a tenor, and a violoncello: with an accompaniment for the piano forte ad libitum. By J. P. Salomon. London, Rt. Birchall . . . No. 133, New Bond Street'. From the evidence of source 4 (see *supra*) it seems clear that this Birchall edition is a reprint of that issued by Salomon together with Monzani & Cimador. The original edition was probably issued in 1795 or 1796, the Birchall c. 1810 (?). I have been able to locate only the Birchall reprint, which is in Manchester.

(6) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1796 (announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* of July 9, 1796); title: 'Grand / Simphonie / A / Plusieurs Instruments / Composée / par / Joseph Haydn / [No. 24] / A Vienne chez Artaria et Comp. / f 2.30 [changed

## Appendix I

in ink to "4.30" on some copies]; plate no. 649. Copies in GdM, VSt, M 12101/C. Authenticity of this print not proved (see Chapter IV).

### Secondary MSS.:

- (7) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 66: a local copy on 4<sup>o</sup> German paper (watermarks: VIII, 10 or 12), c. 1795-1800 (?).  
 (8) MS. parts, Donau-Eschingen (Mus. Drwk. S. B. 2, 2588).

### Secondary prints:

- (9) Printed parts, André, Offenbach/Main, 1796 (André cat.); title: 'Sinfonie / à / Grand Orchestre, / composée par / Joseph Haydn / Oeuvre 83. Livre [2]'; (Livre 1 = No. 97); pl. no. 934. Copies in Manchester, Bst (Marburg) <sup>9992</sup>/<sub>9</sub>, GdM XIII, 8545, etc. Probably a reprint of source 6.

(10) Printed parts of Nos. 93-98, Imbault, Paris, 1796 (announced in the *Affiches* 17th March 1796); title: 'Six Nouvelles / Sinfonies / A / Grand Orchestre / composées / Par / Joseph Haydn / Opera 80 / No. [1-6] Prix 6 ff / Enregistré à la Bibliothèque Nationale, selon le loi du 19. Juillet 1793. vieux style. / A Paris / Chez Imbault, M<sup>d</sup>. de Musique et de Cordes d'Instruments, Rue Honoré, entre la rue des Poulies et la Maison d'Aligre No. 125...'; pl. nos. and order as follows: I = No. 96, pl. 552; II = 98, pl. 553; III = 94, pl. 554; IV = 95, pl. 592; V = 97, pl. 606; VI = 93, pl. 611. The above title, taken from the Florence copy, indicates a date of c. 1810 for this particular printing. Copies in PNat Vm<sup>7</sup> 1612, Florence, Manchester, etc.

(11) Reprint of Imbault by Sieber, Paris, c. 1801, as Op. 80, and separately as *Simphonies Périodiques* Nos. 41-46 (G. A. 95, 94, 96, 97, 93, 98) with pl. nos. 1419, 1420, 1421, 1427, 1428 and 1429. Incomplete copies in PCons, X 697. (No. 95 uses the Imbault plates, with pl. no. 592, and it is probable that Sieber simply attached his title page to the Imbault plates.)

(12) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1803-04: see No. 6, source 10.

(13) Printed score, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1807 (or 1808 ?); title: 'Sinfonie / de / Joseph Haydn / Partition / No. 5 / [theme] / chez Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipzig / Pr. 1 Rth 8 gr.'; pl. no. 495.

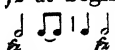
Further printed editions: (14) Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam; (15) Simrock, Bonn, 19th cent. (heavily edited); etc.

Critical edition: Eulenburg No. 468 (Praetorius), based on sources 6, 9 and 12, with numerous errors; no modern edition uses the authentic sources.

### Corrections to Eulenburg:


I.

61/65: bass notes tied throughout, also *ff* at beginning of each meas.

70/71:  whole orch. has *ff* at beginning of meas. 70, *ff* on second quarter of meas. 71.

72, 211: for descending quavers substitute 3 crotchets with preceding appoggiatura.

73, 212: phrasing of 212 to be added to 73; for last two quavers read crotchet preceded by appoggiatura.

94: vln. II 

103: trpt. I = horn I.

105: trpt. I = horn I.

127: ob., fag. marked *p*; vla., bass *f* at fourth quaver.

142: fag., vla. first note *ff*.

148: ob. I (vln. I) *ff* on 1st note.

152/153: trpt. II = horn II. Remove *ff*.  
 169: *ff* in strings only (in vln. I, II, vla. on second note).

186, 187: vln. I *ff* on 1st note.

200/204: bass notes tied, *ff* to be added on basis of meas. 61 *ff*. fl., ob. I, II *ff* at beginning of each measure.

204/212: trpt. I.









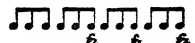
234: timp. last note *D*, not *A*.

# Appendix I

## II.

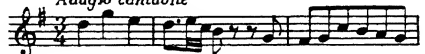
*Tempo* C, not C of modern editions.

All the sources show that *meas.* 1-8 are to be played by a string quartet, not by the whole orchestra. The bass line at the beginning, for instance, reads in the sources *Solo Violoncello senza Bassi*. The string parts at 9 are marked *Tutti ma piano*.

- 19: vcl.-cb. for last note read  21: vla. crotchet with 2 crotchet rests.
- 30 *ff.*: winds are not *p* at crotchet but remain *f* throughout, bass throughout *f* on first note, *p* on second.
- 37: vln. I, II  51, 52, 59, 60, etc.: vln. I slur over whole meas.; lower strings slur over each meas.
- 50: sources note in bass part: *più forte*, in last half of meas. for vln I  53, 61: vln. I, II +, not, *tr.*
- 50/51: vla. tied. 66: vln. I takes over the *a'* of vln. II, which only plays *c#*.
- 51: sources mark *ff* for strings, *f* for winds on third quarter of meas., not at beginning. 97: timp.  IV.
- 53: vln. I in sources  under minim, *p* at beginning of triplets. 13/14, 47/48: vcl.-cb. slur over both bars.
- 61: fag. penultimate note *D*, not *B*. 71, 73: fag., vla., vcl.-bass *stacc.*, fl., ob. *legato*.
- 67: ob. I *fz* seventh note. 88 *ff.*: vla.  99 *ff.*: ob. II tied throughout; horn II in meas. 102/3, 106/7 octave higher.
- 68: ditto. 99/100 (cor. I), 111/112 (cor. I, trpt. I) — tied.
- 69: ob. I  114: trpt. II = horn II.
- 82: vcl.-bass meas. should be identical with foregoing (81). 165: sources indicate *Solo Violoncello* (other celli obviously *tacent*).
- III. 195: fag. octave higher.
- 3: *Tempo Allegro*, not *Allegretto*. 195/196: bass tied.
- vln. I, II slur over all six notes; other strings undoubtedly to be slurred as well. 300/301, 303/304: ob. II tied across bar-line.
- 20/21: vcl.-cb. remove tie. 303: vla. last two notes should be a third higher.

## † No. 94

### *Adagio cantabile*

- I.  ; Vivace assai, G, 6/8.

II. Andante, C, 2/4.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegro molto, G, 3/4.

IV. Allegro di molto, G, 2/4.

'Surprise', 'Mit dem Paukenschlag' — both titles used in Haydn's lifetime.

*Date of comp.*: London, 1791 (autograph).

*First performance*: Hanover Square, 23rd March 1792.

*Scoring*: 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str.

*Cat. ref.*: EK/III, p. 32 ('111'), again on p. 33 ('117'); Kees, missing; HV 109 (tempo: 'Larghetto'); HV 115, struck out and with note in H's hand, referring to 109; Göttweig cat., p. 868, 'Comp R P Marianus 1799' ('die Schlag Symphonie').

## Appendix I

*Authentic sources:* (1a), (1b), (2), (3), (4), (5?).

*Sources:*

### *Authentic MSS.:*

(1a) **Autograph**, of the 1st (minus the last page), 3rd (minus first two pages) and 4th movts., Bst (Tübingen), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 48; title: 'Sinfonia in g / di me giuseppe Haydn [mpria] London 1791'; at the top of the 1st page of music: 'In Nomine Domini'; 58 pages (6 blank); oblong English paper, 24 × 30 cm., 12-stave (watermarks: IX, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5); at the end of MS.: 'Fine. Laus Deo'. The trumpet pts. to the 1st movt. were originally '2 Clarini in G'; Haydn, seeing that these would be constantly in a very high register, re-wrote them in C on some spare pages at the end of the MS. Instr.: '2 Clarini in G [see above] / Tympani in D. g. / 2 Corni in g / Oboe 1<sup>m</sup> / [oboe] 2<sup>do</sup> / Flauti / Fagotti / Violini 1<sup>m</sup> / [Violino] 2<sup>do</sup> / Viola / Violoncello / Bassi'.

(1b) **Autograph** of the last page of the 1st movt., and the whole 2nd movt., Washington (formerly Collection Wittgenstein, Vienna); the first two pages of the *Andante* include only the original version, i. e. without the 'Surprise', and are struck out in the MS. These 16 measures are reproduced in Landon, *The original versions of Haydn's first "Salomon" Symphonies* (in: *The Music Review* XV/1, Feb. 1954), pp. 27 f.; facsimile of the 1st page of the *Andante* reproduced in the present book.

(2) MS. score by Joseph Elssler Jr. (or Johann?), EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 96; title: 'Sinfonia in G: / Del Sigre Giuseppe Haydn.'; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1); an authentic copy, probably made from source 1 c. 1792-1800. This score contains the revised version of the *Andante*.

### *Authentic prints:*

(3) Printed parts, Salomon with Monzani & Cimador, London, c. 1800-1805 (or earlier?); see No. 93, source 4. The Birchall reprint has a title at the bottom of the pts.: 'Haydn's Over: Surprise'.

(4a) First edition, in an arrangement for pianoforte, vln. & vel., London (Salomon & Corri, Dussek), c. 1795; see No. 93, source 5a.

(4b) Arrangement for pianoforte, fl., 2 vln., vla., vel.: see No. 93, source 5b.

(5) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1795 (announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 13th June 1795); title: 'Grand / Simphonie / A / Plusieurs Instruments / Composée / par / Joseph Haydn / No. [21] / A Vienne chez Artaria et Comp.'; pl. no. 544. Copy in Seitenstetten ('comparavit Abbas Seitenstett: / 1796'). Authenticity of this print very doubtful.]

### *Secondary MSS.:*

(6) MS. parts, Harburg, cat. III, 41½, fol. 850; to judge from the French title and from inner evidence, this source is a copy of a print, probably that of André; the paper, ink and watermarks suggest c. 1800, or slightly earlier, as the date of the MS.

(7) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 67; a local copy on 4<sup>o</sup> German paper (VIII, 10 or 12), c. 1800 (or slightly earlier?).

(8) MS. parts, Zwettl (Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.), c. 1810-20: cf. No. 95, source 9.

### *Secondary prints:*

(9) Printed parts, André, Offenbach/Main, 1795 (André cat. 1796: '1795'); title: 'Sinfonie / à / Grand Orchestre / composée par / Monsieur / Joseph Haydn / Oeuvre 80<sup>me</sup> / Livre [1] [Livre 2 = No. 98] / No. 857. Prix F2. 24 Kr.'; pl. no. 857. Probably a reprint of source 5.

(10) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1796: see No. 93, source 10.

(11) Printed parts, Bossler, Darmstadt, c. 1796-97; title: 'Grande / Simphonie / a / Plusieurs Instruments / Composée / par / Joseph Haydn / No 21 / [pl. and pub. no.:] No 294 Prix 2 fl [ ] Xr / a Darmstadt chés Boßler'; copy in Reichersberg. Apparently Bossler issued all the Salomon symphonies; but only this one copy could be located.

# Appendix I

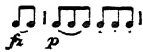
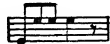
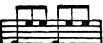
(12) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1801: see No. 93, source 11.

(13) Printed score, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, December, 1808; title: 'Sinfonie / de / Joseph Haydn / Partition / No. 6 / [theme] / chez Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipsic / Pr. 1 Rth. 8 gr.'; pl. no. 602.

*Further printed editions:* (14) *Andante*, arr. for pianoforte solo, Artaria, Vienna (and many other firms), 1794 (announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 19th March 1794); pl. no. 463: arrangement possibly authentic; (15) printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1800: Op. XXXV, Lib. II, pub. no. 851, pl. no. 1110; (16) printed parts, Simrock, Bonn, 19th cent. (heavily edited).

*Critical edition:* Eulenburg No. 435 (Praetorius), based on sources 9 and 16, with numerous errors; no modern edition uses the authentic sources.




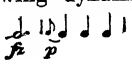





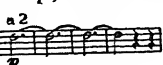
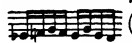
## Corrections to Eulenburg:

- |                  |   |          |  |
|------------------|---|----------|--|
| I.               |   | 35/38:   | vln. I first half of each meas.<br>♩ ♩ ; <i>p</i> at 35, not 34.   |
| 3:               | vln. II ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩   | 36:      | <i>pizzicato</i> not here but in meas.<br>38 (vln. II, vla., bass.).   |
| 5:               | horns <   | 51/52:   | <i>fz</i> only in bass., can be added<br>to vla. but on no account to<br>vln. I and II.  |
| 7:               | vla. slur over whole meas.  | 61:      | vla. second half of meas. should<br>read as first half.  |
| 12:              | <i>cresc.</i> at beginning of meas.   | 62:      | vln. I remove <i>sf</i> .  |
| 17:              | vln. I slur over all three notes.   | 63/65:   | <i>fz</i> —compare meas. 180/183.  |
| 18/20:           | vln. I, 18-19 slur over 1st two<br>notes, 3rd <i>stacc.</i> (etc.: through-<br>out movt.); last three notes<br>vln. I, II 20 <i>stacc.</i> ; vln. II in<br>meas. 19/20 and all the parallel<br>passages (41/2, 156/7) to be<br>played | 80, 82:  | in parallel 229, 231 Haydn<br>writes a grace note before the<br>note with <i>tr.</i> (in the recapitu-<br>lation, of course, this grace<br>note is <i>d''</i> ); it is suggested that<br>this be added here in the ex-<br>position. The grace note is un-<br>doubtedly short in this case, as<br>in meas. 85, 92, etc. |
|                  |    | 87, 89:  | neither here nor in parallel<br>meas. 236 or 238 is the grace<br>note present; probably Haydn<br>intended this contrast.   |
| 21:              | fag. here and 158    | 93:      | fag. <i>D</i> , not <i>B</i> as in bass.   |
| 25/ 27, 162/164: | fag., vcl.-cb.   | 105:     | whole orch. <i>stacc.</i>  |
| 28/29:           | vln. II <i>stacc.</i> , against <i>legato</i><br>slurs in winds.  | 106/107: | vln. I continued <i>stacc.</i>   |
| 29:              | vln. II instead of last rest,<br>read same notes as in last<br>(sixth) quavers of 28, i. e. <i>c''</i> , <i>a'</i> .  | 113:     | vln. I, II <i>p</i> on first note.   |
| 30:              | vln. II first note <i>fz</i> .  |          |  |

We now come to a most interesting feature of the original sources. During the next measures the timpani player must retune his *G* drum to *A*, so that at meas. 131 he is ready, not to play the impossible *G* of modern scores, but the *A* Haydn wrote in his autograph. All the notes of meas. 131 to 134 in the timpani are *A*. In the autograph someone (not Haydn!) crossed out these notes later and restored *G*. The Elssler *MS.*, of course, and Artaria retain Haydn's tremendous orchestral innovation. After meas. 140 the drum player has seventeen measures of rests in which to tune his lower instrument back to *G*.

- |          |   |          |  |
|----------|---|----------|--|
| 133/134: | fag. tied.  | 167:     | vln. II dotted minim <i>c#''</i> — <i>g'</i><br>with <i>fz</i> underneath; <i>fz</i> also vla. |
| 134/138: | ob. I should be tied through-<br>out, though some of these are<br>rather sporadic in the aut. | 174/175: | winds marked with accented<br><i>stacc.</i> (v).   |
| 158/166: | fag. in 158, see 21; fag. and<br>bass 162/64, see 25/27; vln. II<br>165/66, see 28/29.        | 176:     | winds <i>ff</i> (not strings) on second<br>note (except horns, at beginning<br>of meas.).      |

# Appendix I

- 183/186: contrary to exposition, strings have no *fz*—*p* effect here.  
 191/193: winds tied in secondary sources.  
 195 *ff.*: theme now phrased   
 199: only timp. *p*; rest of orchestra continues *f*.  
 200, 201: fl., fag., vln. II, vla. *fz*. last note both meas.  
 205, 206: strings slur first three notes of each meas. together.  
 218/219: vln. I *fz* last note 218, remove <> 218/219.  
 222: fl. *fz* on last note.  
 239/241: ob. I does not have rests but doubles vln. I exactly.  
 241: bass dotted minim.
- II.
- 1: Haydn began the movement with the remark, placed over the first violins, *semplice*.  
 16: Elssler lacks trumpet parts; undoubtedly this is mere oversight; ob. I third higher.  
 33: vln. II and vla. third note *p*, not at meas. 35.  
 34: bass *p* here instead of next meas.  
 62/63: ob. II tied (can be added 61/64).  
 65/70: Haydn forgot to enter the horn parts in the autograph; without any question they should be given the same notes as the trumpets.  
 107: only horns, trumpets and first violins *ff*, others only *f*, vln. I has phrasing , to be applied at least to meas. 108, 111 and 112.  
 115: Haydn writes *pianiss: e dolce*.  
 135: vln. I phrased as in 107.
- III.
- 3: (fl.), fag. and vln. I slur over whole meas.  
 7: the major mistake in the whole symphony: at the last note of this meas., fl., fag. and vln. I have *g*, not *f sharp*.  
 9/11: fl., vln. I, II grace notes in all sources *long* (i. e. ); vln. II has in meas. 9/10 the following dynamic markings:  

- 13/15: fl., ob. I, II, vln. I, II grace notes all long; vln. I has a trill in addition (13, 15), which must be approximately executed  
  
 (orig. )  
 19/20: strings phrased  as at 22/23.  
 24/26: vln. I  vln. II  etc.  
 35/38: trpt. and horns *p*; furthermore trpts. have   
 47: trpts. dotted minim *d''*. vln. I, middle note of chord is *d''*.  
 53/61: grace note figure always with a long grace note.  
 56: vln. I *fz* (add *p* to meas. 57, as in 9/10, above).
- IV.
- Tempo: Allegro di molto.*  
 4: vcl.-bass 3rd note *g*, not *a*.  
 91/92: fag., trpts. tied.  
 122: vln. I third last note *b''*, not *b flat''*.  
 153: ob. II quaver *d''*; fag. 3 × *b*.  
 163, 165: vln. II last note *fz*.  
 165: vln. I  (obviously removed by someone to avoid cross relation).  
 174: vln. I last note *fz*.  
 177: horn. I, II crotchet with crotchet rest.  
 233: timp. *f* here instead of next meas. (typically Haydn).  
 234/235: timp. has notes of 233/234 [*sic!*].  
 260: trpt. I, II *e''*—*c''*, not *c''*—*e'*.  
 263: fag., vla., vcl.-bass first note *b*, not *g*.  
 264: fag. = bass.  
 265: winds not *p* but *f*.

## Appendix I

† No. 95 (92 b)



- I. *Allegro moderato*
- II. Andante, E flat, 6/8.
- III. Menuet & Trio: c, 3/4; C, 3/4.
- IV. Vivace, C, C.

*Date of comp.*: London, 1791 (autograph).

*First performance*: Hanover Square, 1st season of 1791.

*Scoring*: 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str. (solo vln. in 1st movt., solo vcl. in trio).

*Cat. ref.*: EK/III, p. 32 ('112'); Kees, No. 94 'NB Von London / gekom[m]en': 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Corni [Clarini] / Flauto, Fagotti, Tympani'; HV 110 (tempo: 'Allo?'); Göttweig cat., p. 868, 'Comp R P Marianus 1800' (source lost).

*Authentic sources*: (1), (2), (3), (4), (5?).

*Sources*:

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) **Autograph**, BM (Royal Philharmonic Society MS. 137); title: 'Sinfonia'; at the top of the 1st page of music: 'In Nomine Domini. di me giuseppe Haydn [mpria] London 791.'; 56 pages; oblong English paper, 23,6 × 29 cm., 12-stave (watermarks: IX, 4, 6, 10). At end of MS.: 'Laus Deo'. Instr.: '2 Clarini in C / Tympano / 2 Corni in C / Oboe 1<sup>mo</sup> / [Oboe] 2do / Flauti / Fagotti / Violino 1<sup>mo</sup> / [Violino] 2do / Viola / Violoncello / Bassi'.

(2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 97; title (on the cover of the timp. pt.): 'Sinfonia in C minore'; pts. for fl., 2 ob., fag. II (fag. I missing), 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., 2 vln., vla., 'Violoncello Obl.', bass on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); an authentic copy, probably prepared for the Esterházy band c. 1792-1800. (Information from Dénes Bartha.)

### Authentic prints:

(3) Printed parts, Salomon with Monzani & Cimador, London, c. 1800-1805 (or earlier?): see No. 93, source 4.

(4a) First edition, in an arrangement for pianoforte, vln. & vcl., London (Salomon & Corri, Dussek), c. 1795: see No. 93, source 5a.

(4b) Arrangement for pianoforte, fl., 2 vln., vla., vcl.: see No. 93, source 5b.

(5) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna 1795 (announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 1st April, 1795); title: 'Grande / Simphonie / à / Plusieurs Instruments / Composée / par / Joseph Haydn / No. [19] / a Vienne chez Artaria et Comp. / f. 2.30.'; pl. no. 534. Copy in VSt, M 12098/C; GdM; etc. Authenticity of this print not proved. Re-issued after 1801 by Mollo.

### Secondary MSS.:

(6) MS. parts (incomplete), GdM, cat. XIII, 6157; no title page, and only woodwind, brass and timp. pts. extant; title at head of pts.: 'Sinfonia in C minor Haydn'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 22); source of Viennese origin, end of 18th cent.

(7) MS. score, GdM (Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.), cat. XIII, 6157; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 3, 85, etc.): c. 1810-20.

(8) MS. parts, Donau-Eschingen (Mus. Drwk. S. B. 2, 2588).

(9) MS. parts, Zwettl (Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.): same copyist as 7, approx. same date.

### Secondary prints:

(10) Printed parts, André, Offenbach/Main, 1795 (André cat.); title: 'Sinfonie à / Grand Orchestre, / composée / par / M<sup>r</sup> I. Haydn / Oeuvre 77, Livre 1';



# Appendix I

(Livre 2 = No. 96); pl. no. 760. Copy in Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt. Probably a reprint of source 5.

(11) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1796: see No. 93, source 10.


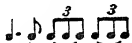






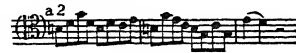
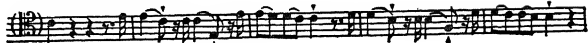


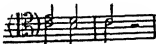
(12) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1801: see No. 93, source 11.

(13) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1805: see No. 6, source 10.

















Further printed editions: (14) Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam; (15) Simrock, Bonn, (heavily revised, e. g. with added clarinet pts.).

Critical editions: B. & H. score (Schultz) with pl. no. I, 95 (in preparation for G. A.), based on source 2 (and others?); Eulenburg No. 480 (Praetorius), based on old prints. No modern edition uses the autograph.


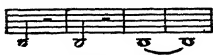

## Corrections to Eulenburg:

- I.
- 1: *Tempo* C, not C.
- 4/5: strings *ff*.
- 4/5: vln. I last three notes under one slur.
- 9: grace notes quavers.
- 18, 20: vla. two notes slurred together.
- 21 *ff*: *fz* (*sf*) only on minims, i. e. when theme appears, not on crotchets of accompanying figures.
- 30, 32: horns, vln. I, II *stacc.* on all crotchets.
- 38: vln. I *pp*.
- 38, 40: see 30, 32 (here to apply to fag., vln. II, vla., horns).
- 49: vcl.-bass 
- 55: vln. II, vla., vcl.-bass phrased 
- 58/59: ob. I crotchets have accented *stacc.* (v).
- 72: vln. II 
- 73: vln. II  ;  
whole orchestra, last two notes of meas. 73 and two notes of meas. 74 have accented *stacc.*, excepting, of course, brass and timp.
- 76/77: see comment to meas. 4/5.
- 80/88: fag. 
- 87: horns  (aut. originally had our modern version  which was crossed out).
- 89: fag. I 'Solo'; at meas. 94, 'Tutti'.
- 95: fag. II  ; vcl.-cb. *fz*.
- 96/97: vln. I last crotchet of each meas. *stacc.*
- 98: vln. II *fz* at beginning of meas.
- 100: vla., vcl.-bass ditto.
- 100/102: fag. *tacent*.
- 103: fag. II *col* fag. I.
- 113/115: fag. 
- 113: vln. II second note *fz*.
- 114/115: vcl.-bass tied.
- 117: vcl.-bass *pp*.
- 120/121: see comment to 4/5.
- 125: grace notes quavers.
- 131, 133, 139, 141: see comment to 30, 32, etc.
- 137/143: fag. II 
- 138: vln. I (II) *pp*.
- 139/141: missing solo violin part 
- 142/143: fag. II *col* fag. I
- 145/146: vln. I triplet figure slurred.
- 147/149: vln. II (on this basis also fl.) tied.
- 148: winds and strings except vln. I, *fz*, horns, trpt., timp. *ff*.
- 148, 150: timp. rhythm unmistakably 
- 150/151: fag. 

# Appendix I

- II. The title *cantabile* is not in aut.
- 1: vln. I the figure  is written ; this phrasing is to be applied throughout the movement, as in meas. 25.
- 5 (upbeat to): vla., vcl.-bass phrasing correct.
- 6: vln. I first three notes under one slur.
- 9: vln. II *d flat*, not *d*.
- 11: vcl. grace note figure phrased as in meas. I, vln. I; meas. 19/24 written out twice in all sources; we retain Eulenburg's numbering in future.
- 25 *ff.*: phrasing to be applied on basis of bar 1 
- 33: vcl.-bass *pp*.
- 41: vln. I phrasing as in 25 *ff*.
- 41/44: fag. *tacent*.
- 46: fag. last two notes 
- 48: vln. I, II last five notes 
- 50: vla. 
- 50/54: fag. II *col* fag. I.
- 55: vln. I, as in meas. 41.
- 57/59: fag. *tacent*; 60/62: 
- 59, 60: vln. II twelfth note 
- III.
- 1/4, 9/12 (first two crotchets), 23/26 (first two crotchets), 31/34, 45/47 fag. *tacent*. 3, 11, 13, 15, 33, 49, 51: grace note quaver.
- 15/16, 52/53: ob. II tied.
- 72: vcl. solo quavers slurred.
- 77: vln. I phrased 
- 83: vcl. solo grace note quaver.
- IV.
- 3: vln. II (on this basis also vla.) phrasing 
- 9/12: bass part different from vcl.; bass should read: 
- 14: vln. II first note ; this was changed in modern editions to avoid consecutive fifths with vcl.-bass.
- 22: fag. I last note 
- 32/43: Haydn made the second oboe double the second violin from meas. 32/36 (the two notes in meas. 33 have accented *stacc.*); after meas. 36 Haydn turned over the page and forgot to write out the 2nd oboe part any further, but there is no doubt that it should continue to double the second violin through meas. 43. It would be logical that the first oboe enter with the first violin at meas. 39, and this procedure is strongly recommended. We suggest that the first oboe plays the following in meas. 43 to provide a smooth transition to the succeeding note *b*: 
- 44/45, 48/49: horns should probably double trumpets; this seems to be an oversight in the aut.; there are similar passages in symphonies 94 (second movement), 99, 104, etc. At meas. 45 the trumpets have minima instead of crotchets.
- 58: fl., vln. I, II, first note *3vs* lower.
- 62: horn II like trpt. II.
- 62/69: Haydn marks the flute *col Violino Imo* at meas. 44; it seems, however, very doubtful that the flute should continue to double the violin in quavers during the meas. 62/69, and we suggest that the flute play  at meas. 62 and is silent until meas. 70, where Haydn began filling in the stave again. Another possible, though perhaps less satisfactory solution is to have the flute double the violin in crotchets ( etc.).

# Appendix I

- 69: vcl.-bass last note  127: fag. I as in meas. 22.  
 70: only strings *ff*. 154/157: Haydn has stopped notes for  
 78: vln. I no *f* on first note, *fz* on the second horn:  
 second; vln. II, vla. *fz* on first  note.  
 78/79: fl.  (then *tacet* 177: vla. second note same as first  
 until meas. 87). 178: vln. II second note(s), remove  
 106/136: Haydn writes out only the first *d*".  
 violin part in the aut.; in the 184/185: vln. I slur begins at meas. 184.  
 staves above is his remark: 191: vln. I, II fourth note should  
*come avanti ma senza replica.* be *b'*.  
 108: see comment to meas. 3. 199: strings *ff* here, not meas. 200.

† No. 96 (92a)

I.  ; Allegro, D, 3/4.

II. Andante, G, 6/8.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, D, 3/4.

IV. Vivace (in 1st vln. pt. of Artaria: 'Vivace assai', poss. a change made by Haydn: cf. No. 97/IV.), D, 2/4.

'Miracle': spurious title (see pp. 534f.).

Date of comp.: London, 1791 (autograph).

First performance: Hanover Square, 11th March 1791.

Scoring: 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str. (2 solo vln. in *Andante*).

Cat. ref.: EK/III, p. 32 ('113'); Kees, No. 93 'NB Von London / gekom[m]en'; 'Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni, Clarini / Flauto, Fagotti, Tympani'; HV 111 (tempo: 'Maestoso').

Authentic sources: (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7?).

Sources:

## Authentic MSS.:

(1) **Autograph**, BM (Royal Philharmonic Society MS. 138); title: 'Sinfonia' (the 1st page of the MS. covered with a plain piece of paper, and H's title almost illegible); at the top of the 1st page of music: 'In Nomine Domini di me giuseppe Haydn 791 / in / London.'; score specifies 'Flauto' and 'Fagotto', but there are clearly two of each instr. required; 63 pages; oblong English paper, 23,6 × 29 cm., 12-stave (watermarks: IX, 4, 6, 10); in the middle of the MS. are some sketches for the end of the *Andante* (p. 49). This aut., and to a lesser extent that of No. 95, show traces of considerable haste. At the end of MS.: 'Laus Deo'. For instr., see facsimile.

(2) **Autograph** of the pianoforte arrangement, omitting the *Andante*; Mrs. Charlotte A. Kleiss (former owners: Ferdinand Ries, William Ayrton, Edward Speyer); title: 'Sinfonia in D für das Klavier arrangirt...'; 9 pp., 24 × 29,5 cm. [From Albrecht, *Census*, p. 143].

(3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 98; title (on the cover of the timp. pt.): 'Sinfonia in D'; pts. for 'Flauti', 2 ob., 'Fagotti', 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., 2 vln., vla., vcl., bass on 4<sup>o</sup> paper; at the end of the minuet in the timpani pt. is the following pencilled (?) note: 'At first Strain, first time Drums 2<sup>d</sup> Strain 2<sup>d</sup> Time Drums'. The presence of this remark, obviously written by an English timpani player, suggests that either Elssler copied these parts in England in 1794 or 1795, or he copied them in 1792 or 1793 in Vienna and Haydn brought them with him to England. The watermarks of the paper, if known, would probably settle the question. It is therefore possible that some of the other EH pts. were used

## Appendix I

in England. At any rate, this MS. of No. 96 cannot have been written earlier than the summer of 1792 (it must be remembered that Elssler did not accompany Haydn on his first English journey) or later than the summer of 1795, when Haydn left England.

(4) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 705; title (on cover of timp.): 'Sinfonia in D'; pts. as in 'scoring'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 13); dup. vln. I, II & bass pts. by local copyist on German paper (VIII, 10); an authentic copy, probably prepared c. 1792-95; small corrections and additions in Haydn's hand.

### Authentic prints:

(5) Printed parts, Salomon with Monzani & Cimador, London, c. 1800-1805 (or earlier?): see No. 93, source 4.

(6a) First edition, in an arrangement for pianoforte, vln. & vel., London (Salomon & Corri, Dussek), c. 1795: see No. 93, source 5a.

(6b) Arrangement for pianoforte, fl., 2 vln., vla., vel.: see No. 93, source 5b.

(7) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1795 (announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 13th June 1795); title: 'Grande / Simphonie / A / Plusieurs Instruments / Composée / par / Mr. J. Haydn / No. [20] / A Vienne chez Artaria et Comp. / f. 2.30' [on some copies '6 f']; pl. no. 535. Copy in VSt, M 12099/C. Authenticity of this print not proved.

### Secondary MSS.:

(8) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 68; a local copy on 4<sup>o</sup> German paper (VIII, 10 or 12), c. 1800 (or slightly earlier?).

(9) MS. score, GdM (Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.), cat. XIII, 8543; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 3, 31): c. 1810-20.

(10) MS. parts, Donau-Eschingen (Mus. Dwrk. S. B. 2, 2588).

### Secondary prints:

(11) Printed parts, André, Offenbach/Main, 1795; title: 'Sinfonie / à / Grand Orchestre. / composée par / Mr. J. Haydn / Oeuvre 77, Livre 2'; (Livre 1 = No. 95); pl. no. 761. Copy in Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt. Probably a reprint of source 7.

(12) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1796: see No. 93, source 10.

(13) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1801: see No. 93, source 11.



*Further printed editions:* (14) Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam; (15) Simrock, Bonn, 19th cent. (with the spurious flute, bassoon, trumpet & drum pts.).

*Critical editions:* Eulenburg No. 481 (Praetorius), based on sources 7, 11 and the old B. & H. score: although the print contains many errors, it includes the first modern printing of the original trumpet & drum pts. (see *infra*); B. & H. score (Schultz) with pl. no. I, 96 (in preparation for G. A.), based on source 2 (and others?): minor errors, and spurious trumpet & drum pts. of *Adagio* introduction retained. No edition uses the autograph and Harburg MS.

### Corrections to Eulenburg:


Eulenburg has, through a very clever use of different sizes of print, placed both Haydn's original and the revised version of the trumpet and timpani parts together. Haydn's original parts are printed in smaller type throughout, and those meas. in brackets are not authentic.


The trumpet and drum parts to the second movement are by Haydn. The following corrections should be noted:





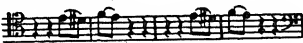







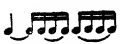
*I Movement*—meas. 142 ff.: both trpt. and timp. authentic; meas. 146: trpt. I — trpt. II; meas. 182: trpt. (and horns) should read  : 194: trpt. ff; 196: timp. .

# Appendix I

II Movement—meas. 38: timp. *f*; meas. 68: timp. part for some strange reason







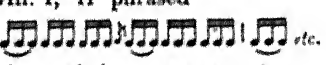

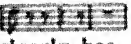
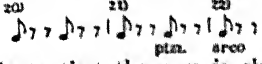







omitted; should read .

Finale—meas. 135/136, 137/138: trpt. I, II tied throughout; meas. 179/186: timp. has rests; 199: timp. .

- |   |  |                  |  |
|---|--|------------------|--|
| I.  |  | 71/75:           | the second flute part found in brackets in Eulenburg is not authentic; fl. II doubles fl. I.   |
| 1/2:                                      | cor. I, II accented <i>stacc.</i>  |                  |  |
| 2:  | vln. I has <i>stacc.</i> , not slur.   | 73:              | vln. II   |
| 3:  | vln. I last two notes double-dotted quaver and demisemi-quaver.  | 73/74:           | fag. tied.   |
| 5:  | vln. I, II, vla. last two notes <i>stacc.</i> (not slurred), and all strings have <i>fz</i> on ultimate quaver, not at beginning of meas. 6.   | 74/75:           | horns—remove slur.   |
| 6:  | strings—remove <i>fz</i> , substitute  to carry through third quaver; third quaver, where slur ends, has <i>stacc.</i> as well, bass has <i>p</i> . | 77:              | vln. I minim, not crotchet.  |
| 8:  | fl., ob. II, fag. minim, not crotchet.   | 82:              | ob. I, II all quavers <i>stacc.</i>  |
| 9:  | ob. I <i>cresc.</i> here, not just before meas. 10.  | 84:              | second section also marked   :   |
| 11:                                       | ob. I <i>f</i> at beginning of meas. (other instruments remain <i>p</i> ).   | 86:              | vcl.-cb. (should apply to fag. and vla. as well)  |
| 15/16:                                    | ob. I <i>stacc.</i> over crotchets.  | 89/91:           | fl. II doubles fl. I (see above, meas. 71/75).   |
| 17:                                       | ob. I phrased   | 94/97:           | vcl. in aut. (this is missing in the other MSS. and early editions; see also above, meas. 71/75):                                    |
| 18, 22, 32, 36 and all parallel passages: |  |                  | <br>(Bass! tacent)                                |
|   | vln. I only <i>stacc.</i> , not <i>portamento</i> .  | 104/112:         | fl. II doubles fl. I.  |
| 26:                                       | fl. second quaver <i>a'''</i> .  | 109/112:         | vln. II, horns (despite ties!) <i>fz</i> at beginning of each meas.  |
| 42:                                       | ob. II <i>e'''</i> , not <i>c'''</i> .   | 113:             | vla. last note                                   |
| 49:                                       | cor. II <i>8va</i> lower.  | (117,) 119, 121: | fl., ob. (contrary to vln. I)                    |
| 51:                                       | winds   | 121:             | vln. I <i>ff</i> , not <i>fz</i> ( <i>sf</i> ).  |
| 52:                                       | vln. II second crotchet <i>fz</i> .  | 123/129:         | fl. II doubles fl. I.  |
| 52/53:                                    | fag. I, II    | 132:             | see comment to 18, 22, etc.  |
| 54/55:                                    | vln. II   | 138:             | vla. 1st note <i>g</i> .   |
| 62:                                       | winds all marked <i>p</i> (strings <i>fz</i> as indicated).  | 139/140:         | fl., fag., vla., vcl.-bass                        |
| 63/64:                                    | vcl.-bass slur over each meas.   | 142:             | ob. I   |
| 67:                                       | vln. I phrased    | 143:             | vln. I = fl.   |
| 71/75:                                    | the following vcl. part is found in the aut.; for some obscure reason, the other MSS. and all subsequent prints omit it.   | 146:             | fag. phrased as in meas. 139/140.  |
|   |  | 146/147:         | vla., vcl.-cb. slur over each two quavers.   |
|   |  | 151:             | vln. I quavers <i>stacc.</i>   |
|   |  | 154:             | see 132.   |
|   |  | 161:             | vln. II <i>ff</i> .  |
|   |  |                  | ob. I octave higher.   |



# Appendix I

- 165/169: fl. II doubles fl. I; fl. I—165/166 and 167/168 tied.
- 169: ob. I, II  etc.
- 172/177: vla. *divisi*.
- 181/183: fl. II doubles fl. I.
- 187/188: vla., vcl.-bass *stacc.*
- 189: vla. first note 
- 189/191: fl. II doubles fl. I.
- 194: whole orchestra *fortissimo* except timp.
- 196/198: fag. II doubles fag. I.
- 197: vla. I and fl. grace note long (i. e. two quavers).
- 203: vln. I 
- at end of movement :||
- II. (trumpets, timpani authentic).  
upbeat to meas. 1, 2, 4 (vln. I); 5/7: winds and vln. I, etc.: the triplet figure is always *stacc.*, not *portamento*; in 5/7 the following quaver is also *stacc.*
- 1: vln. I quavers *stacc.*
- 3/4: vln. I dotted figure .
- 6: fag. (I) 
- 7/8: see meas. 3/4.
- 9: fl. II doubles fl. I.
- 12: ob. I last three triplet figures have slur over each; fag., vla., vcl.-bass quavers *stacc.*
- 13: vla. (on this basis, also fag.) last note *fz.*
- 14: vln. I, II figure with grace note slurred 
- 15/16: vln. I, II phrased  etc.
- 17: vla., vcl.-bass quavers *stacc.*
- 18/19: fag., strings (except bass) no *stacc.*, but fl., ob., bass 
- 20/21: fag. Elsler, Artaria, etc. , whereas autograph clearly has, at the beginning of meas. 20, a bass clef, by which Haydn always means 'col basso'; it is probable that the copyists misread the bass clef and wrote the above version erroneously. Compare, however, meas. 61/62.
- 20: vln. II, vla., vcl.-bass *pizz* not here but as follows:  
  
(note that the *arco* is also misplaced in Eulenburg).
- 22: vln. II first note  (see also meas. 63).
- 23: ob. I, II all semiquavers *stacc.* remove *decrease*.
- 25: strings *f* on same part of meas. as winds.  
vln. I from beginning of triplet figure, *stacc.*
- 26: vln. I seventh semiquaver with *tr.*  
vln. II ditto (i. e. third last note).  
vln. II *tr.* on 7th note.
- ob. I 
- 28: vln. II first two quavers slurred (i. e. third- and second-to-last notes).
- 29: vln. II, third-before-last note reads 
- 30: vln. I 
- 30/34: fl. II doubles fl. I.
- 32: vln. I *tr* on 7th note.
- 32/33: fag. II doubles fag. I.
- 33: vln. I reads (except in Artaria, where a printer's error occurs, which was carried down to our modern editions):  

- 33/34: ob. II reads 
- 34: vln. II *p* on second note.  
vla., vcl.-bass second note (*pizz*) is quaver, not crotchet.
- 35: vla. ditto.
- 37: vln. II all three quavers under one slur.
- 38/45: Haydn, forgetting that his horns were pitched in G (not C, like the trumpets), wrote a part which can be played only by a C-horn:  


# Appendix I

All the other sources except the aut. retain this version. Haydn, however, changed this on the autograph by drawing a new stave on the side (later, on the top) of each page with a sign indicating that the copyist was to utilize the corrected part, which is for the G-horns. The fact that the other sources retained the old C part, without indicating a change of crook, is very curious. The old B. & H. score does indicate 'Muta in C' and 'Muta in G' respectively. Haydn's revised part in G should be used:



- 38: vln. II
- 38/39: ob. tied.
- 39: vln. I third quaver, top note *ff*.
- 41/43: bass *d*'s tied.
- 42: fag. II 1st note *d*.
- 44: fl., vln. I, II sixth semiquaver *a'*, not *c#*''.
- 50/52: bass. plays with the cello.
- 53: fag., vcl.-bass quavers *stacc*.
- 54: vla. (on this basis also fag.) last note *fz*.
- 55 *ff*: *cf.* comment to meas. 14 and 15/16.
- 58: *cf.* comment to meas. 17.
- 59/60: *cf.* comment to meas. 18/19.
- 61/63: for misplaced *pizz* and *arco*, *cf.* comment to meas. 20; this is to be applied here as well (Haydn has noted, at meas. 51, 'etc. Come Sopra' and left the copyist to fill in the missing part up to meas. 63).
- 66: vln. II, vla., vcl.-bass 2nd and 3rd notes slurred together, not *stacc*.
- 70: vln. II second note(s) as in previous meas.
- 71: the decrescendo is not in aut. but found in the other sources and appears to be an afterthought which Haydn added during the rehearsals.
- 72: here, all modern editions have *b flat* instead of *b natural* in the first and second violins and bassoon, thus avoiding an augmented

chord; this probably derives from Artaria, which has the fantastic combination of *b natural* in the bassoon and *b flat* in the violins.

(To be corrected: fag. II, vln. II, first note *b natural*, not *b flat*; vln. I, second note, ditto.)

- 73: *pp* from sources 3-5 and secondary MSS. (probably same situation as in meas. 71).
- 74: vcl. *pizz* at beginning of meas.
- 79: vln. I first three notes

## III.

- 2/3, 10/11, 30/31: vln. I

- 3, 31: one of the most peculiar differences between the modern versions and Haydn's occurs here, where fl., ob. I, vln. I, II have *g* (natural), not *g sharp*.

For the *ad libitum* timp. variant, see source 3, *supra*.

- 7: vln. I, II

- 12: fl., vln. I first two notes slurred.

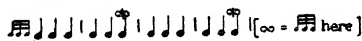
- 13/20: fl.

- 22: fag., vla., vcl.-bass slur over both notes.

- 26: vln. I, II (and fl.) phrased as in succeeding meas.

- 27/28: fl. II doubles fl. I.

- 41/44: at meas. 41 the ornament for fl. and ob. should be dropped and the following added to vln. I:



- 45/46: fl. I, II

- 47: remove *p* from all parts (this is an addition of Artaria).


- 48: ob. II first note a third higher.


- 48, 49: fl. remove


- 51: (*f*, see meas. 47); in the succeeding trio the accompanying strings have no phrasing () in the aut., but Salomon's print includes the *portamento* as found in Eulenburg; this phrasing is therefore to be considered authentic (probably added in rehearsal).





# Appendix I

65/66: phrasing 

74: horns 

75: ob. I 

## IV.

The autograph has *Divace*, the other sources *Divace assai*; this is undoubtedly a tempo alteration made by the composer during performance; in a letter to Frau von Genzinger from London, dated 17th November, 1791, Haydn says "I beg you to ask Herr v. Kees to have a rehearsal of both these symphonies (i. e. Nos. 95 and 96), as they are very delicate, particularly the last movement (of that) in D, which I recommend to be played as *pianissimo* as possible, and the tempo very quick". The strings are always phrased , never .

8: vln. II third lower (a).


14: vla. instead of last note, a rest.

29/47 (48): the bassoon part is missing in aut. but is present in the other sources and seems to be an afterthought.


39: oboes phrased 

48/52: fag.





54: fag., vla., vcl.-bass 


62/66: fag. II col fag. I, and in

67/68 fag. (a2) 

66/68: fl. I col fl. II.

70: vln. I, II in aut. , in Elssler

(and secondary MSS.) , in


Artaria and Salomon .

86/92: fag. II col fag. I.


100/102: vln. I phrased



109: vln. II last note *d'*.

114: ob. I 

114/115: fag. tied.

118/119: ob. I, II in aut. originally had for meas. 118 the same notes as in 117, and gave both instruments the following in meas. 119: ; this is ob-

viously unsatisfactory, and Haydn altered it on the edge of the page; but Elssler, Artaria and the other sources copied the original part, which suggests that Haydn made his change after the parts were copied and corrected it at a rehearsal orally. His correction reads:



This version is, however, found in the Salomon print.

120/121: fl., vln. I should read



; the aut. indicates this by the old method of placing a dot at the beginning of meas. 121 instead of tying the note across the bar-line.

120/123: fag. II col fag. I.

121: vcl.-bass, last note third lower (i. e. *f* instead of *a*).

131/132: fag. II col fag. I.

135/136 and 137/138: horns I, II tied.

139: vla. 

171: remove *p*.

200 *ff*: winds are not *p* but remain *f*, except for trumpets and drums; at meas. 204 the oboes read:



209: bass col vcl.

210, 212, 214, 216: fl. II col fl. I.

238/239: vln. I, II to use two strings:





## Appendix I

† No. 97



II. Adagio ma non troppo, F, G.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto, C, 3/4.

IV. Spiritoso (in source 2 changed to 'Presto assai' in Haydn's hand), C, 2/4.

*Date of comp.:* London, 1792 (autograph).

*First performance:* Hanover Square, 3rd or 4th May 1792 (see Chapter XII).

*Scoring:* 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 trpt. (from *Adagio* on 'Clarini'), timp., str. (solo vln. in trio): aut. of finale specifies 'Bassi Continui.'

*Cat. ref.:* EK/III, p. 32 ('110'); Kees, missing; HV 108.

*Authentic sources:* (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6 ?).

*Sources:*

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) **Autograph**, heirs of Stefan Zweig, London (sold by auction, Gerd Rosen, Berlin, April, 1951); title: 'Sinfonia in C / di me giuseppe Haydn [mpria] London. 792.'; at the top of the 1st page of music: 'In Nomine Domini'; 86 pages (9 blank); oblong English paper, 23,5 × 30 cm., 12-stave (watermarks: IX, 2, 4). At end of 1st movt.: 'Laus Deo'; at end of MS.: 'Fine Laus Deo'. It is possible that the 1st movt. was composed *after* the others; this is a conjectural explanation of the 'Laus Deo'. Instr.: '2 Trombe in C / Tympano / 2 Corni in C / oboe 1<sup>m</sup> / [oboe] 2<sup>do</sup> / Flauti / Fagotti / Violini 1<sup>m</sup> / [Violino] 2<sup>do</sup> / Viola / Violon / cello / Contra Bassi'.

(2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 99; title (cover of the timp. pt.): 'Sinfonia in C'; pts. as in 'scoring', with dup. vln. I, II and bass also by Elssler; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); an authentic copy, probably prepared for the Esterházy band c. 1792-1800; small corrections and additions in Haydn's hand (e. g. tempo of finale changed to 'Presto assai').

(3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 690; title (cover of the timp. pt.): 'Sinfonia in C'; pts. as in 'scoring'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 13, 22); dup. vln. I, II & bass pts. by local copyist on German paper (VIII, 10); an authentic copy, probably prepared c. 1792-95; a few corrections and additions in Haydn's hand.

### Authentic prints:

(4) Printed parts, Salomon with Monzani & Cimador, London, c. 1800-1805 (or earlier?): see No. 93, source 4.

(5a) First edition, in an arrangement for pianoforte, vln. & vcl., London (Salomon & Corri, Dussek), c. 1795: see No. 93, source 5a.

(5b) Arrangement for pianoforte, fl., 2 vln., vla., vcl.: see No. 93, source 5b.

(6) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1796 (announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 9th July 1796); title: 'Grand Simphonie / A / Plusieurs Instruments / Composée / par / Joseph Haydn / No. [23] / A Vienne chez Artaria et Comp. / f 2.30'; pl. no. 648. Copies in VSt, M 1212/C (Cappi reprint, same plates), GdM, Manchester, etc. Authenticity of this print not proved. Re-issued after 1801 by Cappi.

### Secondary MSS.:

(7) MS. parts, Donau-Eschingen (Mus. Drwk. S. B. 2, 2588).

(8) MS. score, GdM (Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.), cat. XIII, 8402; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 3, 31, 36): c. 1810-20. Of the MS. pts. in GdM, only one bass pt. (I, 1) is old; the rest are mid-19th cent.

## Appendix I

### Secondary prints:

(9) Printed parts, André, Offenbach/Main, 1796 (André cat.); title: 'Sinfonie / à / Grand Orchestre, / composée par / Joseph Haydn / Oeuvre 83. Livre [1]'; (Livre 2 = No. 93); pl. no. 933. Copy in Manchester. Probably a reprint of source 6.

(10) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1796: see No. 93, source 10.

(11) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1801: see No. 93, source 11.

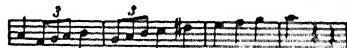
*Further printed editions:* (12) Hummel, Amsterdam-Berlin; (13) Simrock, Bonn, 19th cent. (heavily edited).

*Critical edition:* Eulenburg No. 483 (Praetorius), based on sources 9 and 13; no modern edition uses the autograph and authentic MSS.

### Corrections to Eulenburg:

#### I.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1: vln. II <i>portamento</i> (.....)<br/>from second note, obviously to be applied to succeeding measures; cello in meas. 4 also <i>portamento</i> from 2nd note.</p> <p>5, 7: fl., strings <i>p</i> on second note: ob. I has decresc. leading, in each case, to subsequent meas.</p> <p>9: vln. I grace note long.<br/>vln. II last four notes <i>g'</i>.</p> <p>10: fl., vln. I +, not <i>tr.</i> (to be performed like ornament in meas. 6).</p> <p>11: fl., vln. I grace note long.</p> <p>21, 24, 28: strings <i>stacc.</i>, also winds in meas. 26 and 30 and lower strings in meas. 31, 33, 35.</p> <p>38, 191: remove <i>dim.</i></p> <p>44/46, 48: vln. II <i>fz</i> on each minim.</p> <p>53: vla., vcl.-cb. <i>ff.</i></p> <p>63/66: strings' last four quavers <i>stacc.</i></p> <p>83: vcl. quavers under slur (to be applied to meas. 84/85; vla. (fag.?) 87/89; 223 <i>ff.</i>).</p> <p>94/97: bass:</p> | <p>99 <i>ff.</i>: vln. II, vla., vcl.-cb. have <i>portamento</i> over crotchets.</p> <p>145: cor., trpt. dotted minim.</p> <p>146/147: ob. II tied.</p> <p>149: vcl.-cb. (add to vla.) <i>ff.</i></p> <p>150/151: ob. II tied.</p> <p>174 <i>ff.</i>: see comments to 21, 24, 28, etc.</p> <p>199/202: horn II = horn I, is tied throughout. Fl. tied.</p> <p>204: see comment to meas. 63/66.</p> <p>213: horn I = trumpet I; horns (trpts.) tied to 214.</p> <p>230: bass <i>arco</i> 233, not here.</p> <p>237/238: whole orchestra <i>stacc.</i></p> <p>250: bass one octave higher.</p> <p>261, 263, 265: vln. I last notes <i>portamento</i>; remove <i>cresc.</i>, meas. 263/264.</p> <p>266/267: vcl.-cb. tied.</p> <p>270: in EH parts, Haydn added <i>fz</i> in his own handwriting to the cello-bass part(s).</p> <p>277: trpt. I, II rests.</p> <p>288/289: trumpet II octave lower through first note in meas. 290 (but not in aut.!).</p> |
|---|---|




(vcl. = Eulenburg).

#### II.











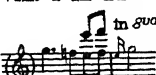


For some curious reason many of Haydn's original dynamic marks here (esp. decrescendo) have not survived.

*Tempo* C, not C; trumpets in C (misprint in Eulenburg).

Throughout the movement the figure  is so phrased and has a decrescendo under it. This should be added throughout the entire movement, as it was by Haydn — thus upbeat to meas. 1 (vln. I), vln. I, vln. II, vla. (meas. 2), etc.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1/3: (and in future parallel passages) vcl.-cb. (and vla.) <i>stacc.</i> 4, 8, etc. winds <i>stacc.</i></p> <p>21/22: (and in future parallel passages) vln. II has <i>p</i> on minim, not at beginning of meas.</p> | <p>23: strings have decresc. through middle of 23; vcl.-cb. have, however, decresc. beginning at 23 and lasting through whole meas. to <i>p</i> at meas. 24. This applies to all future passages (29, 37, etc.).</p> |
|---|--|

# Appendix I

- 28: vln. II last note only *a flat* (as in meas. 22).
- 30: vln. I last quarter of bar has a rest, not *c'* (as in meas. 52). vcl.-cb. first note octave lower.
- 46/47: vln. I both meas. *stacc.* throughout.
- 52/53: vln. II, vla., vcl.-cb. *all* triplets *stacc.*
- 55: vln. I first three notes with slur, not *stacc.*
- 57/58: vln. I all triplets *stacc.* up to middle of meas. 58, then 
- 59: vln. I last half of meas. *stacc.*
- 63: remove *cresc.* here.
- 67 *ff.*: figure  now without *de-cresc.* (bars 77/78 with); the four semiquavers at the end of each meas. are to be phrased 
- 81: vcl.-cb. *pp.*
- upbeat to 85: Haydn (in aut.) writes over the violins *al ponticello*; the violins are to phrase this upbeat 
- 86/87: vln. I, II no phrasing.
- 92: vln. I (at *p*) marked by Haydn (aut.) *vicino al pon[ticello sic]*.
- 99: vln. II instead of last 4 notes, minim.
- 101/103: strings have no phrasing on semiquavers.
- 108/109: vln. I ditto.
- 114: vln. II, vla. (vcl.-cb.) (aut.) *al ponticello* at *f*.
- 120: remove *dim.*; 123 remove *cresc.*
- 128: vln. II (at second crotchet), vln I (at last quaver) *naturale*.
- 143: remove *cresc.*
- 144: vln. I, II phrased 
- 145: *ff*, not *fz* (*sf*).
- III.
- 1: trumpets also have grace note (long — like the rest).
- 6: horn I 
- 7, 15: vln. I (and vln. II) + instead of *tr.*
- 11: vcl. first note *d*, not *c*.
- 30: 2nd note of horn II = horn I.
- 33: oboes *f*, not *p* (also meas. 59).
- 34: flutes *f*, not *p* — also meas. 60, where flutes have 
- 35: fag. *f*, not *p* (also meas. 61).
- 43/45: woodwind, vln. I, II slur over each meas.
- 62: timp. *f* at beginning of meas.
- 63: trumpet II like horn II.
- 64/65: fag. like bass.
- 75: vla. third quaver 
- 84 *ff.*: vln. I phrased 
- 85, 101: ob. I, vln. I in *all* sources 
- 108: vln. I in aut. has the following  *in suo Salomon Solo ma piano* ;  
in other words, a solo violin is to play the notes given to the whole section in Eulenburg, whereas the whole section should actually play one octave lower.
- 116: vla. *e'* not *c*.
- IV.
- upbeat to 17: horns *f*.
- 24: fl. (a2) 
- 57/58: fag. 
- 87: in *no* source is a *p* indicated, nor an *f* in meas. 93.
- 148: vln. II second chord has as its top *c''*, not *e flat''*.
- 151: strings *ff*.
- 167/169: remove accents.
- 211: horns *f*.
- 254: (upbeat) and 255: general *f*, not *p*.
- 258 (259): general *ff*.
- 300/301: cor. I, II, trpt. I tied.
- 311: <> authentic.

## Appendix I

† No. 98



- I. *Adagio*, F, 3/4.
- II. *Adagio*, F, 3/4.
- III. Menuet & Trio: *Allegro*, B flat, 3/4.
- IV. *Presto*, B flat, 6/8.

*Date of comp.*: London, 1792 (autograph).

*First performance*: Hanover Square, 4th March 1792.

*Scoring*: 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str. (solo vln. in finale), solo cembalo in finale; aut. of 2nd movt. specifies 'Bassi Con:[tinui]'.  
*Cat. ref.*: EK/III, missing; Kees, missing; HV, missing(!)

*Authentic sources*: (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6 ?).

*Sources*:

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) *Autograph*, Bst (Poland?), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 47 (from the Coll. of Ludwig van Beethoven); title: 'Sinfonia in b fa'; at the top of the 1st page of music: 'In Nomine Domini di me giusep[pe Haydn London 792]': the bracketed portion missing, since page is torn here, but it may be supplied from old cat. ref. in Bst, Artaria, etc.; a section of the finale missing (meas. 75-128: four pages of MS.); 82 pages (several blank, several used for revisions, etc.); oblong English paper 25.2 × 31 cm., 12-stave (watermarks: IX, 1, 3). At end of MS.: 'Fine Laus Deo'. Instr.: '[2 Clari]ni in b fa / Tympano in b et F / 2 Corni in b fa / oboe 1<sup>m</sup> / [oboe] 2<sup>do</sup> / Flauto / Fagotti / Violini 1<sup>m</sup> / [Violino] 2<sup>do</sup> / Viola / Violoncello / Contra Bassi'.

(2) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, Harburg, cat. III, 4 1/2, fol. 671; title (cover of timp. pt.): 'Sinfonia in B'; pts. as in 'scoring'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 13, 22); dup. vln. I, II & bass pts. by local copyist on German paper (VIII, 10); an authentic copy, probably prepared c. 1792-95; a few corrections and additions in Haydn's hand; the solo cembalo pt. in finale not contained in this MS.

(3) MS. score by English copyist used by Haydn in 1791-92 (copy of 'Orfeo' in EH in same handwriting, with corr. by H.), BM (Royal Philharmonic Society MS. 136); title: 'Sinfonia Del Sig.<sup>e</sup> Giuseppe Haydn'; almost certainly a copy of the autograph (the cembalo pt. in the finale is retained); oblong English paper (watermarks: IX, 1, 7).

### Authentic prints:

(4) Printed parts, Salomon with Monzani & Cimador, London, c. 1800-1805 (or earlier?): see No. 93, source 4.

(5 a) First edition, in an arrangement for pianoforte, vln. & vcl., London (Salomon & Corri, Dussek), c. 1795: see No. 93, source 5 a.

(5 b) Arrangement for pianoforte, fl., 2 vln., vla., vcl.: see No. 93, source 5 b.

(6) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1796 (announced in the *Wiener Zeitung* of 9th July 1796); title: 'Grand / Simphonie / A / Plusieurs Instruments / Composée / par / Joseph Haydn / No. [22] / A Vienne chez Artaria et Comp. / f 2.30 [on some copies "6 f."]; pl. no. 644. Copies in GdM (8547), VSt M 12100/C, Manchester, etc. Authenticity of this print not proved.

### Secondary MSS.:

(7) MS. parts, Donau-Eschingen (Mus. Drwk. S. B. 2, 2588).

(8) MS. parts, Regensburg, cat. J. Haydn 69; a local copy on 4<sup>o</sup> German paper (VIII, 10 or 12), c. 1800 (or slightly earlier?).

(9) MS. score, GdM (Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.), cat. XIII, 8547; oblong Italian paper (watermarks: I, 3, 31, 36): c. 1810-20.

## Appendix I

### Secondary prints:

(10) Printed parts, André, Offenbach/Main, 1796 (André cat.); title: 'Sinfonie / à / Grand Orchestre / composée par / Monsieur / Joseph Haydn / Oeuvre 80<sup>me</sup> / Livre [2] [Livre 1 = No. 94] / No. 857 . 911. Prix F 2. 24 Kr.'; pl. no. 911 (cf. No. 94, source 9). Copies in Seitenstetten, Florence, Manchester, etc. Probably a reprint of source 6.

(11) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, 1796: see No. 93, source 10.

(12) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1801: see No. 93, source 11.





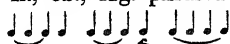


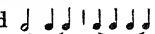


(13) Printed score, Le Duc, Paris, c. 1810: see No. 6, source 10: textually very inferior: trpt. & drum pts. entirely omitted.

*Further printed editions:* (14) Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam; (15) Simrock, Bonn, 19th cent. (with the spurious trumpet and drum pts.).


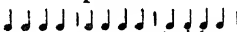
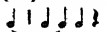







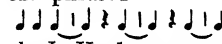



*Critical edition:* Eulenburg No. 485 (Praetorius), supposedly revised from aut., but with appalling errors. No modern score includes the authentic trumpet & timpani pts. (Eulenburg only partly correct).

### Corrections to Eulenburg:

*The authentic trumpet & drum pts. are reproduced at the end of this appendix.*

- |  |  |                   |  |
|--|--|-------------------|--|
| I.   | <i>Tempo</i> C, not C.   | 78:               | remove <i>dim.</i>   |
| 4:   | no <i>ff.</i>  | 79/81:            | see comment to 71/73.  |
| 8:   | strings last two notes <i>stacc.</i>   | 86:               | vln. I last two notes slurred, not <i>stacc.</i>   |
| 20:  | vln. II last two notes phrased<br>                        | 91:               | vcl.-bass phrased as in succeeding meas.   |
| 25/26:   | vln. I phrased <br>(vln. II, 26, last two notes no slur). | 99:               | fag. should read like bass.  |
| 27/28:   | fl., vln. II slur over both meas.  | 110/111:          | ob. I slur over both meas.   |
| 29 (fl.), 30 (vln.)  | slur over whole meas.  | 111:              | vln. II    |
| 30:  | remove >.  | 118:              | <i>cresc.</i> authentic.   |
| 32:  | oboes reversed.  | 131:              | vln. I    |
| 36, 38:  | vln. I, II (on this basis also ob. I) last two quavers <i>stacc.</i>   | 132/140:          | Haydn clearly wants the vcl. to play both the top and bottom of the bass line, either <i>divisi</i> or by double stops; the vcl. bottom line is not tied, that of the bass is tied throughout. |
| 44, 46:  | vln. I <i>fz</i> at beginning of each meas.  | 133:              | vln. I no slur (cf. also 17).  |
| 52:  | no <i>sf</i> ( <i>fz</i> ) here.   | 135, 137:         | vln. I remove 2nd slur.  |
| 52/54:   | fl., ob., fag. phrased<br>                              | 136:              | vln. I last two notes slurred.   |
| 57/58:   | vln. I, II, vla. slur over both meas.  | 137/138:          | ob. I slur from 137 to first note of 138, 2nd-4th notes of 138 slurred.  |
| 59:  | phrasing  , not <i>stacc.</i> ;                         | 143/144:          | fl. remove 2nd slur.   |
|  | vln. II semibreve <i>a.</i>  | 149/150, 150/151: | vln. II    |
| 64/65:   | <> not authentic.  | 155:              | vln. I slur over 1st two notes, last two <i>stacc.</i> ; vcl.-cb. all notes <i>stacc.</i>  |
|  | vln. I phrased    | 161:              | ob. I slur over whole meas.  |
| 66 (fag., vcl.-bass), 68 (vla., vcl.-bass), 70 (vla., vcl.-bass) | no slurs.  | 168:              | vcl.-cb. <i>stacc.</i> (add to vla. and 171).  |
| 69/70:   | remove <i>dim.</i>   | 172:              | vla. last note <i>g</i> , not <i>f</i> .   |
| 71:  | fl.   | 206:              | remove <i>dim.</i>   |
| 71/73:   | ob. I, II (and partly fag.) phrased<br>                 | 211:              | fl., ob., fag., str. last two notes <i>stacc.</i>  |
| 75/76, 83/84:  | remove <◇>.  | 220:              | remove <i>espressivo</i> .   |

# Appendix I

- 225: ob. I, II should read as in meas. 32.
- 229: fl. final note *d'''*, not *b flat*.
- 242: vln I, compare 90.
- 257: as in 220.
- 261/262: fl. tied.
- 278: vln. I lacks bottom note of chord.
- 279: grace note quaver.
- 286: horns 
- 287: vln. I last note *a''* instead of *c'''*.
- 288/290: vln. I phrased 
- 291/292 (fl.) and 292/293 (ob. I) phrased 
- 292/293: vla. tied.
- 293/294 (fl.) and 294/295 (ob. I) phrased 
- 294: remove *dim*.
- 299: vln. I (not tied over from preceding meas.)  etc.
- 300/301: whole orchestra except timp. *stacc*.
- 306/307: fag. tied.
- vla. (twice) 
- II.
- 5, 7: vln. I remove last *stacc*.  
vla., vcl.-bass *decresc.* under minim.
- 5/6: vla. tied.
- 7: vln. I, II supply *p* as in meas. 5.
- 14: grace notes ♯ (i. e. ).
- 17: vln. I *p*.
- 21: fl., vln. I no phrasing over sextolets (cf. meas. 65).
- 22: vln. I not *stacc*. (cf. meas. 66).
- 24: ob. 2nd note quaver with *stacc*.
- 25: as in meas. 21 (cf. meas. 69).
- 26: fag. slur over 1st two notes; vln. I, II *stacc*.
- 27: cor. I, II remove dot, substitute crotchet rest.
- 32/33: vcl. plays top note, bass plays bottom note.
- 34: remove *cresc*.
- 36: *ff*.
- 37: ob. I, II second beat 
- 37, 39: vla., vcl.-cb. *stacc*.
- 38: *fz* instead of *f*.
- 41: ditto.
- 43/44: vln. II, vla., vcl.-bass last note of 43 and first two notes of 44 *stacc*.
- 49: over vcl. "solo".
- 53: vln. I   
vln. II, vla, vcl.-bass > reaching to beginning of meas. 54.
- 53/54: vla. tied.
- 55: as in meas. 53.
- 57: vln. I phrased 
- 61: vln. I *p*.
- 65: fl., vln. I first sextolet *stacc*. (not *portamento*).
- 66: ob., vln. I *stacc*. correct (compare meas. 22).
- 69: as in 65.
- vln. II last two notes not dotted.
- 76: str. *stacc*.
- 81: vln. I first note *e flat'*, not *f'*.
- III.
- 1/3, 41/45: vln. I (and fl., ob., when doubling) no phrasing.
- 6/9: ob. phrased 
- 11: ob. I, II slur over whole meas.
- 18/19: winds phrased 
- 27: fl. first note *g''*, not *e''*.
- 28/29, 33/34: ob. II tied.
- 37/38: vcl.-cb. tied.
- 43: cor. I, II = trpt. I, II.
- 44, 45: no *p*, whole orch. remains *f*.
- 55/56: vln. II tied across bar-line.
- 57: vln. I, II slur over entire meas.
- 58/60: winds phrased as in 18/19.
- 72: fl., vln. I phrased: 
- 89: remove *dim*.
- 90: no *pp* (in vla., vcl.-bass *p*).
- 97, 99: vcl.-bass (and fl.) slur over entire meas.
- IV.
- 5/6: vln. I phrased 
- 13/14: ob. I ditto.
- 14: ob. I penultimate note *d''* (see also meas. 369/370, 373/374).
- 38: vln. II = vln. I.
- 73: *cresc*. authentic.

# Appendix I

- 75: *f* at 2nd half of meas., not 76.  
ob. II has *legato* slur through meas. 78.
- 81/82: ob. I, II tied.
- 95: vln. I phrased
- 123: vln. I grace note crotchet.
- 137: ob. I, II third higher (i. e. *c'''-a''*); vln. I 2nd note only *c''*.
- 139/140, 141/142: vcl.-cb. low *F*'s *stacc.*
- 143: ob. II first note *f''*.
- 161 *ff.*: vln. I
- 174: fag. second note *c#'*.
- 179/180: fag. II tied.
- 180/181: ob. I, II tied; 181/182: ob II tied.
- 210/211: vln. solo   
(212 phrased like 210).
- 214, 220: vln. I no *stacc.*
- 226/231: vln. solo
- 236/237: vln. solo phrased like vln. I, meas. 5/6.
- 247: ob. I last note *e flat''*.
- 261/262: fag. (ob.) slur from second note, 261 over last note, 262.
- 273: *cresc.* authentic.
- 277/279: cor. I, II have rests!
- 281/288: ob. I, II from 2nd half of 281 should be crotchets with quaver rests, not dotted crotchets.
- 284: ob. I, II should read like meas. 288.
- 321/322, 325/(326): vcl.-cb. *marcato* on each crotchet.
- 328 *ff.*: vln. I new phrasing authentic. (N. B. vln. I *p* after *fermata*.)
- 331: vln. I last two notes slurred.
- 332 (333): vln. II ditto.
- 339: vla. bottom note of double stop *b*.
- 358/359: fl., vln. I, II remove <
- 361, 363: whole orch. *stacc.*
- 365/375: a *cembalo* solo is found in the autograph and the British Museum copy; cf. Chapter XIII, Ex. 10:

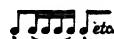


369/370: (ditto 373/374) vln. I



380: no *ff.*

380/381: vln. I, II phrased



† No. 99

I.   
*Adagio*; Vivace assai, E flat, 4/4.

II. *Adagio*, G, 3/4.

III. Menuetto & Trio: Allegretto, E flat, 3/4; C, 3/4.

IV. Vivace, E flat, 2/4.

Date of comp.: 1793 (autograph).

First performance: Hanover Square, 10th February 1794.

Scoring: 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 clar., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str.

Cat. ref.: EK/III, p. 32 ('108'); Kees, missing; HV 106.

Sketches: VNat, Codex 18987 (for finale); arrangement of 4th movt. for Flötenuhr; autograph, Bst (Marburg), Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 23 (Schmid No. 32) — transposed to F major.

## Appendix I

*Authentic sources:* (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6).

*Sources:*

### *Authentic MSS.:*

(1) **Autograph**, Bst (Poland?), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 45; title: '794 / Sinfonia'; at the top of the 1st page of music: 'In Nomine Domini di me giuseppe Haydn [mpria] 793.'; 64 pages; oblong Italian paper, 23,3 × 32 cm., 12-stave (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 12). The date 1794 refers to the year of perf., whilst 1793 indicates the year of composition.

(2) **MS. score** by Johann Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 100. As this book goes to press I have received microfilms of this source which, in contradistinction to the EH scores of Nos. 93 and 94, is definitely by Johann, and not by his brother, Joseph Jr. The title page of the present score is blank, and there is no heading at the top of the first page of music; the source is probably a direct copy of the autograph. Oblong paper.

(3) **MS. parts** by Johann Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 100. The title page is not by Elssler, nor are the duplicate vln. I, vln. II, vla. und vcl.-cb. pts. Title: 'Sinfonia in Es [underlined] / a / due Violini / due Oboi / due Corni / due Flauti / due Fagotti / due Clarinetti / Tympani / Viola, Violoncello e Basso / del Sig<sup>re</sup> / Giuseppe Haydn / ricevuta da lui medesimo / in segno d'amicizia'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper.

### *Authentic prints:*

(4) Printed parts, published by J. P. Salomon with the firm Monzani & Cimador, London, c. 1800-1805 (or earlier?): see No. 93, source 4. A copy of No. 99 (one of the two works in this series which was hitherto known to have existed — the other was No. 102) is listed in the *Katalog der Haydn-Gedächtnisausstellung*, Vienna, 1932, p. 38, No. 701, from the Hoboken Collection, Ascona. (Pl. no. 140).

(5) Probably the first edition of Nos. 99-104 in an arrangement by J. P. Salomon for pianoforte, vln. & vcl.; title: 'Haydn's / celebrated / Symphonies / composed for and performed at / Mr. Salomon's / and / The Opera Concerts / adapted for the / Piano-Forte / with an Accompaniment / for a Violin & Violoncello ad libitum / Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 [left:] Ent.<sup>d</sup> at Stat.<sup>s</sup> Hall. [right:] Price to Subscribers 1..1..0 / Non Subscribers 1..11..6 / or Singly 6s. each. [middle:] Simpkins fe. / London, / Printed for Mr. Sa'omon the Proprietor, / and to be had of him at the Hanover Square Rooms.' Salomon's signature on the title pages. Watermark date: 1796. Copy in BM, g. 134. (7-12); copy in EH (from H's own coll.). Nos. 7-12 = G. A. 104, 103, 102, 99, 101 and 100. A few corrections in Salomon's hand. Reprinted by Simrock, Bonn, c. 1798 (pl. no. 53): copy in BM, f. 186. e. 2.

(6) Arrangement by J. P. Salomon for pianoforte, fl., 2 vln., vla., vcl.: see No. 93, source 5b.

### *Secondary MSS.:*

(7) **MS. parts**, GdM, cat. XIII, 6164; no title page extant, and only the following pts. extant: fl. I, II, ob. I, II, clar. I, II, fag. I, II, cor. I, II, clarino I, II on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 4, 22); pts. from end of 18th cent.

(8) **MS. parts**, Zwettl (from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.); 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 3, etc.); dup. str. pts. by same copyist on same paper; c. 1810-20.

(9) **MS. parts** of Nos. 99-104 from a Viennese copyist's firm, VNat, s. m. 22157; one of the copyists is Viennese professional No. 3; there is no title page; pts. for 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 clarinets (for 100/II, 101, 104 but not for 103), 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., perc., str.; 4<sup>o</sup> German paper (coat-of-arms with the number '4', 'S' on one side, inverted 'S' on other; beneath the letters 'IAD' or poss. 'IAL' and 'WOLFEG'); two other types of paper occasionally used, one with watermarks illegible, and one — of a greenish tinge — with some sort of crowned coat-of-arms; title at head of pts.: 'Sinfonie / Del Sign. Giusepp Haydn'; most pts. signed at end:



## Appendix I

'L:D?'; order of works: 100, 101, 103, 102, 104, 99. Source of Viennese origin, c. 1795-1810 (?).

### Secondary prints:

(10) Printed parts of Nos. 99-104, Gombart, Augsburg, 1798 or 1799 and c. 1800 (Gerber: 1798; 1st three works reviewed in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* on 3rd April (No. 100) and 11th September 1799 (Nos. 101 & 103); title: 'Grande / symphonie / a / plusieurs instruments / composée / par / Mr. J. Haydn / Oeuvre 91 / prix Fl. 3 / Augsburg / chez Gombart et Comp: Editeurs et Graveurs de Musique'; originally Op. 91 included only Nos. 100, 101 and 103, but was shortly thereafter expanded to include Nos. 99, 102 and 104. The title page, used for each work, lists three publisher's nos., 265, 263 & 266 (for the 1st set), but the plate nos. of Nos. 101 and 103 (276 and 275, respectively) are different. The 2nd three works (No. 99=pl. no. 330) seem to have been issued a year or two after the first set. Copies of 1st set in Bst (Marburg), 233050 (No. 100), 233167 (No. 101) and 233051 (No. 103); No. 101 in Manchester, 103 in BM, h. 656, p. 9.

(11) Printed parts of Nos. 104, 102 and 99, André, Offenbach/Main, 1801 (André cat.); title: 'Grande Sinfonie / pour / plusieurs instruments, / composée / par / Joseph Haydn, / Docteur en Musique. / Oeuvre 98<sup>me</sup>. Liv: [3] / Cette Sinfonie a été exécutée pour la première / fois au grand Concert, dit de Salomon, à Londres / sous la Direction de l'Auteur'; No. 99=pl. no. 1597; Livre 1=104, Livre 2=102. Copy in GdM. Probably a reprint of source 10.

(12) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1802-03 (?): Op. XXXXVIII, pub. no. 1169; pl. no. 1184. Copy in VSt, MC/24025.

(13) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, c. 1802; originally 'Trois Symphonies... Oeuvre 91' (No. 100, pl. no. 187; 101, pl. no. 139; 103, pl. no. 131); later (c. 1803) enlarged to include all six works under the title: 'Six Symphonies... Oeuvre 91' with (Nos. 4-6) No. 99, pl. no. 431; 102, pl. no. 361; and 104, pl. no. 733. Copy in PNat, Vm' 1613. Probably a reprint of source 10.

(14) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1805 (?); separate reprints of Imbault's edition, partly with Imbault's plates; 'Symphonie Periodique' Nos. 48 (G. A. 100, pl. no. 1508: 'la militaire ou turque'), 49 (101, pl. no. 1545), 50 (103, pl. no. 1546), 51 (104, pl. no. 1576), 52 (102, pl. no. 1577), 53 (99, pl. no. 1578; also exists with pl. no. 377). A separate copy of No. 100 in Florence seems to be a new edition; it is entitled: '... cette Symphonie a été Exécutée au Concert de GARA et RODE, au théâtre du Gd. opera'; Sieber's address is changed from 'Etuve et celle D'Orleans chez l'Apothicaire No. 92' to '... D'Orleans No. 85', on this copy.

(15) Printed parts of Nos. 99, 102 and 104, Simrock, Bonn, c. 1801; title: 'Grande Sinfonie à plusieurs Instruments composée pour le Concert de Mr. Salomon par J. Haydn Oeuvre 98...'; pl. nos. 140, 141, 142. Copy in PNat Vm' 1615. N. B.: a later edition by Simrock (No. 99=pl. no. 807) shows many alterations. Op. 98 is one of the few early Haydn editions by Simrock which is not thoroughly revised and edited.

(16) Printed parts, Pleyel, Paris, c. 1800-01 (?) [Op. 95?].

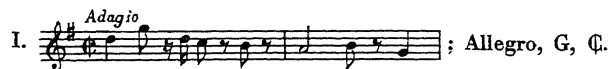
(17) Printed scores of Nos. 103, 104, 102, 99, Pleyel, Paris, 1802; 'Symphonies en Partitions' Nos. 1-4; reprinted by Richault, Paris, c. 1830. Copies in Göttweig.

(18) Printed score, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1807; title: 'Sinfonie / de / Joseph Haydn / Partition / No. 3 / [theme] / chez Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipsic / Pr. 1 Rth 8 gr.'; pl. no. 457. Subtitle: 'Oeuvre 91' (taken from the Gombart print: cf. source 10).

*Critical edition:* Eulenburg No. 431 (Praetorius), based on sources 1, 15 and the later Simrock: an excellent edition, one of the best of the Eulenburg series.

## Appendix I

† No. 100



II. Allegretto, C, 3/4 (from Concerto in G for 2 lyrae and orch., 1786).

III. Menuet & Trio: Moderato, G, 3/4.

IV. Presto, G, 6/8.

'Military': title used in programme announcements of Haydn-Salomon concerts; i. e. 'authentic'.

*Date of comp.*: (Vienna and London), 1794 (autograph).

*First performance*: Hanover Square, 31st March 1794.

*Scoring*: 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 clarinets in C (2nd movt. only), 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., triangle, cymbals, bass drum, str. (2nd movt.: 2 violas).

*Cat. ref.*: EK/III, p. 32 ('114'); Kees, missing; HV 112 (tempo: 'Adagio con Espressione').

*Authentic sources*: (1), (2), (3), (4) and possibly (5).

*Sources*:

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) **Autograph**, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 41; title: '794 / Sinfonia in G'; at the top of the 1st page of music: 'In Nomine Domini di me giuseppe Haydn [mpria] 794.'; 60 pages; two types of oblong 12-stave paper: (1) 1st and 4th movts. on English paper (watermarks: IX, 1, 7); (2) Menuet on Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 88); size of (1) is 31 × 24 cm., of (2) 32 × 22,5 cm. The entire 2nd movt. is lacking. At the end of MS.: 'Fine Laus Deo'. There are no percussion pts., for there is no room for them; but these parts are authentic. Instr.: '2 Clarini in C / Tympano in g. D. / 2 Corni in g / oboe 1<sup>m</sup> / [oboe] 2do / Flauti / Fagotti / Violini 1<sup>m</sup> / [Violino] 2do / Viola / Violoncello / Bassi'.

(2) *MS. parts* by Johann Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 101; title: 'Sinfonia in G. / à 2 Violini. [red crayon: "in Duplo"] / Viole. / 2 Fagotti. / Flauto. / 2 Oboe. / 2 Clarinetti. / 2 Corni. / 2 Clarini. / Timpano / è / Tambourine Triangl Schinellen. / Violoncello è Basso. Del Sigr. Gius. Haydn.'; dup. vln. I, II and vcl.-cb. pts. — vln. I (1st pt.) is a director's pt., with cues for woodwind & percussion instr.; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 80). An authentic MS., probably prepared for the Esterházy band c. 1795-1800.

### Authentic prints:

(3) Printed parts, Salomon with Monzani & Cimador, London, c. 1800-1805 (or earlier?): see No. 93, source 4. The Birchall reprint has a title at the bottom of the pts.: 'Haydn's Militr. Sym.'.

(4a) Probable first edition, in an arrangement for pianoforte, vln. & vcl., London (Salomon), c. 1796: see No. 99, source 5.

(4b) Arrangement by J. P. Salomon for pianoforte, fl., 2 vln., vla., vcl.: see No. 93, source 5b.

(5) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1799 (probably in Spring); title: 'Grand / Simphonie / A / Plusieurs Instruments / Composée / par / Joseph Haydn / No. [26] / A Vienne chez Artaria et Comp.'; pl. no. 813. Copies in Manchester, VSt M 12103/C. Authenticity of this print not proved. Re-issued after 1804 by Mollo.

### Secondary MSS.:

(6) *MS. parts*, VNat, c. 1795-1810(?): see No. 99, source 9.

(7) A collection of *MS. parts*, GdM: only the following appear to date from the 18th or early 19th cent.: (a) Basso pt. by Viennese professional copyist No. 3 on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 25); (b) str. pts. — 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, bass — on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 1, 22, 80); (c) 2 vla. pts. and vcl. obl. on 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (I, 3, 46).

## Appendix I

(8) *MS.* parts, GdM; no title page; pts. as in 'scoring'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks: fleur-de-lys and 'WELHARTIZ'; 'IAA' under ornament); dup. str. pts. in another hand on other paper; source of unknown origin, early 19th cent.

(9) *MS.* parts from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., Göttweig; source of Viennese origin, c. 1810-15 (Göttweig cat.: acquired by P. Virgil [Fleischmann], 1816).

### Secondary prints:

(10) Printed parts, Gombart, Augsburg, 1798 or 1799: see No. 99, source 10.

(11) Printed parts, André, Offenbach/Main, 1799 (André cat.); title: 'Grande Sinfonie militaire... Oeuvre 90'; 2nd edition 1802: the difference between the 1st and 2nd ed. is that cue notes have been added to the Turkish instruments (*cf.* note in André's cat. of 1802).

(12) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1802-03 (or possibly a little earlier); title: 'Avec La Musique Turque'; a highly ornamented design: right, the corner of the sun, with rays, shining (left) on an angel holding a trumpet; a violin lies over a circular design which encloses the words: 'Grande / symphonie / A Grand Orchestre / Composé par / Mr. J. Haydn / Oeuvre XXXXVIII[II]', the last two, bracketed figures added in ink; pub. and pl. no. 1176. Copies in VSt (MC/24024), Bst (Marburg: 217460), *etc.*

(13) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, c. 1802: see No. 99, source 13.

(14) Printed parts, Pleyel, Paris c. 1800 title: 'No. [91] Symphonie turque à grand orchestre...'; pl. no. 215. Copy in Manchester.

(15) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1805(?): see No. 99, source 14.

*Further printed edition:* (16) Simrock, Bonn, 19th cent. (edited).

*Critical editions:* B. & H. score (Mandyczewski & Weingartner), with pl. no. I, 100, revised 1934 (Schultz) from sources 1 and 2: in preparation for G. A.; Eulenburg No. 434 (Praetorius), based on sources 10, 11 & 12, with numerous errors.

† No. 101

I.  ; Presto, D, 6/8 (in aut. originally 'Presto ma non troppo').

II. Andante, G, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegretto, D, 3/4.

IV. Vivace, D, 4/4.

'Clock': title from early 19th century.

*Date of comp.:* London, 1794 (autograph); but sections probably written in Vienna: 3rd movt. in Flötenuhr of 1793.

*First performance:* Hanover Square, 3rd March 1794.

*Scoring:* 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 clarinets (missing in aut., and EH sources, but probably added by H.), 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/III, p. 32 ('109'); Kees, missing; HV 107 (tempo: 'poco Adagio').

*Sketches:* for 3rd movt., VNat Codex 18987 (on Italian paper!); *arrangement* of 3rd movt. for Flötenuhr: Bst (Marburg) Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 23 (Schmid No. 23) — transposed to C major.

*Authentic sources:* (1), (2), (3), (4), (5) and possibly (6).

*Sources:*

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) **Autograph**, Bst (Poland?), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 46; title: '794 / Sinfonia in D'; at the top of the 1st page of music: 'In Nomine Domini London 794 di me gius: Haydn [mpria]'; 92 pages (only 79 of which were used); two types of paper: (a) oblong Italian paper, 32 × 23 cm., 12-stave (watermarks: I, 1, 29, 84,

## Appendix I

87); (b) oblong English paper,  $31 \times 24,5$  cm. (watermarks: IX, 1, 7). Some measures in the minuet are cancelled in Haydn's hand. Instr.: '2 Clarini in D / Tympano / 2 Corni in D / oboe 1<sup>m</sup> / [oboe] 2<sup>do</sup> / Flauti / Fagotti / Violino 1<sup>m</sup> / [Violino] 2<sup>do</sup> / Viola / Violoncello / Bassi'. At end of MS.: 'Laus Deo'.

(2) MS. score by Johann Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 102; oblong paper. An authentic MS., probably copied from the autograph c. 1795-1800. See comment to No. 99, source 2. Title page and heading blank.

(3) MS. parts by Johann Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 102; pts. for 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., vcl. obl., vcl. & bass, 'Flauti', ob. I, II, 'Fagotti', cor. I, II, clarino I, II, timp.; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1... ). An authentic MS., probably copied for the Esterházy band, c. 1795-1800. (Information from Dénes Bartha.)

### Authentic prints:

(4) Printed parts, Salomon with Monzani & Cimador, London, c. 1800-1805 (or earlier?): see No. 93, source 4.

(5a) Probable first edition, in an arrangement for pianoforte, vln. & vcl., London (Salomon), c. 1796: see No. 99, source 5.

(5b) Arrangement by J. P. Salomon for pianoforte, fl., 2 vln., vla., vcl.: see No. 93, source 5b.

(6) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1799 (probably in Autumn); title: 'Grand / Symphonie / A / Plusieurs Instruments / Composée / par / Joseph Haydn / No. [27] / A Vienne chez Artaria et Comp.'; pl. no. 839. Copies in Manchester, VSt, M 12115/C, etc. Authenticity of this print not proved. With pts. for 2 clarinets. Re-issued after 1801 by Cappi.

### Secondary MSS.:

(7) MS. parts, VNat, c. 1795-1810(?): see No. 99, source 9.

(8) MS. parts, GdM; only the woodwind, brass and timp. pts. extant (no clarinet pts.); 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 22); source of Viennese origin, c. 1795-1800.

### Secondary prints:

(9) Printed parts, Gombart, Augsburg, 1798 or 1799: see No. 99, source 10.

(10) Printed parts of Nos. 103 and 101, André, Offenbach/Main, late in 1799 (André cat. of 1800: '1799', but missing in 1799 cat.); title: 'Grande Sinfonie / pour plusieurs instruments, / composée / par / Joseph Haydn, / Docteur en Musique. / Oeuvre 95<sup>me</sup>. Liv: [2] / Cette Sinfonie a été exécutée pour la première / fois au grand Concert, dit de Salomon, à Londres / sous la Direction de l'Auteur'; pl. no. 1369. Probably a reprint of source 9.

(11) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1802-03 (or possibly a little earlier).

(12) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, c. 1802: see No. 99, source 13.

(13) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1805(?): see No. 99, source 14.

Further printed edition: (14) Simrock, Bonn, 19th cent. (heavily edited): No. 5 of the series.

Critical edition: Eulenburg No. 439 (Praetorius), based on sources 1, 10 and 14: in general a careful edition, with some minor errors.

† No. 102

*Largo*

I. ; Vivace, B flat, [C].

II. Adagio, F, 3/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegro, B flat, 3/4.

IV. Presto, B flat, 2/4.

## Appendix I

*Date of comp.*: London, 1794 (autograph).

*First performance*: King's Theatre, 2nd February 1795.

*Scoring*: 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini (muted in II), timp. (muted in II), str. Aut. specifies 'Solo Violoncello' & 'Bassi Continui' in 2nd movt.

*Cat. ref.*: EK/III, p. 33 ('119'); Kees, missing; HV 116 (no tempo).

N. B. The 2nd movt. is identical with that of the Clavier Trio (Larsen 26), where the key is, however, F sharp major.

*Authentic sources*: (1), (2), (3), (4).

*Sources*:

### Authentic MS.:

(1) **Autograph**, Bst (Tübingen), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 39; title: '795 / Sinfonia.' (date refers to year of 1st perf.); at the top of the 1st page of music: 'In Nomine Domini di me giuseppe Haydn [mpria] London / 794'; 74 pages (4 blank or with titles only); oblong 12-stave English paper, 31×24,5 cm. (watermarks: IX, 1, 7). The 2nd movt. appears to have been written separately, *i. e.* not necessarily at the same time as the rest of the work: title page contains only the word 'Adagio'; at the top of the 1st page of music again the words: 'In Nomine Domini'. At the end of MS.: 'Fine Laus Deo'. For instr., see facsimile.

### Authentic prints:

(2) Printed parts, published by J. P. Salomon with the firm Monzani & Cimador, London, c. 1800-1805 (or earlier?): see No. 93, source 4. No. 102 has pl. no. 139. See also comment to No. 99. The only extant copy of this rare and valuable print, apart from that in the Hoboken Collection (Ascona), is in Manchester: the title page is missing in that copy.

(3) Probable first edition, in an arrangement for pianoforte, vln. & vcl., London (Salomon), c. 1796: see No. 99, source 5.

(4) Arrangement by J. P. Salomon for pianoforte, fl., 2 vln., vla., vcl.: see No. 93, source 5b.

### Secondary MSS.:

(5) MS. parts, VNat, c. 1795-1810(?): see No. 99, source 9.

(6) MS. parts, GdM (Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.), XIII, 8546; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 79); source of Viennese origin, c. 1800-1820(?).

### Secondary prints:

(7) Printed parts, Gombart, Augsburg, c. 1800: see No. 99, source 10.

(8) Printed parts, André, Offenbach/Main, 1801: see No. 99, source 11.

(9) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1802-3.

(10) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, c. 1803(?): see No. 99, source 13.

(11) Printed parts, Pleyel, Paris, c. 1800-01; title: 'Grand Simphonie / à Grand Orchestre / Composé / Par J: Haydn / Oeuvre 95 [empty] Livre Prix 6 f. / Gravé par Richomme...'; pl. no. 378. Copy in Florence.

(12) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1805(?): see No. 99, source 14.

(13) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn, c. 1801: see No. 99, source 15. The later Simrock edition (pl. no. 809) is heavily edited.

(14) Printed score, Pleyel, Paris. 1802: see No. 99, source 17.

*Critical editions*: B. & H. score (Schultz), with pl. no. I, 102, based on source 1 (and others?): for the G. A.; Eulenburg No. 438 (Praetorius), based on sources 1, 13 and the later Simrock edition.

## Appendix I

† No. 103

*Adagio*

I. ; Allegro con spirito, E flat, 6/8.

*Sostenuto*

II. Andante più tosto Allegretto, c, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio, E flat, 3/4.

IV. Allegro con spirito, E flat, C.

'Drum Roll': title from early 19th century.

*Date of comp.*: London, 1795 (autograph).

*First performance*: King's Theatre, 2nd March 1795.

*Scoring*: 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 clarinets, 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 clarini, timp., str. (solo violin in *Andante*).

*Cat. ref.*: EK/III, p. 33 ('120'); Kees, missing; HV 117.

*Authentic sources*: (1), (2), (3), (4) and possibly (5).

*Sources*:

### Authentic MSS.:

(1) **Autograph**, BM, cat. Add. 31707; title: '795 / Sinfonia in Es'; at the top of the 1st page of music: 'In Nomine Domini di me giuseppe Haydn 795 / Lo[n]don]' — the bracketed portion of 'London' only faintly discernible under an old stain; beneath this is the dedication Haydn made to Cherubini when the latter visited Vienna in 1806: 'Padre del celebre Cherubini / ai 24.<sup>to</sup> Febr: 806'; oblong 12-stave English paper, 30,5 × 24 cm. (watermarks: IX, 1, 7); the words 'più tosto Allegretto' are added to the tempo of the *Andante* in a slightly different ink, and probably at a somewhat later date; the first page of the minuet (and its opposite sheet at the end of the trio) are not in Haydn's handwriting, and are supposed to be by Cherubini; but as the watermarks are the same as those in the paper used by Haydn, this seems a little difficult to believe; there are several important additions to the finale which Haydn made at the back of the score, or which he inserted. The clarinet parts to the trio, found here, are in no modern scores or parts except that of Eulenburg. Instr.: '2 Clarini in E / Tympano in E and B / 2 Corni in E mol / 2 clarinetti / 2 oboe / Flauti / Fagotti / Violini 1<sup>m</sup> / Violino 2<sup>do</sup> / Viola / Violoncello / Contra Bassi'. At the end of the MS.: 'Fine / Laus Deo'.

(2) **MS.** parts by Johann Elssler, EH, cat. Mus. Ms. I, No. 103; pts. for 2 vln. I, 2 vln. II, vla., vcl., 2 vcl.-cb., 'Flauti', ob. I, II, clarinet I, II, 'Fagotti', cor. I, II, clarino I, II, timp.; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1...). An authentic MS., probably copied for the Esterházy band, c. 1795-1800. (Information from Dénes Bartha.)

### Authentic prints:

(3) Printed parts, Salomon with Monzani & Cimador, London, c. 1800-1805 (or earlier?): see No. 93, source 4.

(4a) Probable first edition, in an arrangement for pianoforte, vln. & vcl., London (Salomon), c. 1796: see No. 99, source 5.

(4b) Arrangement by J. P. Salomon for pianoforte, fl., 2 vln., vla., vcl.: see No. 93, source 5b.

(5) Printed parts, Artaria, Vienna, 1799 (probably in Autumn); title: 'Grand / Symphonie / A / Plusieurs Instruments / Composée / par / Joseph Haydn / No. [28] / A Vienne chez Artaria et Comp.'; pl. no. 840. Copy in VSt, M 12118/C. Authenticity of this print not proved. Re-issued after 1804 by Mollo.

### Secondary MSS.:

(6) **MS.** parts, VNat, c. 1795-1810(?): see No. 99, source 9.

(7) **MS.** parts, GdM, cat. XIII, 6158; of the collection of pts. under this cat. no., only 1 viola pt. seems to date from the late 18th or early 19th cent.: 4<sup>o</sup> Italian

## Appendix I

paper (watermarks: I, 1, 3, 80); one vcl.-cb. pt. in the same handwriting and on the same paper as No. 100, source 8.

(8) *MS.* score from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., Mozarteum, Salzburg; source of Viennese origin, c. 1810-20 (?).

(9) *MS.* parts from Erzherzog Rudolf Coll., Göttweig; source of Viennese origin, c. 1810-20 (Göttweig cat.: no date).

### Secondary prints:

(10) Printed parts, Gombart, Augsburg, 1798 or 1799: see No. 99, source 10.

(11) Printed parts, André, Offenbach/Main, 1799: see No. 101, source 10.

(12) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1802-03 (?): Op. XXXXVII, pub. and pl. no. 1169. Copy in VSt, MC/24023.

(13) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, c. 1802: see No. 99, source 13.

(14) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1805 (?): see No. 99, source 14.

(15) Printed parts, Pleyel, Paris, c. 1800-01 (?).

(16) Printed score, Pleyel, Paris, 1802: see No. 99, source 17.

(17) Printed score, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1806; title: 'Sinfonie / de / Jos. Haydn / Partition / No. 1 / [theme] / chez Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipsic / Pr. 16 gr.'; pl. no. 228. A review of this print in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*.

*Critical edition:* Eulenburg No. 469 (3rd edition, Praetorius, 1938), based on source 1: the only modern edition with the authentic clarinet pts. in the 3rd movt.

† No. 104



II. Andante, G, 2/4.

III. Menuet & Trio: Allegro, D, 3/4; B flat, 3/4.

IV. Spiritoso, D, C.

'London': this rather meaningless title from the 19th cent.

*Date of comp.:* London, 1795 (autograph).

*First performance:* King's Theatre, probably on 13th April 1795.

*Scoring:* 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 clarinets, 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 trpts. ('Trombe' in aut.), timp., str.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/III, p. 33 ('121'); Kees, missing; HV 118.

*Authentic sources:* (1), (2), (3).

*Sources:*

### Authentic MS.:

(1) *Autograph*, Bst (Berlin), cat. Mus. ms. autogr. Jos. Haydn 40; title: '795 / The 12th which I have composed in England / Sinfonia in D'; at the top of the 1st page of music: 'In Nomine Domini di me giuseppe Haydn [mpria] 795. London'; instr.: '2 Trombe in D / Tympano in D. A / 2 Corni in D / 2 oboe / 2 Clari/netti in A / Flauto / Fagotti / Violini 1 / [Violino] 2do / Viola / Violon/cello / Bassi'. 78 pages (only 72 containing music); oblong 12-stave English paper, ranging from c. 30 × 23 to 32 × 25 cm. (watermarks: IX, 1, 2, 2 & 9, 4 & 9, 7, 8 and 10). At the end are (a) some variant readings and advanced sketches to a part of the 2nd movt. and (b) the clarinet pts. to the 2nd, 3rd and 4th movts. At the end of 4th movt.: 'Fine Laus Deo'.

### Authentic prints:

(2) Printed parts, Salomon with Monzani & Cimador, London, c. 1800-1805 (or earlier?): see No. 93, source 4.

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(3a) Probable first edition, in an arrangement for pianoforte, vln. & vcl., London (Salomon), c. 1796: see No. 99, source 5.

(3b) Arrangement by J. P. Salomon for pianoforte, fl., 2 vln., vla., vcl.: see No. 93, source 5b.

### Secondary MS.:

(4) MS. parts, VNat, c. 1795-1810 (?): see No. 99, source 9.

### Secondary prints:

(5) Printed parts, Gombart, Augsburg, c. 1800: see No. 99, source 10.

(6) Printed parts, André, Offenbach/Main, 1801: see No. 99, source 11.

(7) Printed parts, Imbault, Paris, c. 1803 (?): see No. 99, source 13.

(8) Printed parts, Hummel, Berlin-Amsterdam, c. 1802-03 (?): Op. LV, Lib. II; pub. no. 1325; pl. no. 1264. Copy in VSt, MC/24026.

(9) Printed parts, Sieber, Paris, c. 1805 (?): see No. 99, source 14.

(10) Printed parts, Pleyel, Paris, c. 1802; title: 'Grand Symphonie / à Grand Orchestre / composée / par J: Haydn / Oeuvre 95 [blank] Livre Prix 6 f. / Gravé par Richomme...'; pl. no. 430. Copy in Florence.

(11) Printed parts, Simrock, Bonn, c. 1801: see No. 99, source 15.

(12) Printed score, Pleyel, Paris, 1802: see No. 99, source 17.

(13) Printed score, Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, February, 1807; title: 'Sinfonie / de / Jos. Haydn / Partition / No. 2 / [theme] / Chez Breitkopf & Härtel à Leipsic / Pr. 16 gr.'; pl. no. 390.

*Critical edition:* Eulenburg No. 409 (Praetorius), based on source 1; a number of errors in the 'Revisionsbericht', but the musical text is generally reliable.

## † Symphony 'A'



II. Andante, E flat, 2/4.

III. Allegro molto, B flat, 6/8.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1757-60. Earliest ref.: Göttweig, 1762 (cat.).

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 2 cor., str. [fag., cemb.].

*Cat. ref.:* EK, missing; Kees, missing; HV: No. 5 under quartets (from Pleyel's list); Göttweig cat.: 'Symphonia / a 2 Violinis / 2 Obois / 2 Corni / Viola / Basso / comp R P Josephus 1762' (parts lost).

*Authentic sources:* none.

### *Sources:*

(1) MS. parts, St. Florian; title: 'Sinfonia / à / 2 Violini [later: "1mo in Duplo"] / 2 oboe } Ripieni / Viola oblig / Basso. / et / Violone / Del Sigre giuseppe Haydn / pro usu J: / Mich: Planck'; perf. dates on left top corner: 'Nov. 767 / Dec 768 / Oct 769 / Dec: 770 / Feb 772 / Octb: 774 / Augt 778 / Augt 780'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper from Kremsmünster paper mill (watermarks: figure of a man in baroque costume; 'W' in ornate frame; springing unicorn, letters 'FAW'). Source of local origin, c. 1767.

(2) MS. parts, Stockholm; pts. for 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

(N. B. The late Miss Marion Scott informed me that there is a French edition of this work with the wind parts: I have not, however, been able to locate it).



## Appendix I

There is no evidence that the string quartet version (*i. e.* without the wind parts) is authentic.

*Critical edition:* Score published for the first time in this book.

### Symphony 'B'

*Allegro molto*



I. Menuet & Trio, B flat, 3/4.

III. Andante,  $\text{g}$ , 6/8.

IV. Presto, 2/4, B flat.

*Date of comp.:* c. 1757-60 (?). Earliest ref.: Göttweig, 1765.

*Scoring:* 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., str. [cemb.].

*Cat. ref.:* EK, missing; Kees, No. 7: ['Sinfonia, con Oboe, Corni']; HV 7 (tempo: 'Allegro'); Quartbuch; Br. cat. 1766, p. 10: 'VI. Sinf. del Sigr. Gius. HAYDEN, Mus. di Cam. / del Princ. Esterhasi. Racc. II. [No.] II. a 8 V. 2 C. 2 Ob.'; Lambach cat. 1768, p. 273, 'a 2 Violin / 2 Cor: 2 Oboe, / Viola obl: / Basso' ('Allegro').

*Authentic sources:* none.

#### Sources:

(1) *MS. parts*, Göttweig; 'Parthia in B / à / Violini 2. / Oboe 2. / Corni 2. / Alto Viola / Fagotto / con / Basso / Del Sig: Giuseppe Hayden / Dris Leandri / Professi Gottwicensis / 765.'; 4<sup>o</sup> paper of unknown origin (watermarks illegible); source of local origin.

(2) *MS. parts*, Harburg, cat. III, 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ , fol. 674; title: 'N: 104 / Sinfonia In Eb [corr. to "B"] / a / Due Violini / Viola / Basso / 2. Oboi / Fagotto Solo in andante / 2. Corni / e / Basso / Del Sig Giuseppe Haydn / 774'; 4<sup>o</sup> Italian paper (watermarks: I, 1, 8, 22, 26); source of Viennese origin.

(3) *MS. parts*, Venice Marciana: see No. 12, source 8.

(4) *MS. parts*, Zittau; 'Partitta', instr. as in 'scoring'.

(5) *MS. score*, Stockholm.

(6) Printed parts (without wind instr.), Chevardière, Paris, c. 1768: see No. 15, source 6.

*Critical edition:* none. A heavily edited score published in Sandberger's 'Münchner Haydn-Renaissance', Abteilung II, Nr. 1 (with organ and cembalo!).

### Symphony 'C'



*Date of comp.:* c. 1768-70.

*Cat. ref.:* EK/I, p. 2. *The work is lost.*

(N. B. Erroneously under 'Zweifelhafte Symphonien', B. & H. IV, 16).

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

MISSING INSTRUMENTAL PARTS

\_\_\_\_\_

1

2

3

4

# SYMPHONY No. 2

Oboe I, II

Allegro

I

From MSS. in Lambach  
and Venice Marciana.

16 32 40 61 77 96 102 134 142 154 173 185

1 1 9 14 6 4 13 25 3 a2 3 a2 12 1 a2

II. Andante  
tacent

# III

## Finale: Presto

Notes: I: 2, 6, etc. last two notes quavers (*cf.* comment *supra*); 13/14: Venice ob. II = ob. I;  
 94/99: ob. II Lambach = ob. I; 192/193: ob. I Venice = ob. II.  
 III: 7, 43: *cf.* 98, 180, etc.

Corno I,II in B<sup>2</sup>[alto]

SYMPHONY No. 16

From MSS. in Melk, St. Florian  
and Harburg Castle.

**I**  
Allegro

16 1 4 1 a2

28 1 1 (1) (2) (3) (4)

39 3 2 2

53 7 a2 (1) (2) (3) (4) 1 3 1

68 2 1 a2 7

85 5 a2 (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) 6

105 2 II. Andante  
tacent

**III**  
Allegro [Presto?]

10 4 a2 7 2 (1) (2) (3) (4)

24 (5) (6) 4 8

42 a2 a2

50 3 a2 3

64 1

Notes: Melk has many small inaccuracies (e.g. bars 27/28 of III are written twice).







Allegro molto

III

A series of ten musical staves for section III, starting at measure 167. The tempo is "Allegro molto". The key signature changes to two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The music is written in treble clef with a common time signature. It features a variety of rhythmic patterns including eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes, as well as rests. Dynamic markings include [f] (forte) and [p] (piano). Performance markings include accents, trills (tr), and fingerings (1, 2, 3, a2). Measure rests for 8, 10, and 11 measures are indicated. The section concludes at measure 278.

## Corno I, II in G

## SYMPHONY No. 27

From MSS. in Melk  
and Thurn und Taxis  
(Regensburg).

Allegro molto

I

II. Andante tacent

Presto

III

Notes: I: 46 : Cor. I d'' (=a'); 108: Cor. I e'' (=b').

Melk has many small inaccuracies (e.g. bar 78 of III, cor. II 3×e' instead of g').

Timpani in C-G

SYMPHONY No.33

I

[Reconstruction by H.C.R.L.]

Vivace

10 1 1 3 3

25 4 2 11 1

48

58 3 21 4 10

97 3 5

109 4 1 1 6 8

140 2

II. Andante  
tacet

III

Menuet

18 1 1 6 8

Trio 10 8

Menuet da capo

IV

Allegro

2 5 11 4

20 16 12 1 9 23

13 75 1 1 8 2

95 5 14 5 1 3

15 117 9

Timpani in C-G

SYMPHONY No. 37

From the MS. in  
Thurn und Taxis  
(Regensburg).

**Vivace [Presto?]**

I

**Menuetto**

II

**Presto**

IV

Notes: I: 52: rhythm erroneously reversed (♩ ♪); IV: after double bar there are 22 meas. of rest instead of 18.

Timpani in D - A

SYMPHONY No. 57

From MS. at Eibiswald  
(now Graz), 1779.

Adagio

I

From MS. at Eibiswald  
(now Graz), 1779.

21

Allegro

32

41

57

70

81

109

118

132

168

177

189

205

225

pp

II. Adagio  
tacet

# III

## Menuet: Allegretto

Musical score for Menuet: Allegretto, measures 1-44. The score is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It begins with a forte dynamic marking *[f]*. The first staff contains measures 1-8, the second staff measures 9-16, the third staff measures 17-24, and the fourth staff measures 25-32. The fifth staff contains measures 33-40, and the sixth staff measures 41-44. The piece concludes with a repeat sign and a first ending bracket.

## Trio

Menuet da capo

## Finale: Prestissimo

# IV

Musical score for Finale: Prestissimo, measures 1-123. The score is written in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It begins with a forte dynamic marking *[f]*. The first staff contains measures 1-4, the second staff measures 5-12, the third staff measures 13-20, the fourth staff measures 21-28, the fifth staff measures 29-36, the sixth staff measures 37-44, the seventh staff measures 45-52, the eighth staff measures 53-60, the ninth staff measures 61-68, the tenth staff measures 69-76, the eleventh staff measures 77-84, the twelfth staff measures 85-92, the thirteenth staff measures 93-100, the fourteenth staff measures 101-108, the fifteenth staff measures 109-116, and the sixteenth staff measures 117-123. The piece concludes with a repeat sign and a first ending bracket.

Original trumpet and timpani parts to Symphony No.98 in B flat major.  
From autograph, Elssler parts in Harburg Castle, Artaria, Imbault and André prints.

*Joseph Haydn, 1792*

2 Clarini  
(B flat)  
Timpani  
(B $\flat$ -F)

Adagio

Allegro

34

43

55

79

124

132

183

189

213

1

1

1

3

11

12

3

24

51

17

12

1

1

2

233 32

12

2

234

4

284

11

6

287

8

304

312

II. Adagio  
Clarini,  
Timpani tacent

Menuet: Allegro

III

3

11

5

10

34

2

1

2

47

5

Trio  
Clarini,  
Timpani tacent



## Finale: Presto

## IV

15 *f* 1

23 *f* a2

31

39 a2 13 *fz* *fz* *fz* [*fz*] [*fz*] [*fz*]

60 a2 13 *f* 5

85 28 *f* 5

124 *f* a2 9 *f*

140 a2 a2 a2

147 198 50 *fz* 1 3 3 tenuto 30

239

*f*

1

1

1

1

249

258

10

*f*

275

4

25

307

*f*

311

5

323

Più moderato

1

7

*f*

338

1

347

*p*

*p*

357

a2

*f*

1

12

*f*

378

## APPENDIX II

THEMATIC CATALOGUE OF DOUBTFUL AND  
SPURIOUS SYMPHONIES ATTRIBUTED TO  
HAYDN

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX II

### General Remarks

This appendix contains a list of 134 doubtful and spurious symphonies attributed to Haydn. I have included only those works found either in the libraries in which research for this book was made, or in the B. & H. and Larsen (DKE) lists.

The B. & H. catalogue of Series I of the old G. A. was divided in two sections: III (spurious works) and IV (doubtful). Of the 36 works in category IV, however, one is an authentic lost symphony (IV, 16: Appendix I, 'Symphony C'); one (IV, 18) is the overture to Dittersdorf's opera *La Moda* of 1776, of which the autograph is in EH (Haydn also used the work as the prelude to Sacchini's opera, *L'Amore Soldato*, performed at Esterháza in 1779: cf. Mandyczewski's remarks on the GdM score XII, 40966); and names for more than half of the remaining 34 works have been discovered. This division into 'doubtful' and 'spurious' symphonies was, under these circumstances, no longer practical. To identify the right author for these doubtful works is generally a matter of patience and perseverance; if enough scholars assist in the hunt, we shall undoubtedly find the probable authors for all the remaining 'doubtful' symphonies.

The following works in Larsen's DKE have been omitted: C-8 and c-4, both overtures in one movement, not symphonies; and D-8, a corrupted version, printed by Forster, of Symphony No. 62. The two works in Mandyczewski's category IV discussed above, i. e. IV, 16 and 18, have also been omitted.

In view of the many works contained in this appendix, the information given has been shortened as much as feasible. Tempi and orchestration have been noted whenever possible, but in many cases these data could no longer be obtained (e. g. Darmstadt, the collection of which was almost totally destroyed during the war).

The catalogue is arranged according to keys; within each key the symphonies are listed as follows: those in III, those in IV, those in DKE, and those added by the author. Nineteenth-century sources, such as Pohl's scores in the GdM, are only listed when no earlier sources could be located, or when Pohl's (and occasionally Mandyczewski's) copy contains special information.

The following table will provide a cross-index to the B. & H. and Larsen catalogues:

<i>B. &amp; H. III</i>	<i>Appendix II</i>	<i>B. &amp; H. III</i>	<i>Appendix II</i>
1	1	20	76
2	2	21	77
3	3	22	87
4	4	23	91
5	5	24	92
6	6	25	93
7	7	26	106
8	8	27	107
9	9	28	108
10	38	29	114
11	39	30	115
12	40	31	116
13	41	32	117
14	42	33	118
15	43	34	121
16	44	35	122
17	73	36	123
18	74	37	124
19	75	38	125

## Appendix II

<i>B. &amp; H. IV</i>	<i>Appendix II</i>	<i>B. &amp; H. IV</i>	<i>Appendix II</i>
1	10	19	51
2	11	20	52
3	12	21	78
4	13	22	79
5	14	23	80
6	15	24	81
7	16	25	88
8	17	26	90
9	18	27	94
10	34	28	95
11	45	29	96
12	46	30	97
13	47	31	109
14	48	32	110
15	49	33	126
16	Appendix I, 'C'.	34	127
17	50	35	128
18	Dittersdorf Overture ( <i>cf. supra</i> ).	36	129

<i>DKE (I)</i>	<i>Appendix II</i>	<i>DKE (I)</i>	<i>Appendix II</i>
C-1	19	D-8	Appendix I, No. 62.
C-2	20		
C-3	21	D-9	60
C-4	22	d-1	68
C-5	23	d-2	69
C-6	24	d-3	70
C-7	25	Es-1	82
C-8	Overture	Es-2	83
c-1	35	Es-3	84
c-2	36	F-1	98
c-3	37	F-2	99
c-4	Overture	F-3	100
D-1	53	F-4	101
D-2	54	F-5	102
D-3	55	F-6	103
D-4	56	G-1	111
D-5	57	B-1	130
D-6	58	B-2	131
D-7	59	B-3	132
		B-4	133

In addition to those listed at the beginning of Appendix I, the following thematic catalogues were employed in the compilation of Appendix II:

d'Ogny = 'Catalogue de la Musique de Monsieur Le Comte d'Ogny', c. 1785 (?), BM, Hirsch IV, 1085. Mr. Barry S. Brook kindly supplied a microfilm of this source. The authentic Haydn symphonies have not been included in Appendix I, since no details of orchestration, *etc.* are given.

Ringmacher = 'Catalogo de' Soli, Duetti, Trii, Quadri, Quintetti, Partite, de' Concerti e delle Sinfonie... che si trovano in Manoscritto nella Officina musica di Christiano Ulrico Ringmacher Libraio in Berolino MDCCLXXXIII'.

## Appendix II

- Allegro (assai)
- No. 1 (III, 1) 2 ob., 2 cor., str. (Kremsmünster: with 2 trpt. & timp.)  
*Haydn*: MS. pts., St. Florian 'Ad usum Joanne Schäfler'; ob. II missing.  
*Probable author*: *Wenzeslaus (Wenzel) Pichl* (1741-1805): (1) Quartbuch; (2) MS. pts., Kremsmünster: 'Allegro assai'; (3) Br. cat. 1775.

- Maestoso
- No. 2 (III, 2) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.  
[c' = Br. 1767]  
*Haydn*: (1) Printed parts, Mme Berauld, Paris, Op. VIII (Br. cat. 1773): see Appendix I, No. 3, source 11; (2) d'Ogny cat.  
*Probable author*: *Leopold Hofmann (Hoffman, Hoffmann)* (c. 1730-1793): (1) Br. cat. 1767; (2) MS. pts., Stams; (3) MS. pts., Modena.

- Poco Adagio
- No. 3 (III, 3) 1 fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., 2 trpt., timp., str.  
*Haydn*: Pohl cat., from erroneous GdM inventory (see *infra*).  
*Correct author*: *Leopold Anton Koželuch* (1752-1818): (1) GdM XIII, 19057, MS. pts. by Erzherzog Rudolf copyist; no title but pts. marked 'K: N: 5' (i. e. 'Koželuch No. 5'): formerly catalogued under Haydn; (2) MS. pts., Melk, IV, 17; (3) authentic print, Musikalisches Magazin, Vienna (L. Koželuch's firm): Br. cat. 1785/87.

- Allegro
- No. 4 (III, 4) 2 ob., fag. solo., 2 cor., timp., str.  
*Haydn*: (1) MS. pts., GdM XIII, 19070 (from Kees Coll.?: 'Sinfonia LXIII'); (2) Bst <sup>9992</sup>/<sub>5</sub> (Marburg).  
*Probable author*: *Klug*: Br. cat. 1776: no timp.

- Allegro
- No. 5 (III, 5) 2 ob., 2 cors angl., (2 fag.), 2 cor., cor. III ò trpt., 2 tamburi, 2 pifferi, str.  
*Haydn*: (1) MS. pts., Regensburg (title has 'gius' Haydn but now cat. under Michael Haydn 12); (2) MS. pts., Schwerin; (3) Br. cat. 1781.  
*Correct author*: *Johann Michael Haydn* (1737-1806) (Perger 10): (1) autograph, EH, 'Salisburgo, 23 Aug. 773'; (2) Göttweig cat. 1777; (3) MS. pts, Kremsmünster; (4) MS. pts., Munich. *Anonymous*: MS. pts., Schlierbach (Molto Allo).

- Allegro
- No. 6 (III, 6) fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., 2 trpt., timp., str.  
*Haydn*: MS. pts., Kremsmünster (no cor.).  
*Probable author*: *Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf* (1739-1799): (1) Br. cat. 1778; (2) MS. pts., Harburg, III, 4 1/2 fol. 869; (3) MS. pts., Florence, D. 5. 137; (4) MS. pts., Berlin Kgl. Hausbib. HB 1047; (5) MS. pts., GdM XIII, 8098; (6) Freising Cat. of 1796 ('Allegro vivace').  
*N. B.*: Haydn used the finale for one of his Flötenuhr pieces (Schmid No. 10).

## Appendix II

No. 7  (III, 7) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) cat. of Alois Fuchs (Bst); (2) Pohl's cat.: no 18th cent. sources under Haydn's name could be located.

*Correct author*: Franz Anton Hoffmeister (1754-1812): (1) authentic printed parts, issued by Hoffmeister in his own Viennese publishing house: the plates of this edition purchased by Artaria; (2) *MS. pts.*, EH; (3) *MS. pts.*, GdM XIII, 8449 (removed by C. F. Pohl); (4) Br. cat. 1782/84.

No. 8  (III, 8) 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 trpt., timp., str.


*Haydn*: (1) *MS. pts.*, Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 794 (no trpt.) — Viennese source; (2) *MS. pts.*, Venice Cons. (no trpt., timp.): see Appendix I, No. 44, source 11; (3) *MS. pts.*, Modena, D. 146 (no trpt., timp.); (4) *MS. pts.*, Brussels; (5) *MS. pts.*, Stockholm; (6) printed parts, Guera (Lyon) & Boyer (Paris): see Appendix I, No. 60, source 24; (7) reprint of source 6 by Forster, London: Letter J (pl. no. 117); copy in BM, h. 656. 1.; (8) Br. cat. 1778; (9) *MS. pts.*, Genoa.

*Correct author*: Johann Baptist Vanhal (*Vanhal*) (1739-1813): (1) *MS. pts.*, EH; (2) *MS. pts.*, Berlin Kgl. Hausbib.; (3) *MS. pts.*, Schwerin; (4) *MS. pts.*, Venice Conserv.; (5) Quartbuch; (6) Br. cat. 1772; (7) printed pts., Bailleux, Paris, Op. 25, No. 2 (copy in PCons); (8) printed pts., Hummel, Hague, Op. IX, No. 3 (no trpt. & timp.): Br. cat. 1782/84. P. R. Bryan, Esq., who is writing a thesis on Vanhal's symphonies, kindly informs me that there are two versions of this work: (a) 2nd movt., *Andante grazioso* F, 3/8; Finale, *Allegro moderato*, C, 4/4 — both movements known to us in other Vanhal symphonies, the *Andante* from a Symphony in C, the Finale transposed from one in E major; (b) the version of the sources attributed to Haydn: 2nd movt., *Andante molto*, F, 3/8; 3rd movt., *Menuet & Trio*, C; Finale, *Allegro*, C, 6/8. It is not known which version is the earliest.

No. 9  (III, 9) 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 trpt., timp., str.

*Haydn*: *MS. Brussels* (late copy).

*Probable author*: ? Leopold Hofmann (cf. 2): (1) Göttweig cat. 1762 (no ob. & cor.); (2) Lambach cat. 1768 (no cor.); (3) *MS. pts.*, Kremsmünster (no cor.); (4) *MS. pts.*, Copenhagen. Ignaz Holzbauer (*Holzbauer*) (1711-1783): (1) *MS. pts.*, Berlin Kgl. Hausbibliothek; (2) Br. cat. 1766 (no ob. & cor.); (3) *MS. pts.*, Bst (Marburg?). [J. C.] Bach (1735-1782): *MS. pts.*, Univer.-Bibliothek, Basel, cat. IV, 9 (2 ob., 2 trpt., str.: cf. Terry, *J. C. Bach*, p. 276). *Anonymous*: *MS. pts.*, Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 1070.

No. 10  (IV, 1) 2 trpt., timp., str. (2 violas).

*Haydn*: *MS. parts*, Göttweig, Comp. P. Odo (1st. perf. 9 August 1772).

*Probable author*: Robert Kimmerling (*Kymmerling*, *Kymerling*, etc.) (1737-1799): Quartbuch.



## Appendix II

No. 11  (IV, 2) 2 ob., 2 trpt., timp., str.  
(2 violas).

*Haydn*: (1) *MS.* pts., St. Florian 'ex Rebus Joanne Schäffler'; (2) *ibid.*, 'pro usu Jo: Mich: Planck', 1st perf. 1 Oct. 1777 (trpts. lacking); (3) *MS.* pts., Schlierbach (2 ob., 2 cor., str.).

*Probable author*: Franz Schneider (Regenschori at Melk in 2nd half 18th cent.): (1) *MS.* pts. Lambach (c. 1760-70?) 'In Usam Franz Pransl'; (2) *MS.* pts., Kremsmünster, c. 1760 (no ob.).

No. 12  (IV, 3) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: *MS.* pts., Kremsmünster.

*Probable author*: ?

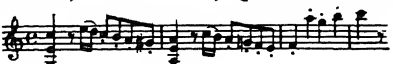
No. 13  (IV, 4) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.  
(solo vln.).



*Haydn*: Pohl cat.

*Probable author*: Carlos d'Ordoñez (1734-1786): (1) Lambach cat. 1768 (pts. still there); (2) *MS.* pts., Regensburg; (3) *MS.* pts., Brussels.

*N. B.*: A symphony by Vanhal (Lambach, Br. cat. 1770, Quartbuch, Schwerin, [Venice


Cons.], etc.) begins similarly  but is an-

other work entirely. This work is also attributed to Dittersdorf in Bst (Marburg) Mus. ms. 5026.

No. 14  (IV, 5) 2 ob., 2 cor., str. (Bst: 2 fl. instead of ob.).

*Haydn*: Bst (a volume from Alois Fuchs Coll., incl. Symphonies I, 10, Ov. to *Acide*, 'Toy Symphony' (26), present work, and I, 35).

*Probable author*: ? Vanhal (cf. 8): (1) 2 sets of *MS.* pts., Coll. Sarasin, Basel; (2) printed pts., Bailleux, Paris, Op. 23, No. 3 (copy in Lübeck). *Abbé Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel* (Sterckel) (1750-1817): *MS.* pts., Harburg, 'ad me G: A: Kelber'. *N. B.*: Another symphony in C, listed as Vanhal in Basel (modern score: Sondheimer, Ed. Bernoulli), is also attributed to Sterkel in Br. cat. 1782/84.

No. 15  (IV, 6) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.


*Haydn*: (1) *MS.* score, Stockholm; (2) printed parts, Mme Berault, Paris (Br. cat. 1773): see Appendix I, No. 30, source 9; (3) d'Ogny cat.

*Probable author*: ?

## Appendix II


No. 16  (IV, 7) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: printed pts., Chevardière, Paris: see Appendix I, No. 58, source 16.  
*Probable author*: ?

No. 17  (IV, 8) 2 ob., 2 cor. str.

*Haydn*: (1) *MS.* pts., Kremsmünster; (2) *MS.* pts., Regensburg, J. Haydn 70; (3) Freising Cat. of 1796.

*Correct author*: Marie Alexandre Guénin (1744-1819): (1) authentic printed pts., Op. IV, No. 2, issued by composer (copy in PCons H 72 with Guénin's signature), Paris; (2) d'Ogny cat.


No. 18  (IV, 9) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) *MS.* pts., Frankfurt Coll. (Pohl); (2) *MS.* score, Stockholm.  
*Probable author*: ?

No. 19  (DKE C-1) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) Kees cat. No. 10; (2) *MS.* pts., Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 796 (Viennese source); (3) Venice Marciana: see Appendix I, No. 3, source 6.

*Probable author*: ?

No. 20  (DKE C-2) 2 trpt., timp., str.

*Haydn*: Göttweig cat. (no date).

*Probable author*: Franz Körzel: Göttweig cat., 'Comparavit R. / P. Odo 1769'.

No. 21  (DKE C-3) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*N. B.* In some sources the lowest notes of the chords are *g*.

*Haydn*: Regensburg, a coll. of 'Tre Sinfonie de S: giu: Haidn', incl. Nos. 21, 99, 123: now erroneously catalogued under Michael Haydn.

*Probable author*: Leopold Hofmann (cf. 2): (1) Göttweig cat. ('Comp. R. P. Josephus'); (2) Br. cat. 1766; (3) *MS.* pts., GdM XIII, 1319 (removed by C. F. Pohl, 1883); (4) Regensburg, cat. Hoffman No. 7 (2 clarini instead of cor.); (5) Copenhagen.

No. 22  (DKE C-4) 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 trpt., timp., str.

*Haydn*: (1) Quartbuch, entry crossed out in H's hand; (2) Regensburg, now cat. under Michael Haydn.

## Appendix II

*Probable author: Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5) (Perger No. 35): (1) Göttweig cat., 'Comp. R. P. Josephus 1761' (no cor. & timp.); (2) MS. pts., Munich.*

No. 23  (DKE C-5) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn: Regensburg, J. Haydn 82.*

*Probable author: ?*

No. 24  (DKE C-6) 2 ob., 2 cor., str. Tempo in some sources 'Allegro moderato'. Brussels: 'Tympano'.

*Haydn: Fugger Archives, Augsburg (now destroyed).*

*Probable author: Dittersdorf (cf. 6): (1) Göttweig cat. 1776 ('Parthia', comp. P. Marianus); (2) Br. cat. 1766; (3) Br. cat. 1767; (4) MS. pts., Schwerin; (5) printed pts., Bailleux, Paris, from op. IV (Br. cat. 1769); (6) printed pts., Hummel, Amsterdam, as 'Simp. Pér.' (Br. cat. 1770); (7) MS. pts., Melk; (8) MS. pts., Brussels; (9) MS. pts., St. Peter, Salzburg; (10) MS. pts., Genoa.*

No. 25   (DKE C-7).

*Haydn: MS. in Berlin Singakademie Library.*

*Probable author: ?*

† No. 26  2 vln., bass and various children's

instr. with 2 cor. (in Leopold Mozart version). 'Sinfonia Berchtoldsgadensis'; 'Toy Symphony' (Kindersinfonie).

*Haydn: (1) MS. pts., EH, Mus. Ms. I, 108 ('Sinfonia Berchtoldsgadensis'), of uncertain origin; (2) MS. pts. dated 7 Aug. 1786 (Leo Liepmannsohn cat. 1906: 'Sinfonia Berchtoldsgadensis'); (3) printed pts., Sieber Widow (pl. no. 3: 'Symphonie Burlesque'), with a 4th movt. entitled 'La Bastringue' otherwise unknown; there are also copies without pl. no. and without Widow Sieber's signature; also copies re-issued by Sieber with a different title ('Symphonie... avec des jouets d'enfants'); (4) printed pts., Forster, London (pl. no. 200: 'The Celebrated / Sinfonie / composed... by the late / Dr. Haydn', c. 1816-21); (5) perf. in Schikaneder's Theatre on 13 April 1791: 'Die beliebte Bettles [!] Gädner Simphonie...' (Deutsch: *Das Wiener Freihaustheater*, p. 17 & p. 32); (6) Westphal cat. 1795; (7) printed pts. by Hoffmeister, Leipzig (pl. no. 252: 'Kinder- / Sinfonie...'; c. 1813); (8) Gerber Lexicon of 1812; (9) MS. pts., Zittau (Studiosus Haentschel, dated 1790, 'Dal Sig: Haydn'); (10) MS., Bst: see *supra*, No. 14, 'Haydn'; etc., etc.*

*Probable author: ? Possibly Leopold Mozart (1719-1787): MS. pts. (Schmid: c. 1760), Munich: 'Cassatio', mss. mus. 5229, a 7-movt. suite in G, in which the 3 movts. of the 'Sinfonia Berchtoldsgadensis' are in G, comprising the 3rd, 4th and 7th parts. Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5): MS. pts., Melk: 'Pertolsgattner Divertimento a piu stromenti Del Sigre. Michele Hayden' (vln. instead of vln. II). P. Edmund Angerer: MS. pts., Stams, L III, 62: 'Berchtolds / gaden / Musick...'*

## Appendix II

Auth: Rev. D. Edmundo Angerer / ord. Sti. Benedictini Fiecht' (the neighbouring monastery of Fiecht: vla. instead of vln. II). *Anonymous*: Traeg cat. 1799, p. 3, No. 429: 'Berchtolsgadner Sinfonie in C'.

*Literature*: E. F. Schmid: *Leopold Mozart und die Kindersinfonie* (in: *Mozart Jahrbuch* 1951), from which article most of the above facts are taken (Angerer source excepted).


*Modern edition*: B. & H. Partitur-Bibliothek 15098 (only the 3 movts. ascribed to Haydn). One of the Leopold Mozart movts. in Schmid, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-82.

† No. 27  2 ob., 2 cor., (2 trpt., timp.), str.

*Haydn*: MS. pts., Donau-Eschingen, mus. ms. 678.

*Probable author*: Anton Zimmermann (1741-1781): (1) MS. pts., Regensburg; (2) MS. pts., Schwerin; (3) MS. pts., Florence (D. 5. 134).

*Modern editions*: (Haydn) (1) Edited by Adolf Sandberger, in his 'Münchener Haydn-Renaissance'; (2) Reprint based on Sandberger, but thoroughly rewritten and re-orchestrated, by Zoltan Fekete (A Tempo Verlag, Vienna, Basel, 1950).

No. 28  2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: Sigmaringen cat. 1766 (addition II).

*Probable author*: ?

No. 29  fl., 2 ob., 2 clar., 1 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: Washington (Spanish coll.).

*Probable author*: Ignaz Pleyel (1757-1831): (1) MS. pts., Stams, dated 1802; (2) printed parts, Sieber, Paris; (3) printed parts, André, Offenbach/Main; *etc.*

No. 30  2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: Quartbuch, entry crossed out in H's hand.

*Probable author*: ?

No. 31  2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: Quartbuch, entry crossed out in H's hand.

*Correct author*: Johann Michael Haydn (*cf.* 5) (Perger 4): (1) autograph, Göttweig, dated 'Salisburgi, 14<sup>ta</sup> January 764'; (2) MS. pts., Lambach.

## Appendix II

Allegro con spirito

No. 32  2 ob., 2 cor., str.

Haydn: Quartbuch.

Probable author: Holzbauer (cf. 9): (1) Br. cat. 1766; (2) MS. pts., GdM XIII 8407; (3) MS. pts., Harburg; (4) MS. pts., Brussels; (5) Göttweig cat., n. d.

Vivace

No. 33  2 ob., 2 cor. (Genoa: 'o clarini'), str.

Haydn: MS. parts, Genoa.

Probable author: Leopold Hofmann (cf. 2): Br. cat. 1766, 'Racc.' II, No. IV.

Allegro assai

No. 34  (IV, 10) 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 trpt., timp., str.

Haydn: (1) MS. pts., Harburg III, 4 1/2, fol. 805 (Viennese copy); (2) MS. score, Stockholm; (3) MS. (Salzmann copy), Brussels; (4) printed pts., Venier, Paris (copy in Einsiedeln): 'III Sinfonie / A Piu Stromenti. / Composte dal Sigr. / Giuseppe Haydn / Maestro die Concerto et Compositor di musica Di S. E. il Prencipe Esterhasy. / Opera XXIX. / Nuovamente Stampata a Spese di G. B. Venier. / Prix 9. f. / Le parti d'Obboe et Corni da caccia sono ad libitum / A Paris / Chez Mr. Venier [etc.]'; issued c. 1779; print contains Nos. 34, 73 and 94 (all by van Swieten!); (5) reprint of Venier by Boyer, Paris (copy in Manchester); (6) reprint of 4 or 5 by Forster, possibly using copies of 4 or 5 with his own title page.

Probable author: Gottfried van Swieten (1743-1803): (1) MS. pts. Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 755 (Viennese copy! cf. Haydn 1); (2) MS. pts., Zwettl (Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.); (3) MS. pts., Regensburg (Viennese copy).

Literature: E. F. Schmid: *Gottfried van Swieten als Komponist* (in: *Mozart Jahrbuch* 1953).

Largo                      Allegro

No. 35  (DKE c-1) 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str. (2 vle.).

Haydn: Milan Cons.

Probable author: Louis Massoneau: printed pts., André, Offenbach/Main, 1794: Symphony *La Tempête et la Calme*, Op. 5, dedicated to the Duc de Mecklenbourg-Schwerin; pl. no. 677 (copy in Kremsmünster: H 28, 36); 3 connected movts. I wish to thank Prof. Jan La Rue for drawing my attention to the Massoneau work.

Largo

No. 36  (DKE c-2) 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 trpt., timp., triangle, bass drum, cymbals, str.

Haydn: Deldevez: *Curiosités Musicales*, Paris, 1873, pp. 52 f.

Probable author: Antonio Cartelliero (1772-1807): MS. pts., Florence, cat. D. 5. 10 (tempo: 'Adagio'). Prof. Jan La Rue kindly supplied these facts.

## Appendix II

No. 37 *Allegro (moderato)* (DKE c-3) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: printed parts, Forster, London: 'Letter C', pl. no. 50 (copy in BM, h. 656.1).  
Published c. 1785.

*Probable author:* Vanhal (cf. 8): (1) Quartenbuch; (2) Br. cat. 1770; (3) *MS.* pts., Kremsmünster, with 2 trpt. & timp.: 'Allegro moderato'; (4) *MS.* pts., Venice Marciana, cod. 1260 (11048); (5) keyboard arr., Bst (Marburg).

No. 38 *Allegro spiritoso* (III, 10) 2 cor., str. (or str. qt?).

*Haydn: MS. pts.*, GdM (Kees Coll. ? 'Sinfonia XLIII'), XIII, 19068.

*Probable author: Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5) (Perger 41): (1) MS. pts., St. Peter, Salzburg; (2) MS. pts., Lambach; (3) MS. pts., Munich.*

No. 39 *Allegro* (III, 11) 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 trpt., timp., str.


*Haydn*: Quartbuch, no Christian name.

*Probable author: Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5) (Perger 37): (1) MS. pts., Kremsmünster; (2) MS. pts., Götting, Comp. P. Odo 1770 (with pts. for fl. & vln. I, II 'concert.').*

No. 40 *Allegro*  (III, 12) 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 trpt., timp., str.

*Haydn*: Munich mus. ms. 280/13 (no ob., trpt., timp.).

*Probable author: Vanhal* (cf. 8): (1) *MS. pts.*, EH; (2) *MS. pts.*, Regensburg; (3) *MS. pts.*, Kgl. Hausbib. Berlin; (4) Quartbuch; (5) *MS. pts.* Stams: no ob. & cor.; (6) Br. cat. 1768; (7) [*MS. pts.*, Venice Cons.]; (8) printed pts., Bremser, London (*The Periodical Overture... LIII*): copy N. Y. Public Lib.; (9) *MS. pts.* Lambach: no trpt. & timp.; (10) *MS. pts.*, Archives of B. & H., Leipzig. (11) *MS. pts.*, Kremsmünster: no trpt. & timp. (12) Götting cat. 1769. *Johann Michael Haydn* (cf. 5) (Perger 39): *MS. pts.*, Götting (no trpt., timp.). The work is undoubtedly by Vanhal.

No. 41 *Allegro molto*  (III, 13) 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor.,  
2 trpt., timp., str. (timp. lacking in M. Haydn aut.).


*Haydn*: (1) Kees cat. No. 76 (with 'Tympani'); (2) *MS.* pts., Milan Cons.; (3) *MS.* pts., Frankfurt Coll. (Pohl); (4) *MS.* pts., VNat s. m. 22152: see Appendix I, No. 6, source 2; (5) *MS.* score, Stockholm.

**Correct author:** Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5) (Perger 38): (1) autograph, not known to Perger, EH: apparently a *Balletti* (Lang & Rettensteiner cats.) or *Serenade* opening with a 'Marche' (Perger 58), followed by the theme quoted above: work contains many movts., and is dated at the beginning: '22<sup>ten</sup> July' 'di Michele

## Appendix II

Hayden' (M. H. used the form of the name with 'e' for many years: see Jancik, p. 310); and at the end: 'Salisburgo 4<sup>t</sup> Augusti 1764'; (2) *MS.* pts. of the reduced version, St. Peter Salzburg; (3) Quartbuch — the above theme; (4) *MS.* pts. of the reduced version, Göttweig (cat.: P. Marianus 1776).

[Allegro]

No. 42  (III, 14) 2 fl. or ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: Pohl's cat. (no earlier sources could be discovered).

*Probable author*: J. F. Kloeßler: printed pts., Amsterdam (Br. cat. 1772): *Simphonie Périodique* No. II.

Allegro

No. 43  (III, 15) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: *MS.* pts., Zittau.

*Correct author*: Carl Friedrich Abel (1725-1787) comp. 1764: (1) printed pts., Op. VII, No. 3, Bremner, London (April, 1767), 'Printed for the Author' (copy in BM); (2) reprint by Hummel, Amsterdam-Berlin (Br. cat. 1771); (3) various English reprints, etc.

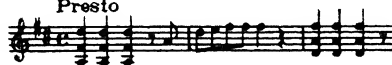
Allegro

No. 44  (III, 16) 2 ob., 2 cor., (2 trpt., timp.) str.

*Haydn*: (1) Quartbuch; (2) Göttweig cat., P. Odo 1769 (no trpts. & timp.).

*Probable author*: ? Johann Michael Schmid[t] (*Kapellmeister* at Augsburg, after 1756 in Mainz): *MS.* pts., Admont, now Graz — no trpts. & timp. Joseph Schmitt (Schmidt, Schmid: Cistercian monk in the monastery of Eberbach, c. 1780 in Amsterdam, died c. 1808): Br. cat. 1774 — no trpts. & timp. Körzel: Göttweig cat.: 'Synphonia', 2 clarini, timp., str. 'eadem Auth Jos. Haydn', P. Odo, 1769.

Presto

No. 45  (IV, 11) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: Brussels (late *MS.* copy from Salzmann coll.).

*Probable author*: ?

Allegro

No. 46  (IV, 12) 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) printed pts., Imbault, Paris, c. 1784-86 (?) — 'Simphonie Périodique No. 17', pl. no. 54 (copy in Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt); (2) printed pts., Sieber, Paris, prob. a reprint of source 1 (copy in Regensburg); (3) reprint of 1 or 2 by Forster, London, c. 1792: 'Letter O', pl. no. 134 (copy in BM, h. 656.1. (41.)); (4) *MS.* score, Stockholm.

*Probable author*: Josef Martin Kraus (1756-1792): *MS.* pts. formerly in library of Kongl. Theater, Stockholm (destroyed 1825).

*Literature*: B. Anrep-Nordin *Studier över Josef Martin Kraus* (in: *Svensk tidskrift*

## Appendix II

för musikforskning, VI (1923), pp. 91 ff.); S. Walin: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schwedischen Sinfonik*, Stockholm, 1941, pp. 282 f.; the author has had an exchange of letters with Dr. Walter Lebermann, Frankfurt/Main, who is preparing a volume of Kraus's symphonies for the *Erbe deutscher Musik*, and who is convinced that the work in question is Kraus, not only from the 'authentic' pts. but also from the stpt. of inner evidence.

Allegro

No. 47  (IV, 13) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: printed pts., Chevardinière, Paris: see Appendix I, No. 58, source 16.  
*Probable author*: ?

Allegro molto

No. 48  (IV, 14) 2 fl. (Schmitt: 2 ob.), 2 cor., str.

[Schmidt: f r p]

*Haydn*: Br. cat. 1767, Racc. III, No. II.  
*Probable author*: Joseph Schmitt (Schmidt, Schmid: cf. 44): (1) MS. pts., University Lib., Lund, Sweden; (2) printed parts, Hummel, Amsterdam, c. 1766: 'Six Pieces de Musique consistant en deux Simphonies avec Hautbois & Corns de Chasse ad Libitum... Oeuvre Premiere' (print also includes two string quartets and two string quintets). I am much indebted to Hans Schneider, Esq., of Tutzing über Munich, for sending me particulars of this print: see his catalogue No. 38, item 261; (3) Br. cat. 1768 (announcement of an unidentified print, possibly that of Hummel, possibly a French print).

Allegro

No. 49  (IV, 15) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

[Dittersdorf: f f f f f f]

*Haydn*: printed pts., Chevardinière, Paris, see Appendix I, No. 58, source 16.  
*Probable author*: Dittersdorf (cf. 6): MS. pts., Admont (now Graz).

Allegro assai

No. 50  (IV, 17) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) Brussels (late MS. copy from Salzmann coll.); (2) Jahn's score (Bst?), and Pohl's copy of Jahn: no older sources could be located.  
*Probable author*: Körzel: Göttweig cat., P. Joseph 1761.

Allegro assai

No. 51  (IV, 19) 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 cor., 2 trpt., timp., str.

*Haydn*: printed pts., Mlle de Silly, Paris (only ob., cor., str.): see Appendix I, No. 20, source 10.  
*Probable author*: Giuseppe Sarti (1729-1802): (1) MS. pts., Schwerin; (2) MS. pts. ('Ouverture'), Florence Cons. D. 5. 85; (3) MS. pts., Einsiedeln.




## Appendix II

Allegro moderato

No. 52  (IV, 20) 1 fl., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) MS. pts., Schwerin ('Concertino'); (2) printed pts., Mr. Bouin, Paris, 1787 (dated cat. at back of GdM copy): announced in *Mercure de France* on 20 Sept. 1788; title: 'Simphonie Concertante / A huit Instruments obligés...'; 'Écrit par Ribière'. Copy in GdM, XIII, 42261.

*Probable author*: ?

No. 53  (DKE D-1).

*Haydn*: Regensburg, J. Haydn 83.

*Probable author*: ?

*Literature*: Larsen-Sandberger controversy: *Acta Musicologica* 1936 (Vol. VIII), pp. 146, 151 f., 1937 (IX), 38.

No. 54  (DKE D-2).

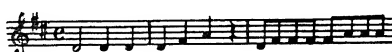
*Haydn*: Regensburg, J. Haydn 80.

*Probable author*: ?

No. 55  (DKE D-3).

*Haydn*: Fugger Archives, Augsburg (destroyed).

*Probable author*: ?

No. 56  (DKE D-4).

*Haydn*: Darmstadt (destroyed).

*Probable author*: ?

No. 57  (DKE D-5); 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag.,  
2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: Darmstadt (destroyed).

*Probable author*: Antonio Maria Gasparo Sacchini (1734-1786): Overture to *Renaud*, Paris, 1783: MS. pts., Regensburg (courtesy of Prof. Jan La Rue). See also Eitner. This 1-movt. overt. (which we now know the work to be) does not rightly belong in this list.

No. 58  (DKE D-6) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: Schwerin.

*Probable author*: ?

# Appendix II

No. 59  (DKE D-7).


Haydn: Modena, F. 551.  
Probable author: ?

[No. 60  (DKE D-9) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

Haydn: In a Bailleux print (see Appendix I, No. 8, source 11), this work is listed as No. V of 'Six Symphonies... par Mrs Hayden, Wanhall, et Lausenmayer...'  
Probable author: ? Lausenmayer (sc. Lausmayer): cf. above. Joseph Alois Schmittbauer (c. 1718-1809): Br. cat. 1774.]

No. 61 

Haydn: Modena, D. 659.  
Probable author: ?

No. 62  2 ob., 2 cor., str.

Haydn: (1) Quartbuch, no Christian name; (2) MS. pts., Lambach.  
Probable author: Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5) (Perger 36): (1) Göttweig cat. 1747 (sic: sc. 1757 or 67?); (2) MS. pts., Kremsmünster, dated 1765 (no ob.).

No. 63  2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

Haydn: Stams, L I 54 (no fag.).  
Correct author: Pierre Alexandre Monsigny (1729-1817): Sinfonia (Overture) to *Le Déserteur* (1769): see coll. in PCons & PNat. N.B.: Br. cat. 1772: Anonymous; Br. cat. 1779/80: Grétry (!).

No. 64  vln. solo, cor. solo, trombone solo,

vcl. concertante, 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 trpt., (timp.), str.

Haydn: Quartbuch, no Christian name.  
Probable author: Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5) (Perger 87): (1) MS. pts., Kremsmünster; (2) MS. pts. of several movts., Munich; (3) Göttweig cat., Comp. P. Marianus 1775 (1 fl., 2 ob., 2 cor., str.).

No. 65  2 fl., 2 cor., str.

Haydn: Sigmaringen cat. 1766 (addition II).  
Probable author: ?

## Appendix II



*Haydn*: Quartbuch, entry crossed out in H's hand.  
*Probable author*: ?



*Haydn*: Donau-Eschingen, mus. ms. 724.  
*Probable author*: ?



(DKE d-1) 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., 2 trpt.,  
 timp., str.

*Haydn*: (1) *MS. pts.*, Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 824; (2) *MS. pts.*, Dresden; (3) *MS. pts.*, Modena.  
*Probable author*: ?



(DKE d-2).

*Haydn*: *MS. pts.*, Dresden (destroyed).  
*Probable author*: ?



(DKE d-3).

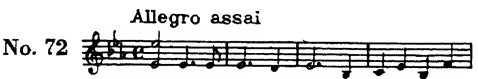
*Haydn*: *MS. pts.*, Florence Cons.  
*Probable author*: ?



2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 trpt., timp.,  
 str.

*Haydn*: Donau-Eschingen, mus. ms. 708.

*Correct author*: Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5) (Perger 20): (1) autograph, EH, dated 30 Dec. 1784; (2) authentic printed pts., Artaria (pl. no. 69: announced in *Wiener Zeitung* of 18 June 1786); (3) *MS. pts.*, Salzburg, Mozarteum; (4) Göttweig cat., Comp. P. Virgilius.



2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: *MS. pts.*, Genoa.

*Probable author*: Pichl (cf. 1): printed pts., Guera-Boyer: see App. I, No. 60, source 24.

## Appendix II

Allegro assai

No. 73  (III, 17) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) *MS. pts.*, Harburg, III, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ , fol. 831 (Viennese copy); (2) *MS. pts.*, Zittau; (3) *MS. score*, Stockholm; (4) printed pts., Venier: see No. 34, *supra*; (5) printed pts., Boyer: see No. 34, *supra*; (6) printed pts., Forster: see No. 34, *supra*.

*Probable author*: van Swieten (*cf.* 34): (1) *MS. pts.*, Regensburg (Viennese copy); (2) *MS. pts.*, Schwerin; (3) *MS. pts.*, Zwettl (Erzherzog Rudolf Coll.); (4) Br. cat. 1782. *N. B.*: In a print by J. Betz, London (c. 1775-80), this work is attributed — doubtless mistakenly — to *Danhal*: 'Litra B', copy in BM, g. 474. b. (12).

*Modern edition*: (Haydn) score & pts., Kistner & Siegel (Leipzig, 1881).

*Literature*: Schmid (*cf.* 34).

Allegro [d] [d]

No. 74  (III, 18) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) *MS. pts.*, Zittau; (2) *MS. pts.*, Frankfurt/Main (Pohl); (3) *MS. score*, Stockholm.

*Probable author*: *Danhal* (*cf.* 8): (1) Quartbuch; (2) Br. cat. 1775; (3) *MS. pts.*, Regensburg.

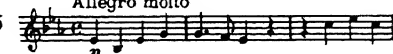
Andante

No. 75  (III, 19) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) *MS. pts.*, Schwerin; (2) printed pts., 'The periodical Overture in 8 parts... Number LVI... London... R. Bremner at the Harp and Hautboy / opposite the Somerset-House / in the Strand', c. 1785 (?): at head of pts.: 'Partita' (copies in GdM, XII, 40822; and Manchester).

*Correct author*: *Johann Michael Haydn* (*cf.* 5) (Perger 1): (1) autograph, not known to Perger, EH: 'Partitta 5<sup>ta</sup> in E mol 2 Corni, 2 Oboe, 2 Violini, Viola, & Violone. / di Michele Hayden' (*cf.* comment to 41); at end of *MS.*: 'M. Varadini [Gross-Wardein] 20<sup>ma</sup> 9bris 760'; (2) *MS. pts.*, Kremsmünster.

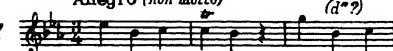
Allegro molto

No. 76  (III, 20) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) *MS. pts.*, Harburg, III, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ , fol. 837; (2) printed pts., Bailleux, Paris, Op. 7 (Br. cat. 1769): see Appendix I, No. 3, source 10.

*Probable author*: *Herffert*: Br. cat. 1767.

Allegro (*non molto*) (d<sup>o</sup>?)

No. 77  (III, 21) (2 fl.), 2 ob. (Einsiedeln:

clarinetti), (2 fag.), 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) Br. cat. 1767 (2 cor., str.); (2) Bologna, GG/25 (as one of 6 quartets); (3) Sigmaringen cat. 1766, as quartet.

*Probable author*: ? *Christoph Sonnleithner* (1734-1786): (1) Br. cat. 1774; only str.; (2) *MS. pts.*, Einsiedeln (no cor.). *Rugietz*: Br. cat. 1776: 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str. *Johann Michael Haydn*: *MS. pts.*, Admont (now Graz): 'Notturmo Johanna', 2 cor., str.

## Appendix II

No. 78  (IV, 21) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) printed pts., Paris, Op. 24 (Br. cat. 1778): see Appendix I, No. 45, source 17; (2) Brussels (Salzmann MS., late copy).

*Probable author*: ? *Pierre van Maldere* (Malder) (1729-1768): Göttweig cat. (n. d. 'comp. P. Leandri', before 1768); *Franz Aspelmayr* (1728-1786): MS. pts., B. & H. archives.

No. 79  (IV, 22) 2 fl. (or ob.), 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) Br. cat. 1767; (2) printed pts., Mme Berault, Op. VIII (Br. cat. 1773): see Appendix I, No. 3, source 11; (3) d'Ogny cat.

*Probable author*: ?

No. 80  (IV, 23) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) printed pts., Mme Berault, Paris, Op. XIX (c. 1775?) (copies in PCons and Brussels); (2) d'Ogny cat.

*Probable author*: ?

No. 81  (IV, 24).

*Haydn*: Wotquenne cat. (no earlier sources could be located).

*Probable author*: ?

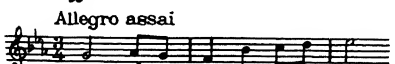
No. 82  (DKE Es-1) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.



*Haydn*: (1) MS. pts., Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 829; (2) MS. pts., Regensburg, J. Haydn 79.

*Probable author*: ?

No. 83  (DKE Es-2).



*Haydn*: MS. pts., Regensburg.

*Probable author*: ?

*Literature*: Larsen-Sandberger controversy, *Acta Musicologica* 1936 (Vol. VIII), pp. 146, 151 f., 1937 (Vol. IX), 38.

## Appendix II

Allegro moderato

No. 84  (DKE Es-3) 2 ob., 2 trpt., timp., str.  
(2 vlas.).

Haydn: MS. pts., GdM XIII, 31660.

Probable author: ?

Allegro

No. 85  2 ob., 2 cor., str. (Filtz: str. only;  
Frenzl: no ob.).

Haydn: MS. pts., Munich, mus. ms. 4757 ('Del Sig Haydn').

Probable author: ? Anton Filtz (?-1760): (1) printed pts., Huberty, Paris, Op. I, No. 4; (2) Br. cat. 1766 — 'VI. Sinf. del Sigr Filtz', No. VI 'a 4 V[oci]', 'Frenzl' (prob. Ignaz Fränzl, 1736-1811): MS. pts. ('Ouverture in Dis'), Stams, K. III, 31 — amongst MSS. of early string quartets by Haydn. Bach (prob. J. C., cf. 9): MS. pts., Kremsmünster, 'Parthia' with tempo, 'Spiritoso'. Pichl (cf. 1): MS. pts., Regensburg ('Allegro spiritoso').

Adagio

No. 86  2 ob., 2 clarinets, 2 cor. obbligati,  
2 cor. rip., 2 trpt., timp., str.

Allegro

Haydn: MS. score in a coll. of H. sym., BM, Add. 31710 (watermark dates: 1794 to 1805), but H's name not listed on cover of score.

Probable author: Zimmermann (cf. 27): MS. parts, Regensburg, entitled 'Sinfonia Echo in E<sub>b</sub>'. The frequent horn echoes suggest that this was one of the pieces performed by the horn duo, Dahmen and Zoncada, e. g. in the tenth Haydn-Salomon concert of 1794 (see p. 521) or in Yaniewicz's benefit concert (see p. 525). This would explain the work's presence in material supposedly performed at the Haydn-Salomon concerts.


Allegro

No. 87  (III, 22) 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

Haydn: (1) Br. cat. 1773; (2) Quartbuch, entry crossed out in H's hand; (3) MS. score, Stockholm; (4) printed pts., Mme Berault, Paris, Op. IX (Br. cat. 1773): see Appendix I, No. 30, source 9; (5) d'Ogny cat.

Correct author: Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5) (Perger 5): (1) autograph, Göttweig: 'Salisburgi, 25. January 764'; (2) MS. pts., Kremsmünster; (3) MS. pts., Lambach; (4) MS. pts., Seitenstetten. Apparently the minuet was composed after rest of symphony had been completed.

Allegro

No. 88  (IV, 25).

Haydn: Wotquenne catalogue (no earlier source could be located).

Probable author: ?

## Appendix II

No. 89  2 fl., 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: MS. pts., Stams, LI, 41: 'Auth: Joseph Haydn 1779'; Quartbuch: Haydn, with no Christian name.

*Correct author*: Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5) (Perger 44 and 84, '2. Parte'): (1) incomplete autograph (3rd and 4th movts.), Munich; (2) MS. pts., Kremsmünster; (3) MS. pts., Göttweig (1st perf. 11 Feb. 1777). (4) MS. pts., Schlierbach; (5) MS. pts., Lambach. Michael also used 1st movt. as 'Symphonia' to a 'Ballo' (chain of movts.: Perger 84).

No. 90  (IV, 26) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) printed pts., Mme Berault, Paris, Op. XIX (see *supra*, No. 80); (2) d'Ogny cat.

*Probable author*: Dittersdorf (cf. 6): (1) Sigmaringen cat. 1766 (a later addition); (2) MS. pts., Regensburg; (3) MS. pts., Genoa.

No. 91  (III, 23) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) printed pts., Mme Berault, Paris, Op. IX (Br. cat. 1773): see Appendix I, No. 30, source 9; (2) MS. score, Stockholm; (3) d'Ogny cat.

*Probable author*: Franz Dussek (Dussek, Dusseck, Dušek, etc.) (1736-1799): (1) Br. cat. 1776; (2) MS. pts., GdM XIII, 23553 (at top of title page: 'Lpz. X / No. 4).

No. 92  (III, 24) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: MS. pts., Brussels.

*Probable author*: Leopold Hofmann (cf. 2): (1) Lambach cat. 1768; (2) MS. pts., Modena; (3) Br. cat. 1776. 'Incognitor' in Göttweig cat. 1766 (comp. P. Josephus 1766).

No. 93  (III, 25) str.

*Haydn*: Br. cat. 1767 (no tr.).

*Probable author*: Christoph Sonnleithner (cf. 77): (1) Br. cat. 1774 (no tr.); (2) MS. pts., Reichersberg: 'Parthia à 4tro'.


No. 94  (IV, 27) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) MS. pts., Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 846 (Viennese source); (2) MS. pts., Zittau; (3) MS. pts., Frankfurt/Main (Pohl: 'N: 118'); (4) MS. score, Stockholm; (5) printed pts., Venier, Paris, Op. XXIX: see *supra*, No. 34; (6) reprint of Venier by Boyer, Paris: see *supra*, No. 34; (7) reprint of Venier or Boyer by Forster, London: see *supra*, No. 34.

*Probable author*: van Swieten (cf. 34): MS. pts., Regensburg.

*Literature*: Schmid (cf. 34).

## Appendix II



No. 95  (IV, 28) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: printed pts., Chevardière, Paris: see Appendix I, No. 58, source 16.  
*Probable author*: ?

No. 96  (IV, 29) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) MS. pts., Harburg, III, 4 1/3, fol. 842 (Viennese source); (2) as in 95, *supra*.  
*Probable author*: ?

No. 97  (IV, 30; DKE IX, F-2) str. only.

*N. B.* There seem to be 3 versions of this work: (1) beginning with the above movement, continuing with  and concluding with a minuet and a 3/8 finale; (2) the same but in the order II, I, III, IV (this is prob. the original); (3) I,  , III, IV. *Haydn*:

Version 1 — Jahn's copy of the score and Pohl's copy of Jahn (GdM XIII, 4082);  
 Version 2 — Br. cat. 1765, p. 2 ('VIII. Quadri, del Sigr. GIVS. HAYDEN, in Vienna', No. VII).

*Probable author*: ? *Holzbauer* (cf. 9): printed pts., Chevardière, Paris, Sym. Périodique No. 7: Version 2. Cf. DTB, Riemann, cat. F-4. *F. Schubert* (presumably Dresden family): Sigmaringen cat. 1766 ('Synf: à 2. W / Viola. Basso [No.] 4').  
*Anonymous*: Einsiedeln, cat. 11, 11: a set of '11 / Sinfonie / da diversi Autori', Version 3.

No. 98  (DKE F-1) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

(*Haydn*: MS. pts., St. Florian, 'Ex Musical. Dris. Stocker', originally anonymous, H's name added later and in another hand.)

*Probable author*: ?

No. 99  (DKE F-2) 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) Quartbuch, Haydn without Christian name; (2) MS. pts., Regensburg: cf. No. 21, *supra*. Tempo: Allegro moderato (molto?).

*Probable author*: *Johann Michael Haydn* (cf. 5) (Perger 45): MS. pts., Kremsmünster. Tempo: 'Allegro assai con spirito'.



## Appendix II

Allegro molto

No. 100  (DKE F-3) 2 ob., 2 cor., str. (2 violas).

*Haydn*: MS. pts., Darmstadt (destroyed).

*Probable author*: Pleyel (cf. 29): (1) MS. pts., Melk, IV, 24; (2) MS. pts., Schwerin; (3) Br. cat. 1782/84 ('Bleyl'); (4) MS. pts., Kremsmünster; (5) printed pts., Sieber (Simp. Pér. No. 1 — copy in Bologna); (6) printed arr., Boyer, Paris, for 2 vln., clavier & bass (copy in PNat).

Adagio

No. 101  (DKE F-4) 2 ob. (2 clar. in Zittau), 2 fag., 2 cor., 2 trpt., timp., 4 sleigh bells, str.

*Haydn*: Florence, D. 143 (Viennese source): 'Schlittenfahrt' (Sleigh Ride).

*Probable author*: ? *Wasmuth*: (1) Lambach cat. 1768 (a later addition): 'Musikalische Schlittenfahrt / in F'; (2) MS. pts., Regensburg ('Wasmuth'). *W. A. Mozart*: MS. pts., Zittau. Erich Valentin suggests that this is a work by *Leopold Mozart*.

*Literature*: Erich Valentin: "Musikalische Schlittenfahrt": ein *W. A. Mozart* zugeschprochenes Gegenstück zu *Leopold Mozarts Werk* (in: *Augsburger Mozartbuch*, Augsburg, 1942/43, p. 441); E. F. Schmid: *Leopold Mozart und die Kindersinfonie* (cf. 26, *supra*), p. 69.

No. 102  (DKE F-5).

*Haydn*: Mandyczewski's catalogue (GdM).

*Probable author*: ?

No. 103  (DKE F-6).

*Haydn*: Mandyczewski's catalogue (GdM).

*Probable author*: ?

Andante

No. 104  2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) MS. pts., Seitenstetten; (2) MS. pts., St. Florian: anonymous, but placed together with Haydn sources.

*Probable author*: Pleyel (cf. 29): (1) MS. pts., Stams; (2) Cat. Sarasin, Basel; (3) printed pts., Imbault, Paris (pl. no. 192); (4) MS. pts., GdM XIII, 18960 ('ausgeschieden' by C. F. Pohl, 1871); (5) MS. pts., Kremsmünster.

Allegro molto

No. 105  2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: Quartbuch, no Christian name, entry crossed out in H's hand.

*Correct author*: *Johann Michael Haydn* (cf. 5) (Perger 46): 'Sinfonie Zur Wahrheit der Natur' (catalogues of Lang und Rettensteiner: 'Salzburg, 7 July [?]', Jancik: 1st perf. July 21, 1769); MS. pts., Seitenstetten (1st perf. 1780).

## Appendix II

Allegro

No. 106  (III, 26) 2 fl. or ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: MS. pts., GdM (Kees Coll?: 'Sinfonia LXX'), XIII, 6653.

*Probable author*: Pichl (cf. 1): printed pts. Hummel, Op. III, No. 4 (Br. cat. 1779/80) — copy in PCons. *Anonymous*: MS. pts., VNat, s. m. 5791 (obviously a copy of Pichl's Op. III of which the title page was mislaid).

Allegro

No. 107  (III, 27) 2 ob. (Hummel & GdM: 'oboe v[el] Flauti'), 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) GdM XIII, 40827 ('Del Sigre: Haydn'); (2) Quartbuch, no Christian name; (3) Sigmaringen cat. 1766; (4) printed pts., Hummel ('Symph. Périodique': Br. cat. 1772: 'Sig. Haydn'); (5) printed pts., Mme Berauld, Paris, Op. IX: see Appendix I, No. 30, source 9; (6) MS. pts., Munich: 'Sig Haydn', no ob., mus. ms. 282/16; (7) MS. score, Stockholm; (8) d'Ogny cat.

*Correct author*: Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5) (Perger 7): (1) autograph, present whereabouts unknown, but registered by Hacker as Overture to *Die Hochzeit auf der Alm*, Salzburg, 6 May 1768; (2) MS. pts. from Planck Coll., St. Florian; (3) MS. pts., Regensburg.

Allegro (Moderato)

No. 108  (III, 28) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) Br. cat. 1768; (2) Quartbuch, entry crossed out in H's hand; (3) MS. score, Stockholm.

*Probable author*: Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5) (missing in Perger): (1) MS. pts. Admont (now Graz); (2) MS. pts., prob. from Rottenmann (now Graz): 'Divertimento'; (3) MS. score & pts., Frankfurt/Main (Pohl); (4) Göttweig cat., Comp. P. Leander, 1763.

Allegro (Allegretto)

† No. 109  (IV, 31) 1 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*p dolce*

*Haydn*: (1) printed pts., Sieber (Simp. Périodique No. 20, pl. no. 361), c. 1786: copies in Sándor Wolf Museum, Eisenstadt; Regensburg; Milan; Florence, etc.; (2) reprint of Sieber by Forster, London, c. 1793 ('Letter U', pl. no. 161): copies in BM (h. 656. 1.) and Manchester; (3) MS. score, Stockholm.

*Probable author*: Adalbert Gyrowetz (1763-1850).

*Literature*: [Selbst-]Biographie von Gyrowetz (Einstein), pp. 59 ff.; Larsen, HUB, p. 115; *supra*, p. 3 and n. 5.

[Grave]

No. 110  (IV, 32) 2 fl., 2 ob., 2 fag., str.

*N. B.* A Suite of 8 movts. in the late baroque style.

*Haydn*: (1) MS. pts., Frankfurt/Main (Pohl); (2) MS. score, Stockholm.

*Probable author*: ?

## Appendix II

Allegro assai

No. 111  (DKE G-1) (2 ob., 2 cor.) str.

*Haydn*: MS. pts., Regensburg, J. Haydn 81.  
*Probable author*: *Dittersdorf* (cf. 6): (1) Göttweig cat. 'Comp R P Josephus 1761'; (2) MS. pts., Kremsmünster, c. 1760 (str. only); (3) Lambach cat. 1768: ('Sinfonia... à 2 Violin è Basso').

Allegro

No. 112  2 ob., 2 cor., str.


*Haydn*: printed parts, Welcker, London (reprinted by. S. A. & P. Thompson): see Appendix I, No. 35, source 16.  
*Probable author*: *Danhal* (cf. 8): (1) Br. cat. 1768; (2) Lambach cat. 1768 (pts. extant); (3) MS. pts., University Lib., Lund; (4) Göttweig cat. 1769 and 1770; (5) MS. pts., Venice Marciana, cod. 1259 (11051); (6) MS. pts., Venice Cons. (Giustinian Coll.).

Allegro

No. 113  2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: MS. pts., Salzburg St. Peter: 'Scripsit Bartholmaeus Ze inter 1801'.  
*Probable author*: ?

Allegro

No. 114  (III, 29) 1 fl., 2 ob., 1 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: MS. score, VNat, s. m. 15957 (Alois Fuch's cat. in Bst, prob. from this source).  
*Probable author*: *Dittersdorf*: (1) Quartbuch; (2) Lambach cat. 1768; (3) MS. pts., Kremsmünster; (4) Br. cat. 1772; (5) Berlin Kgl. Hausbib. 1018 (destroyed).

Allegro moderato

No. 115  (III, 30) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) MS. pts., Kremsmünster; (2) MS. pts., Zittau.  
*Probable author*: *Danhal* (cf. 8): (1) MS. pts., EH; (2) MS. pts., GdM XIII, 35467 (Viennese source); (3) Quartbuch; (4) MS. pts., Regensburg; (5) Br. cat. 1775; (6) MS. pts., Venice Marciana, cod. 1261 (11006).

Allegro

No. 116  (III, 31) 2 fl., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) Jahn's score, Brussels; (2) Pohl's score, GdM XIII, 40833: no older source could be located.

## Appendix II

*Probable author:* ? Filtz (cf. 85): (1) Sigmaringen cat. 1766; (2) Br. cat. 1766; (3) *MS.* pts., Regensburg; (4) *MS.* pts., Munich; (5) printed parts, Hummel, Hague (176-?), Sym. Périodique: possibly a reprint of (6) printed pts., Huberty, Paris, Op. 2, No. 1 (copy in PCons); (7) *MS.* pts. ('Concerto'), Antoniana Library, Padua; (8) Ringmacher cat. 1773. *Dittersdorf* (cf. 6): *MS.* pts., Admont (now Graz), no cor. pts. Possibly the Admont source was attributed to D. because of a marked thematic similarity with another A major Sym. which is certainly by D. (Kremsmünster *MS.* copied by Pichler in 1763). The work is almost certainly by Filtz, from external evidence as well as important stylistic details.

Allegro molto

No. 117  (III, 32) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn:* *MS.* pts., Göttweig, Comparavit 'P. Odo 1772'.

*Correct author:* Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5) (Perger 3): (1) autograph, Göttweig ('Salisburgi 29<sup>na</sup> 10<sup>bris</sup> 763'); (2) *MS.* pts., Kremsmünster.

Andante

No. 118  (III, 33) str. only.

*Haydn:* *MS.* (parts?), Brussels.

*Probable author:* Leopold Hofmann (cf. 2): (1) Br. cat. 1762; (2) *MS.* pts., Modena; (3) *MS.* pts., Regensburg.

Allegro

No. 119  2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn:* (1) Quartbuch; (2) Göttweig cat. (pts. extant): 'P. Leandri 1766'.

*Probable author:* Ordoñez (cf. 13): Sigmaringen cat. 1766. There are many stylistic factors which suggest that Ordoñez is the real author.

Allegro molto

No. 120  1 fl., 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn:* Sigmaringen cat. 1766 (addition II), No. 77.

*Probable author:* Vanhal (cf. 8): (1) *MS.* pts., EH; (2) Br. cat. 1778; (3) Br. cat. 1770; [(4) *MS.* pts., Venice Cons.]; (5) *MS.* pts., Kremsmünster; (6) *MS.* pts., Venice Marciana, cod. 1259 (11051); (7) *MS.* pts., Venice Cons. (Giustinian Coll.); (8) Göttweig cat., 'Comp. R P Marianus/1778'. — Source 4 has no title page and therefore no author's name.

Grave

No. 121  (III, 34) 2 ob., 2 fag., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn:* (1) *MS.* Frankfurt/Main (Pohl); (2) *MS.* score, Stockholm.

*Correct author:* Johann Michael Haydn (cf. 5) (Perger 18): (1) autograph, EH, dated Salzburg, 12 March 1784; (2) *MS.* pts., Göttweig; (3) authentic print, Artaria, Vienna (pl. no. 69: announced in *Wiener Zeitung* of 18 January 1786).

Allegro


No. 122  (III, 35) 2 ob., 1 fag. conc., 2 or 4 cor., solo trpt., str.

## Appendix II

*Haydn*: (1) Quartbuch, entry crossed out in H's hand; (2) Pohl's cat., possibly from Quartbuch; (3) Wotquenne's cat.

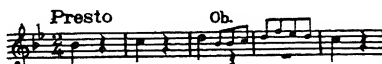
*Correct author*: *Johann Michael Haydn* (cf. 5) (Perger 52). There are two versions: (1) Perger 52, in 4 movts., undated autograph EH; another *MS.*, apparently this version, in Göttweig, dated 1776; (2) the probable original version, unknown to Perger, Lambach: a Serenade or perhaps 'Ballo' consisting of seven movts.; only 2 cor. (B basso) in this source. Tempo of many sources 'Allegro molto'.

### Allegro assai

No. 123  (III, 36) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) Quartbuch, entry crossed out in H's hand; (2) *MS.* pts., Harburg, III, 4 1/2, fol. 673 (Viennese source); (3) *MS.* pts., Zittau; (4) printed pts., Hummel (Berlin-Amsterdam), Op. X (Br. cat. 1772): see Appendix I, No. 20, source 9; (5) printed pts., Sieber, Paris, c. 1773: see No. 41, source 13; (6) printed pts., Bremner, London, c. 1785 (?): 'The Periodical Overture Number XL' (copy in BM, R. M. 17. b. (2.)); (7) printed pts., Forster, London, c. 1792: 'No. [3] from Op. [10]' with address '348... Strand' (pl. no. 139: copy in GdM XIII, 40825). The print by J. Preston ('The periodical overture in 8 parts... Number 40' — copy in Manchester) is a reprint of Bremner using original plates; c. 1790-98. (8) *MS.* pts. Regensburg — see below; (9) d'Ogny cat.


*N. B.*: All but one of the sources attributed to J. H. have as a finale an arrangement of Appendix I, No. 59, 4th movt. (A major,  $\Phi$ ), transposed to B flat and in 2/4 time:



The source at Regensburg (see *supra*, No. 21), however, which attributes the work to J. H. has only the first three movements.

*Correct author*: *Johann Michael Haydn* (cf. 5) (Perger 9): (1) autograph, EH, dated Salzburg, 15 June 1772 (Hummel's print issued that year!) with the finale:

### Allegro molto


 ; (2) *MS.* pts., Lambach, *without finale*; (3) *MS.* pts., Admont (now Graz): 'Divertimento', *without finale*; (4) *MS.* pts., Stams; (5) *MS.* pts., Schlierbach (no title page).

*Authenticity*: There is a remote possibility that the arrangement of the finale is authentic, and that Joseph added it to his brother's work; or *vice versa*.

*Modern edition*: score and pts., O. U. P. (Joseph H.), ed. by Hans Gál.

*Literature*: Marion Scott: *Mi-Jo Haydn* (in: Monthly Musical Record, 1939); Larsen, HUB, p. 14.

### Allegro assai

No. 124  (III, 37) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: *MS.*, Brussels.

*Probable author*: *Dittersdorf* (cf. 6): (1) Sigmaringen cat. 1766 (later addition); (2) Br. cat. 1768 (no cor.); (3) Br. cat. 1776/77; (4) *MS.* score, Dresden cat. 122 (destroyed); (5) *MS.* pts., Kremsmünster.

## Appendix II

Allegro

No. 125  (III, 38) 2 fl., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: MS., Brussels.

*Probable author*: Joseph Schmitt (Schmidt, Schmid; cf. 44): printed pts., Hummel, Amsterdam: Sym. Périodique (Br. cat. 1774).

Allegro

No. 126  (IV, 33) 2 ob., 2 clarinets, 2 fag.,  
2 cor., 2 trpt., timp., str.

*Haydn*: (1) MS. pts., Zittau; (2) MS. score, Stockholm.

*Correct author*: Joseph Schuster (1748-1812): (1) autograph, Dresden; (2) MS. score, Naples: overture to the opera, *Creso in Media* (perf. Nov., 1779); no timp. pt. It is possible that the first *incipit* of two symphonies by Schuster listed in the Br. cat. of 1782-84 is a corrupted version of the theme of this symphony: the scoring (no timp.) is also identical. I am indebted to Prof. Jan La Rue for this information.

Allegro assai

No. 127  (IV, 34) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: MS. pts., Göttweig, 'comparavit R. R. P. Marianus', 1st perf. 28 July 1786.

*Probable author*: Florian Gassmann (1729-1774): (1) Quartbuch; (2) Göttweig cat. 'comp. R. P. Joseph 1766'. The construction of the theme, with its progression upwards a third is, Prof. J. La Rue informs me, a typical feature of G's style.

Allegro assai

No. 128  (IV, 35) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: (1) printed pts., Mme Berault, Paris, Op. IX: see Appendix I, No. 30, source 9; (2) MS. score, Stockholm; (3) d'Ogny cat.

*Probable author*: ?

Allegro assai

No. 129  (IV, 36) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

*Haydn*: Wotquenne's catalogue (Brussels MS?).

*Probable author*: van Maldere (cf. 78): (1) printed pts., de la Chevardière, Paris, 1764: 'Simphonie / Periodique / a / Più Stromenti / Composte del Signor / Van Malder...': copy in Paris Cons. (see Suzanne Clercx, *Pierre van Maldere*, Brussels, 1948, p. 61); (2) printed pts., John Johnston, 177-(?): 'A periodical Overture... Printed for and sold by John Johnston at his Musick Shop near Charing Cross in the Strand' (copy in BM, R. M. 16. f. 16); another copy with address: 'between the new Exhibition Room & Exeter Change, Strand'; (3) reprint of Johnston by Longman & Broderip ('Sinfonia VIII'), London, 178-(?): copy in BM, g. 474. b. There is supposed to be a print by Hummel, Amsterdam which, however, could not be located. A very similar Maldere theme in the Quartbuch.

## Appendix II

### Presto (assai)

No. 130  (DKE B-1) 2 ob., 2 cor., str. *Tempo:*

many sources have only 'Presto'. Venier has 'Allegro'.

**Haydn:** (1) MS. pts., Harburg, III, 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ , fol. 960 (Viennese source); (2) printed pts., Venier, Op. XII: see Appendix I, No. 35, source 15; (3) reprint of Venier by Forster: 'No. [3] of op. [12]', pl. no. 149, c. 1793.

**Probable author:** *Dittersdorf* (cf. 6): (1) Br. cat. 1775; (2) Göttweig cat. 'Comp. R P Marianus 1781'; (3) MS. pts., Melk, IV, 11; (4) MS. pts., B & H. archives; (5) MS. score, Dresden, cat. 123 (destroyed); (6) MS. pts., Kremsmünster; (7) Lambach cat. 1768 (pts. extant); (8) MS. pts., Lambach — a 2nd copy.

### Allegro moderato

No. 131  (DKE B-2) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

**Haydn:** MS. pts., Harburg, III, 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ , fol. 959 (Viennese source). It would seem that Haydn's name became connected with this work through the Bailleux print of 'Six Symphonies... par Mrs Hayden, Wanhall, et Lausenmayer' (see Appendix I, No. 8, source 11), in which the present work is included without specifically mentioning the name of the composer.

**Probable author:** *Vanhal* (cf. 8): (1) MS. pts., EH; (2) Quartbuch; (3) Br. cat. 1772; (4) Br. cat. 1774; (5) MS. pts., Kremsmünster; (6) MS. pts., Regensburg.

**Modern edition:** score & pts. (Haydn), ed. A. Sandberger in 'Münchner Haydn Renaissance'.

**Literature:** Cf. Larsen-Sandberger controversy (Bibliography, *infra*).

No. 132  (DKE B-3) str. only.

**Haydn:** MS. pts., Hochschule für Musik, Berlin.

**Probable author:** *van Maldere* (cf. 78): (1) Quartbuch; (2) Br. cat. 1766 ('van Maltre'); (3) MS. pts., Milan.

### Allegro moderato

No. 133  (DKE B-4) 2 ob., 2 cor., str.

**Haydn:** (1) printed pts., 177-(?): 'The Periodical / Overture... Number I... Printed and Sold by J. Kerpen, No. 19 Wardour Street, Soho'; copy in BM, R.M. 17. b. 1. (1.); (2) reprint of Kerpen by Forster, possibly using Kerpen's plates: Forster's Haydn catalogue (no copy could be located). A Hummel print is said to precede that of Kerpen, but no copy could be located.

**Probable author:** *Vanhal* (cf. 8): (1) Quartbuch; (2) Br. cat. 1774; (3) MS. pts., Regensburg; (4) Cat. Sarasin, Basel.

### Allegro molto

No. 134  2 ob. (title page: 'clarinetti'), 2 cor., str.

**Haydn:** MS. pts., Munich, mus. ms. 4843.

**Probable author:** *Pleyel* (cf. 29): printed pts., Imbault, Paris, c. 1790 ('9<sup>e</sup> Sinfonie Périodique', plate no. 94): copy in PNat, Vm<sup>7</sup> 1628. Tempo of 1st movt.: 'Allegro'. Prof. Jan La Rue kindly provided the Pleyel data.





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## ERRATA AND ADDENDA

- 18: I am now inclined to believe that *Alceste* is in fact the parodistic marionette opera by Carlos d'Ordoñez, performed on the Esterháza stage before the Archduke Ferdinand in late August of 1775; and that the *Beschreibung* confused it with Haydn's *Philemon und Baucis*, which was played before the Empress. We have no record that *Alceste* was performed for the Empress, as the *Beschreibung* states. See also Pohl I, p. 73. A copy of the Ordoñez score is listed in Haydn's legacy (*Geschriebene Musikalien*, No. 215).
- 19: Under column *Opera*, line 3, read *La Vera Costanza* (not 'Constanza').
- 22: Four lines from the bottom, read 'in order to seek...' (not 'oder').
- 26: Second paragraph, line 4, penultimate word, read 'accounts' (not 'account').
- 30, n. 11: Penultimate line should read: 'so similar, may in fact be Peter, who could', etc. (not 'may in fact be that of Peter...').
- 39: Symphony No. 16, under Group XIII read '19055' (not '9055'); Symphony No. 81, under Group XIII read '6161', not '8161'.
- 40: First paragraph of normal print, line 3, read 'II, 10' (not 'II, 9').
- 68: Note 31 should read: 'See pp. 364 ff.' (not '306').
- 95: Third paragraph, line 3, read: '...The authentic MS. parts at Harburg' (not 'authentic set of parts...').
- 100 ff.: After this portion of the book had been printed, I discovered that all twelve London symphonies were published by J. P. Salomon in conjunction with the firm, Monzani & Cimador: these very rare and important prints were later reissued from the original plates by Birchall. See Appendix I, Symphony No. 93, source 4. The presence of the authentic edition should, therefore, be kept in mind throughout pp. 100-109.
- 102, n. 41: Meanwhile, I have received microfilms of the three works in question. See Appendix I for Symphonies Nos. 95 and 96. The Esterházy source of the *Sinfonia Concertante* is by Johann Elssler, and the supposed second set actually consists of duplicate parts to the first, also by Johann Elssler.
- 106, graph: The Esterházy parts of No. 96 were apparently prepared by Johann Elssler in England, in 1794 or 1795: see Appendix I. Delete the remark in the left hand corner, and substitute a line from the box marked 'Parts for Salomon's Concerts' to a new box marked: 'Authentic prints, J. P. Salomon and Monzani & Cimador'. See comment above to 100 ff. and Appendix I, No. 93, source 4.
- 109: First paragraph, 3rd line from the bottom, delete 'Birchall' (see comments above).
- 123: Second paragraph. There is an interesting Terzetto by Haydn for 2 sopranos and tenor, with *cor anglais*, bassoon and French horn *obbligati*, strings and horn *ripieno*, of which there is apparently one single copy extant, in the BM (Add. 34073). This source, with the text, 'Pietà di me, benigni Dei', includes all the parts, with a few autograph corrections, written by Johann Elssler on 'small post paper' with a piano-vocal score in another handwriting, on which is the following note: 'This very rare M. S. formerly belonged to my kind friend Mr. Shield, who told me that he rec'd it from Haydn himself, on purpose to be sung by Mrs. Billington — at the time that Haydn visited England. I have no doubt that this is the identical copy from which Mrs. Billington sang on the

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occasion. V. Novello.' The particella does in fact have Mrs. Billington's signature on the right-hand top corner. The circumstances, and the English horn solo (possibly for Ferlendis — see pp. 548 f. and 562), suggest the date 1795, though the style would perhaps indicate an earlier date. At any rate, the solo horn in E flat — the key of the work — is of staggering technical difficulty, possibly the most difficult horn part known to us in any music. Haydn often requires sounding a  $b''$  and — almost incredible — sounding  $b\flat$ . It would be fascinating to hear this colourful terzet, if it is playable. The solo hornist who played it in London may have been Dahmen Jr or Zoncada.

- 130: Second line, 1st word, read 'anonymous'.
- 156: Third line from the bottom, read 'Ex. 42', not 'Ex. 41 a'.
- 159, n. 61: in the last line read 'Sotheby's' (not 'Southeby's').
- 165: From line 2, read: '...that is, the one at Ex. [51 e] double the speed of that at Ex. [51 d], and the one at Ex. [51 f] double the speed of that at Ex. [51 e] with the dots...', etc.
- 181: Ex. 3, bar 9, in middle between staves read 'Vln. II' (not 'I').
- 182: Ex. 4, add letter 'a' before title 'Divertimento à Sei...'.
- 214: Fourth line from the bottom, read *Le Nozze di Figaro* (not '*Il Nozze*').
- 221: Last line, for 'Nos. 3 and 5' read 'Nos. 11 and 5'.
- 242: For last line, read: 'little piece — apart from No. 98 the only one of the 104...', etc.
- 254: Penultimate paragraph, last sentence. In support of this statement we have a short passage in Carpani, which, in the 'Bombet' (sc. Stendhal) version (English translation, London, 1817, p. 94) reads: 'Some years after Haydn's establishment at Eisenstadt, when he had formed his style, he sought food for his imagination, by diligently collecting those ancient, and original airs, which are to be found among the people of every country. The Ukraine, Hungary, Scotland, Germany, Sicily, Spain, Russia, were laid under contribution by him.'
- 257, n. 20: Delete the word 'first' in line 1.
- 278: Second paragraph, line 2: read 'December 1, 1767' (not 'December 10').
- 293, n. 17: Line 5: for 'July, 1785' read 'November, 1785'. The date July, found in Mozart's own catalogue, is an oversight; see my preface to the score in the *Neue Mozart Ausgabe*; see also Köchel-Einstein.
- 295, musical example 10 a): in bar 11 add crotchet rest after last note.
- 327, musical example 5 b): in bar 1 the 'Cor. II' applies to the bottom notes of the 1st stave, 'a2' to the violins; bar 3, read 'Cor. I' (not 'Cor. II').
- 342: Line 8 from bottom, for last word read 'artist' (not 'artists'); line 5 from bottom, for 3rd word read 'seem' (not 'seems').
- 362, musical example: bar 9, add a whole bar of rest to blank oboe stave.
- 404: First paragraph, 7th line from the bottom, read 'orthography' for last word.
- 436: In the paragraph beginning 'The exact order', 4th line; for 'e. g. Nos. 90-92' read 'Nos. 90 and 92'.
- 515 f.: Marianne Kirchgässner did in fact take Mozart's Quintet with her; she played it, for example, in Königsberg on her return journey, together with a 'vierstimmige Sonata' which Salomon wrote for her during her London sojourn. See Hermann Güttler, *Königsbergs Musikkultur im 18. Jahrhundert*, 1925, p. 177.

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- 567: Eight lines from the bottom. Kolnov is Hadow's translation of Kohlnhof (Kopház): see E. F. Schmid, *Haydn*, pp. 290, 291, 309. Kohlnhof is the Croatian village nearest to Esterháza.
- 619: Source 9. Paper possibly from a mill at Wangen, Germany (near Lake Constance, between Memmingen and Lindau).
- 625: Under '*Corrections to G. A.*', column 2 (2nd movt.), for line beginning with '110', read: '110: vla. last quarter of meas. crotchet e, tied to 111.' For next remark, read: '110/111: vln. II tied.'
- 715: The information concerning No. 68, source 13, was kindly supplied by Kapellmeister Eugen Bodart, Ladenburg. I am also grateful to the Fürstl. Leiningensche Bibliothek for their assistance.
-